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RESIDENTS LEAVE PARADISE: A STUDY OF OUTMIGRATION FROM HAWAII TO THE MAINLAND

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RESIDENTS LEAVE PARADISE: A STUDY OF OUTMIGRATION FROM HAWAII TO THE MAINLAND

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By

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ABSTRACT

Notwithstanding the fact that official attention in Hawaii has been focused almost entirely on newcomers entering the state, the annual number of persons leaving Hawaii is almost equal to the number entering the state. Little has been known concerning the numbers and motivations of local residents who leave Hawaii each year to live on the Mainland. This study was undertaken with the intentions of providing insights on why some local residents "leave Paradise" and using these insights to add to the general understanding of migration as a process.

Structure for the study was provided by a broad range of research concerns, the answers to which were believed by the author to give a broad understanding of migration as it relates to Hawaii. A number of research tools were used to provide answers to these concerns. Among these were an understanding of the Hawaii context, a historical analysis of past migration patterns, published and public use census data, a questionnaire survey of 1964 graduates of Hawaii high schools, and personal interviews of those 1964 graduates living on the west coast. An integration of insights provided by the differing levels of information enabled the research concerns to be satisfactorily answered.

In terms of the research questions raised, the major research findings are as follows:

(1) Prior to World War II, the annual outmigration of local residents was minimal. The annual volume increased rapidly at the end of World War II and peaked in the mid-1950s. Between the mid-1950s and 1970, the yearly rate was constant. Since 1970, the annual volume has declined. These fluctuations have been largely uninfluenced by economic conditions in Hawaii.

(2) Most of the local residents who leave are young, unmarried adults. At one time, most were male, but both sexes are now equally represented. The local outmigrants are disproportionately Haole.

(3) Underlying the departures of most local outmigrants are desires for personal growth, new experiences, independence and, for some, escape from restrictive family ties. Economic considerations are minor or absent in most of the moves. At the time of the initial moves, almost all assume an eventual return to Hawaii.

(4) The choices of initial Mainland destinations are largely dependent on the overt purposes of the moves. Many who initially move to the Northwest or to non-west coast areas later move to California. As a result, the proportion of outmigrants permanently living in California is much higher than the proportion who initially move there.

(5) Those who return to Hawaii generally have stronger social orientations than their counterparts who stay on the Mainland. Few of the returnees are "failures"; indeed, most evaluate their Mainland moves to be successful in terms of the original goals. The rate of return is high by national standards, but is sensitive to economic conditions in Hawaii. Nonwhites are more likely than whites to return to Hawaii.

On the basis of the research findings, propostions concerning the nature of local outmigration from a given area are presented. The research findings suggest that the population policies pursued by the present state administration are self-defeating, whereas alternative policies would accomplish the twin goals of limiting the numbers of new residents and keeping most of the local residents in Hawaii. Finally, this research demonstrates that the complex reality of migration can best be understood with a multilevel analysis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

> If we have no say over who comes here and in what numbers, we might as well abandon any thoughts of a Hawaiian tomorrow. Of course, Hawaii will still continue to exist and will still be called Hawaii, but it will have ceased to be the Hawaii we know.[1]

1.1 Motivation for and Purpose of Study

Ever since Ravenstein (1885) first elucidated his famous "laws of migration," there has been a strong scholarly interest in the who, where, why, and the consequences of human migration. Most studies on long distance moves have been based on the assumption that economic motives are paramount in migration decisions. Indeed, the massive redistribution of the U.S. population from rural to urban areas and from impoverished areas in the South to northern cities in the first part of the twentieth century lent strong seeming support to this view. Ullman (1954) suggested that migration in the United States was becoming increasingly responsive to areal differences in the distribution of "environmental amenities." His article has stimulated a growing interest (primarily, but not solely, among geographers) in viewing migration largely as a response to environmental preferences (e.g., see

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[1]Statement of Hawaii Governor George Ariyoshi in justifying proposed programs designed to discourage inmigration to Hawaii. The need for "population control" was the main theme of the "State of the State" address to the Hawaii Legislature on January 25, 1977. For the full text of Governor Ariyoshi's views on population, see "The Governor on Population Control," Honolulu Advertiser, January 26, 1977, p. A11.

Svart, 1976). Even economists (e.g., see Cebula, 1974) are beginning to build environmental considerations into their models of migration.

By the standards of most persons, Hawaii is blessed with an abundance of amenities that make life "pleasant": an equitable year-round climate, an abundance of beautiful beaches, warm ocean water, an atmosphere that is relatively unpolluted, an extremely varied landscape, and climate ranging from tropical rain forest to desert. In addition, the Mainland view of the people of Hawaii stresses the multi-ethnic makeup of the population, absence of racial prejudice, abundance of "aloha spirit," and quick social acceptance of strangers. That this view persists among most who have visited Hawaii seems to suggest that it has some basis in fact.

Furthermore, according to the economic measures most commonly employed in migration studies, the economic health of Hawaii just prior to the 1970 census appeared to be excellent. The 1970 census indicated a median family income that was third highest among all states and an unemployment rate that was second lowest in the nation.

In short, Hawaii at least superficially appears to have both the amenities and economic health that should stimulate a large net inmigration. Indeed, the present governor, in an address to the state legislature in 1977, defined the large inmigration to Hawaii from the Mainland and foreign countries as constituting the most significant long-term problem confronting the state. He stressed the threat of population growth to Hawaii's "fragile environment" and "aloha spirit." As evidenced by the willingness of the state legislature to translate the

governor's proposal to limit inmigration into law,[2] the viewpoint that political means should be used to limit the number of newcomers entering Hawaii is a popular one.

Notwithstanding the fact that the topic of inmigration and its perceived impacts on Hawaii arouse strong emotions locally,[3] little is known about to what extent the inmigration into Hawaii is offset by the outmigration of others. According to the 1970 census, there was a net outflow of 4,000 persons (131,400 arrivals compared to 135,400 departures) to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970. However, this figure includes the net migration of the military contingent in Hawaii. An average of 4,000 births a year occur in military families. Those born in the military community generally move out of Hawaii with their parents and thus swell the outmigration figures. The size of the military contingent is subject to fluctuations and this also biases net migration figures. The Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development has estimated that between 1970 and 1975 the average yearly inmigration exclusive of military personnel and dependents was 20,000 from the Mainland United States and 7,000 from foreign countries (HDPED Report No. 135, 1976). In contrast, the estimated yearly outmigration (again excluding military personnel and dependents) during the same period was about 20,000 (ibid.).[4]

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[2]Included have been measures to establish residency requirements for state jobs and tighten welfare requirements in categories thought to be used heavily by recent arrivals.

[3]Eleanor Nordyke's The Peopling of Hawaii (1975) contains representative arguments of those strongly in favor of inmigration controls.

[4]This outmigration figure should be taken with caution. Whereas the inmigration figures are derived from questionnaires administered to incoming passengers on Mainland to Hawaii flights and from the U.S. Immigration Service, outmigration is calculated as a residual after population change is estimated.

It can safely be assumed that almost all of the outmigrants moved to the U.S. Mainland. Thus, available evidence indicates that despite the attractions that Hawaii should have for inmigrants, outmigration from Hawaii almost equals inmigration.

If the proponents of limiting inmigration were worried only about the negative consequences of population growth, evidence that inmigration is counterbalanced by outmigration should allay their fears considerably. However, many who are concerned about the negative consequences of population growth resulting from inmigration do not view the increased outmigration of those born in Hawaii to be an acceptable approach for reducing population growth. An attitude often expressed by Hawaii residents in casual conversation is "The local people make Hawaii the special place it is." For the economist, the replacement of a Hawaii-born laborer of Hawaiian ancestry by a Mainland-born Caucasian civil engineer via a population exchange with the Mainland represents an upgrading of the Hawaii labor force (not for racial reasons, hopefully!). Locally, however, the interpretation is more likely to be that "a little bit of Hawaii has been lost" with the departee and that the new resident represents a threat because he brings "Mainland values" with him and provides competition for scarce and expensive housing and the limited number of professional jobs. This population exchange is especially galling if it is believed that the departure is indirectly caused by problems created by inmigrants. As the present state administration receives its strongest support from those born in Hawaii, it should come as no surprise that the present governor has pledged to provide sufficient economic growth so that "our local residents don't have to leave the state."

The number of persons born and raised in Hawaii who annually leave the state is not known. The same is true of their characteristics in terms of race, educational background, occupation, age and other characteristics. Why they leave has never been determined, notwithstanding the governor's view that most depart because of a lack of job opportunities.

The author became interested in studying the outmigration of local residents from Hawaii for many reasons. One was a simple curiosity about why people should leave "paradise." Although this concern is trivial to the extent that some people will leave even what most consider the most idyllic places, it is nevertheless true that the often substantial counterflows from areas generally perceived as economically and environmentally attractive are ignored in migration studies. Studies specifically addressing outmigration invariably focus on areas suffering from prolonged net outmigration related to economic distress.[5] The outmigration of those born and raised in Hawaii was of particular interest because of a belief that they are in fact the main ingredient in what makes Hawaii "a special place to live."[6] The author was also interested

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[5]In U.S. studies the following subjects have attracted most of the attention given to outmigration: the movement of blacks out of the south, the depopulation of the southern Appalachian Region, and the exodus from farms and small villages. Kiser's book (1932) on the movement of blacks from a remote island off the coast of South Carolina to New York City is perhaps the best case study of the black exodus from the south. Schwarzeller et al. (1971) did a classic case study on the outmigration of whites from a remote mountain village in eastern Kentudky to industrial cities in Ohio. The study of Gist et al. (1943) on the types of persons who left a rural area of Missouri is representative of the rural exodus theme.

[6]Although this view is put forward here as an unsupported ideological proposition, evidence that the local people in Hawaii do differ in many ways from those on the Mainland is given in Chapter II.

in whether a large share of the outmigration has been motivated by economic problems that while not particularly evident in 1960 and 1970 census data, have been endemic in Hawaii for many years (see Chapter II). Another consideration was the desire to undertake a study that would provide insights that could be used for planning purposes in Hawaii. The author was also confident that a study of this nature would add to the general understanding of migration as a process. These considerations, added to a basic interest in the who, where, why, and consequences of migration, stimulated this dissertation which focuses on local outmigration from Hawaii to the Mainland.

1.2 "Migration" and "Local" as Defined in This Study

For the purpose of this study, a person who moved to the Mainland and who stayed or intended to stay on the Mainland for at least six months is considered an outmigrant. The six month criterion, while admittedly arbitrary, was chosen in order to eliminate vacationeers and students who took summer jobs on the Mainland but were committed to return to Hawaii. Six months was also deemed an adequate amount of time for a mover to make an evaluation of the pros and cons of living on the Mainland.[7] Implicit census definitions of migration are used, however, when census data are analyzed.

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[7]The range of moves excluded by this time duration is unknown. Among those in the questionnaire sample who were classified as non-migrants, there was no indication that they had visited the Mainland for any reason except for vacationing. The Beech Creek study revealed that moves of between one and six months duration generally involved extended visits with relatives. However, these visits sometimes preceded "big moves." This pattern of visits before more permanent moves, however, did not occur in the interview sample in this study. See Schwarzweiller, et al. (1971, p. 101).

In this dissertation, the term "local" refers to those born in Hawaii to Hawaii-born parents and to others whose parents were not born in Hawaii but were themselves born and raised in Hawaii.[8] This definition excludes those born in Hawaii to parents born elsewhere and who then move out of Hawaii before adolescence. Thus, it excludes almost all who are born as military dependents in Hawaii. The definition of "local" is intended to include those who have the strongest "roots" in Hawaii. Admittedly, it is arbitrary. For instance, one who has spent 40 of his or her 50 years in Hawaii can be assumed to have substantial ties in the state. Likewise, someone born to Hawaii-born parents on the Mainland who moves to Hawaii with them at an early age has a strong claim to being "local." In actual practice, this definition created few classification problems in the study as almost all in the questionnaire sample who were born elsewhere did not move to Hawaii before the age of 10 years (see Chapter IX).

1.3 Research Strategy Used in This Study

The goal of this study is not the verification of a set of hypotheses that must be proven or disproven. Rather, it is to achieve a broad understanding of outmigration patterns within the social, economic and environmental contexts of Hawaii. Therefore, the research is guided by a broad range of concerns, the answers to which will give a broad understanding of outmigration as it relates to Hawaii and, in addition, will

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[8]This definition does not correspond exactly to the definitions usually used in Hawaii. For the ambiguities of the term "local" as used in Hawaii, see Chapter II.

provide insights into the migration process in general. These concerns, which are expressed as questions, are given below.

1. What is the volume of local outmigration from Hawaii and how has it been changing over time?

2. What are the demographic characteristics of the outmigrants?

3. Why do the outmigrants leave Hawaii? Why do others choose to stay in Hawaii?

4. What are the social contexts in which outmigration takes place? Is there a differential rate of outmigration among Hawaii's major ethnic groups and is this influenced by differential cultural influences acting on members of Hawaii's major ethnic groups?

5. Where do the outmigrants go? What are the factors influencing choices of destination?

6. What do the outmigrants find on the Mainland compared to prior expectations?

7. What share of Hawaii's outmigrants eventually return to Hawaii? When and why do they return?

8. What is the relationship between inmigration to Hawaii and local outmigration from Hawaii?

9. What are the consequences of the local outmigration for Hawaii?

1.4 Types of Information Used and Organization of the Text

The research concerns given above require the collection, analysis and integration of different types of information that give insights at various levels of generality. The sequence in which the research is presented reflects the types of information used. Types of information used and the chapter (or chapters) which are based on them are discussed below.

An understanding of the Hawaii context is essential if one is to proceed beyond mere description of outmigration patterns from Hawaii to

an understanding of why the patterns occur. Therefore, aspects of Hawaii's history and people, culture, economy and "quality of life" were researched in detail. Those that were deemed most relevant to understanding the migration patterns are given in Chapter II.

Although this study is guided by research concerns rather than specific hypotheses, findings of other migration studies are highly pertinent for the following reasons: they suggest what relevant factors must be considered in addressing research questions raised, some contain insights that help in the interpretation of information used, and they can be compared to those of this study for the purpose of advancing the understanding of the phenomenon of migration. An extensive review of relevant migration studies is undertaken in Chapter III, in which tentative expectations of study results are discussed. Chapter III also contains a brief summary of the research findings.

Extensive use is made of published census data. Those that pertain to outmigration from Hawaii enable the detection of gross outmigration patterns and can be suggestive of migration motives. However, as will be seen in Chapter IV, their usefulness is limited by a number of severe limitations in accuracy and comparability of time and coverage.

Limitations in the published census can be partially overcome with the use of the 1970 public use census tapes. These tapes exist for individual states and "economic areas"[9] and contain all census data collected on given individuals. This allows for information not given

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[9]Details concerning sample characteristics and definitions of economic areas are given in the introduction of Chapter V.

in the published census to be processed and analyzed. With the use of these tapes, a detailed picture concerning the number and demographic characteristics of the recent and longterm[10] local outmigrants as well as their locations on a county level can be pieced together. Findings from the public use census tapes are presented in Chapters V through VIII.

Central to satisfactorily addressing research concerns raised in the previous section is knowledge of individual motives and decisions concerning migration. Insights on this subject were obtained with the uses of both questionnaires and personal interviews. A copy of the questionnaire is contained in Appendix F.

A total of 400 questionnaires, with 200 going to persons with Mainland addresses, were mailed to persons graduating from Hawaii high schools in 1964. Of 205 usable questionnaires returned and analyzed for the study, 118 came from persons living on the Mainland, 48 from those who moved to the Mainland and lived or intended to live there for at least six months after graduating from high school but who later returned to Hawaii, and 39 from the remainder who had never lived or intended to live on the Mainland for at least six months after graduating from high school. Findings from the questionnaire survey are presented in Chapters IX through XIII.

Personal interviews were conducted with 44 of those answering the questionnaire and living on the west coast. These interviews were conducted with the dual purpose of covering various issues not addressed

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[10]"Longterm" outmigrants are defined here as those residing on the Mainland for more than five years.

in the questionnaire and providing insights obtainable only through personal questioning. Insights provided by the personal interviews are discussed in Chapter XIV.

In the text, a historical approach to analyzing data is often used (see especially Chapter IV). That a historical approach be used to some extent is virtually dictated by the research concern pertaining to changes in the volume of migration over time. However, there are two other compelling reasons why a historical perspective should not be overlooked in migration studies. One is that present migration patterns are very much influenced by past migration patterns because past migrants are sources of information and sometimes give practical assistance in destination areas. The other is that if general premises made about the nature of migration are valid, they must explain historical as well as contemporary migration patterns. As an analytical tool, the historical approach in this study yielded valuable insights that are reflected throughout the text.

The synthesis of the findings from the various sources of information was not done in a formal fashion (such as fitting everything into a factor analysis). Instead the reliance was on accumulated evidence becoming too strong to be ignored any longer, common sense, intuition, and sudden insights. The process was very much like that of fitting pieces of a puzzle together and then discovering to one's pleasant surprise that a measure of order has suddenly emerged out of utter chaos. This emerging order is reflected both in the summary of findings presented in Chapter III and insights provided in Chapter XV, which contains a series of propositions related to migration, and discussions of

the relevance of the findings for both population policies in Hawaii and migration studies in general.

CHAPTER II

A PHYSICAL, HISTORIC, CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC OVERVIEW OF HAWAII

2.1 Introduction

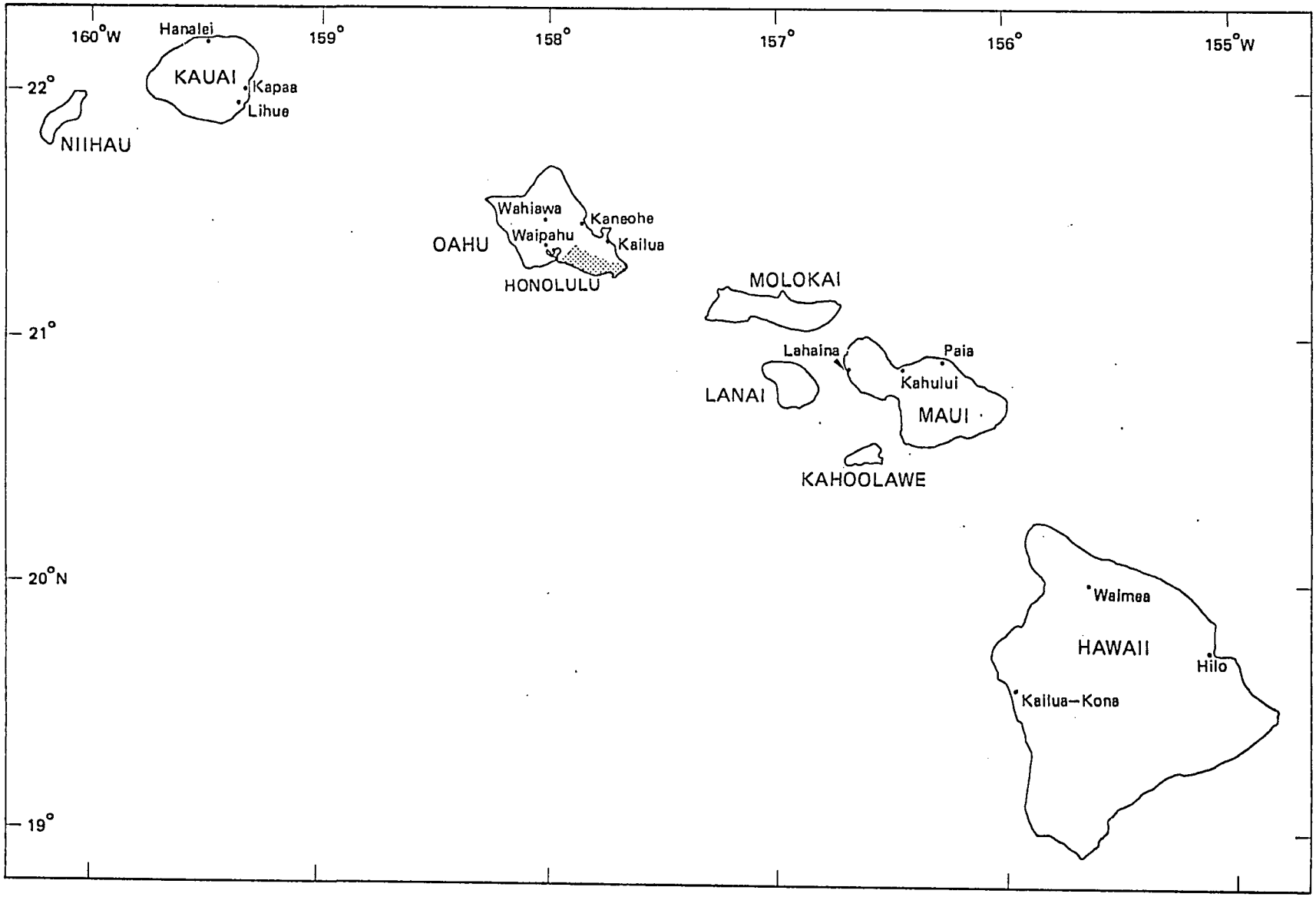
An understanding of Hawaii's character is essential if one is to proceed beyond mere description of outmigration patterns from Hawaii to an understanding of why the patterns occur. Therefore, this chapter is addressed to Hawaii's physical characteristics, its history, its people, and aspects of its culture, economy, and "quality of life."

2.2 A Brief Physical Description of Hawaii

The state of Hawaii is an archipelago comprising 132 high islands and atolls that extend more than 1,500 miles northwestward from Hawaii Island (locally known as the "Big Island") to Kure Atoll. However, virtually all of the land area and population are to be found in the eight adjacent islands of Hawaii, Maui, Molokai, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Oahu, Kauai, and Niihau (see Figure 2.1). These eight islands comprise a total land area of 6,446 square miles, which is approximately 80 percent of the size of Massachusetts.

Hawaii is isolated from other large land masses. San Francisco, the nearest large city on the Mainland, is more than 2,300 miles northeast of Honolulu, while Tokyo, the nearest large city in Asia, is nearly 4,000 miles to the northwest. However, Hawaii is sometimes locally termed "the hub of the Pacific" because of its rough equidistance from the Mainland United States, continental Asia, and South Pacific Islands.

Figure 2.1 Major Islands and Towns of Hawaii



The uneven distribution of land and population on the major islands of Hawaii is shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Land Area and 1975 Population of the Major Islands of Hawaii

Island	Area (Sq. mi.)	1975 Population	Population/ Square Mile	% of Hawaii Population
Hawaii (Big Island)	4,038	74,900	18.7	8.7
Maui	729	46,300	74.7	5.4
Oahu	608	704,500	1,251.4	81.4
Kauai	553	31,560	57.1	3.6
Molokai	261	5,400	21.2	.6
Lanai	140	2,200	15.7	.3
Niihau	73	240	3.3	<.1
Kahoolawe	45	0	0	0
All other	4	30	7.5	<.1
State	6,450	864,900	134.1	100.0

Source: State of Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Tables 4 and 66.

Oahu contains only 9.4 percent of the land area but over 80 percent of the state's population. All settled areas on Oahu are within commuting distance of Honolulu, which contains about 40 percent of the state's population. The other major islands are collectively referred to as the "outer islands" which, in contrast to Oahu, have populations that are largely rural and heavily dependent on sugar and pineapple agriculture, although tourism is rapidly growing in economic importance.

Hawaii's equitable climate, excellent beaches and varied landscape are justly renowned and need not be elaborated here. Because of these attributes, tourism is the most important source of revenue in Hawaii.

In terms of supporting an extensive industrial base, however, Hawaii's natural resources are scanty. With respect to mineral and energy resources, virtually none are presently usable although geothermal heat provided by volcanic activity on the Big Island is a potentially valuable energy resource for the future. Nearly half of Hawaii is covered by forest, but the complex intermingling of species in rain-forest areas, the inaccessibility of most heavily forested areas, the need to keep vast areas of forests intact for watershed, and characteristics of the dominant species all seriously limit the potential harvest. As a result of these limitations, less than three million board feet were harvested annually whereas more than 100 million board feet were imported annually in the early 1970s (Nelson, 1973).

In contrast to Hawaii's meager timber, mineral and energy resources, the soil and climatic conditions do permit the extensive cultivation of plantation crops. The best agricultural land, by virtue of its levelness, is usually the land most suited for residential development and urban expansion often replaces existing agriculture, especially on Oahu. This has resulted in conflicts between a growing urban population and agriculture that is more acute than is the general case on the Mainland, both because of Hawaii's small size and the large proportion of land that is unsuited for agriculture.

Thus far, the emphasis has been on the physical features of Hawaii. However, Hawaii's people are undeniably basic to what makes Hawaii "unique." From the standpoint of ethnic composition and cultural traits, Hawaii's people differ significantly from those on the Mainland. They will be the focus of the balance of this chapter, which will deal with

Hawaii's unique history, the different groups in Hawaii, and the social and economic problems faced by Hawaii's people.

2.3 A Brief History of Hawaii: 1778 to World War II

When the crew of Captain Cook first landed on Kauai in 1778, Hawaii was settled by perhaps 250,000 persons of Polynesian stock. These inhabitants ("Hawaiians") provided the sailors with spontaneous friendship and needed supplies and in return received Western goods and diseases that reduced their numbers to a low of under 40,000 in 1900.[1] Not least of all, the introduction of European weapons enabled King Kamehameha to unify all major islands under his rule by 1810.

From 1810 to 1893, Hawaii was ruled by a native monarchy. However, this period was marked by increasing control of the commercial economy and a substantial amount of de facto political control by Caucasians, or "Haoles."[2] Missionaries, who first arrived from New England in 1820, effected at least a superficial transformation of Hawaiian spiritual life and cultural norms. Haoles dominated Hawaiian international trade which consisted largely of sandalwood up to 1820 and later whaling, which lasted up to the 1860s.

The largest transformation of the composition of Hawaii's population resulted from the rapid expansion of sugar plantations, which began in the mid-nineteenth century when problems of obtaining an adequate water

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[1]The census of 1900 indicated 29,799 unmixed Hawaiians and 9,857 part-Hawaiians living in Hawaii.

[2]"Haole" was originally the Hawaiian term for all foreigners. Eventually, however, the term came to refer to all Caucasians of non-Iberian ancestry.

supply were solved. This occurred as the Hawaiians did not comprise an adequate labor force for the plantations, both because of their declining numbers and the fact that many preferred to stay in traditional agriculture, in which subsistence could be obtained. Between 1853 and the beginning of World War II, more than 400,000 persons were recruited from other countries to work on sugar or pineapple plantations.[3]

Table 2.2

Origin of Hawaii's Plantation Work Force and Major Period of Arrival, 1853-1940

Origin	Number	Major Dates of Arrival
China	46,000	1878-1884
Portugal	17,500	1878-1887, 1906-1913
Norway	600	1881
Germany	1,400	1881-1885
Japan	180,000	1886-1924
Puerto Rico	6,000	1901
Korea	8,000	1904-1905
Spain	8,000	1906-1913
Philippines	125,000	1907-1931
Russia	2,400	1909-1912

Sources: Fuchs (1961, p. 52) and Lind (1967, p. 8).

With the notable exception of the Portuguese, who were usually assigned overseer ("luna") positions, European laborers found plantation work to be unsatisfactory and quickly abandoned the plantations. From

[3]The pineapple plantations were not started until the first decade of the twentieth century. The technical development that created them was the successful canning of pineapple for export. Both sugar and pineapple plantations required basically unskilled agricultural laborers.

the planters' point of view, the Chinese, who were hired on contracts, were unsuitable because they tended to leave the plantations at the end of their initial contract periods and move to the towns.[4] In general, the Japanese and Filipinos proved to be the most suitable for field labor. In 1932 the Filipino and Japanese shares of the total employment were 69.9 and 18.8 percent, respectively (Lind, 1968).

In 1893, the sugar planters successfully engineered the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and applied for annexation by the United States, which annexed Hawaii as a territory in 1898. Governors were appointed by the U.S. presidents, but considerable self-rule was allowed the territorial legislature. Prior to World War II the territorial legislature was dominated by Republicans, with actual political control by the "Big Five" sugar companies who, because of intermarriage and interlocking company directorships, were able to act as a single unit. Government protected the vested interests of the sugar and pineapple growers and was frugal in its expenditures.

The economic well-being of Hawaii was largely dependent on the plantations. Plantations existed as economically self-sufficient units with company-owned villages, stores, and often processing plants. Churches and recreational facilities were provided in the plantation towns. Tourism was of relatively minor importance, although the annual number of visitor arrivals increased slowly from 2,040 in 1886 to 9,676 in 1922 and 25,373 in 1940 (Hawaii Data Book, 1974). The U.S. military

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[4]There they rapidly became successful as small merchants because the well-to-do Haoles spurned petty trade and the Hawaiians did not have a tradition in commercial enterprise.

gained its first foothold when the Kingdom ceded the use of Pearl Harbor to the U.S. Navy in 1886. Other bases were established after annexation, but prior to 1920 under 10,000 servicemen were stationed in Hawaii and even by 1940 the number was under 25,000.

In the first four decades of the twentieth century, the Hawaiians either stayed in subsistence farming (usually in remote valleys not coveted by the sugar or pineapple growers) or drifted to the towns and usually into unskilled employment. Chinese were increasingly concentrating in the main urban area of Honolulu, where they comprised most of the small businessmen. Many of the Japanese stayed on the plantations although increasing numbers migrated to the towns, where their willingness to work for wages below those received by Caucasians naturally evoked sharp protests from the latter.[5] Up to 1940, most Filipinos were to be found on the plantations. Excluding the Portuguese (who remained largely in middle level positions on plantations, and, at any rate, were not considered "Haole"), the Caucasians dominated the economic and political life of the islands and, in general, were part of the privileged elite.

For the most part, pre-World War II twentieth century Hawaii can be characterized as a closed society due to the influence of the "Big Five." One measure of their success was the almost complete absence of labor unions in spite of a number of costly plantation strikes. Shoemaker in

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[5]For example, in 1937 the average hourly wages for Caucasian and Japanese printers in Honolulu were 84¢ and 42¢, respectively. For a detailed discussion on this topic, see Shoemaker (1938).

1938 (p. 204) characterized the labor laws as "reactionary." Haoles maintained their privileged status and successfully resisted the political and social aspirations of Orientals, who by 1940 constituted a majority of the population. The very isolation of Hawaii from the Mainland minimized the impact of Mainland egalitarian ideals.

The livelihood of the plantation workers did improve greatly during the first four decades of the twentieth century, largely because of changes wrought by planters who feared the formation of labor unions. In contrast to the Mainland, wages were not reduced during the Great Depression, and by the late 1930s plantation workers received considerably better wages than farm workers on the Mainland.[6] However, the upward mobility of plantation workers was severely restricted by the limited number of alternative economic opportunities and their control by the Haole elite.

By the early 1930s, there were strong indications that the prevailing social and economic structures could not last indefinitely. As early as the late 1920s the vast majority of land suitable for sugar and pineapple was already in these uses. The plantations were severely affected by the Great Depression, which resulted in a loss of employment. Haole political dominance, which facilitated their economic control, was aided by a territorial law that prohibited all Oriental immigrants from voting (Fuchs, 1961). However, all persons born in Hawaii were automatically U.S. citizens and thus eligible to vote. Whereas the Japanese

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[6] In 1938, the average monthly wage of U.S. farm workers receiving housing was $27.72. In contrast, the comparable Hawaii plantation worker received $48.88 (Shoemaker, 1938). For a discussion of the considerably harsher plantation conditions existing prior to World War I, see Commissioner General of Immigration (1913).

in 1920 comprised only three percent of the electorate, by 1936 they comprised 25 percent and a projection made at that time indicated that their share would increase to 40 percent by the mid-1940s (Fuchs, 1961). As a consequence, planters and the daily newspapers constantly warned of the "yellow peril" that faced Hawaii as the Japanese electorate increased. Perhaps the biggest cloud on the horizon for the existing elite was the educated children of immigrants whose aspirations did not include working on plantations.

Indeed, the main subversive element which threatened the status quo in pre-World War II society was the public school system. Most of the early teachers were recruited from the Mainland and many were highly idealistic. They taught American ideals of equality and political participation that sharply contrasted with the social and political realities that existed in Hawaii, and by doing so indicated that change was possible.[7]

Planters naturally discouraged the growth of the public school system. Prior to 1900, most Haole children attended private schools. "English standard" schools, which required the passing of a test in English proficiency, were established in 1924 to accommodate the growing number of Haole children who could not attend private schools. The language requirement effectively excluded most Orientals from these "public" schools. Prior to 1930, there was only one public high school

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[7]An excellent description of the impact that these Mainland teachers had on their students is given in Fuchs (1961). A fictional account of the impact one of these teachers had is given in the semi-biographical story All I Asking For Is My Body by Milton Murayama. This book also gives a vivid portrayal of the social and economic conditions existing in a pre-World War II plantation town on Maui.

on each of the islands of Oahu, Kauai, Maui, and the Big Island, although the 1930 state population was 368,000.[8] The high school system was considerably expanded in the 1930s only in response to considerable pressure from the Roosevelt administration. This expansion, in itself, assured that the old social, political, and economic relationships would soon undergo considerable change.

2.4 World War II to Statehood (1959)

The relative calm that characterized Hawaii in the 1930s was shattered by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which ushered in a series of momentous changes. Martial law was immediately declared and lasted until nearly the end of the war. For a time, military authorities debated the internment of all residents of Japanese ancestry, but their sheer numbers, importance to the economy, and the logistics involved in moving them from Hawaii to the Mainland spared all but a small number from the fate of their counterparts on the west coast.[9] Under martial law, all strikes were prohibited and all island residents were frozen to their jobs and islands of residence for the duration of the war.

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[8] A detailed critique of the Hawaii public school system was written in 1920 by a special investigating team from the U.S. Bureau of Education (see U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920). The response of the territorial government was to ignore the report *in toto*.

[9] However, about 1,500 Japanese (mainly leaders of the Shinto and Buddhist temples and Japanese language school officials) were interned and along with 1,000 dependents were sent to relocation camps on the Mainland. Because the existence of the Hawaii internment camps was never publicized and the reluctance of those interned to talk about their experiences, many "locals" were shocked to learn of the Hawaii camps for the first time when the *Honolulu Advertiser* ran a series of articles on them in 1975. A fictional account of the internment of the story's hero on Sand Island and later removal to a Mainland relocation camp in Arkansas is given in Kazuo Miyamoto, *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow* (1967).

In anticipation of a Japanese invasion, many well-to-do Haoles fled the islands immediately following Pearl Harbor and the previously "whites only" neighborhoods in some areas (notably Manoa Valley and Makiki Heights in Honolulu) became largely Oriental. Many persons found employment on military bases at wages that were extremely high by Hawaii standards. Moreover, the influx of servicemen into Hawaii (about 400,000 were stationed on Oahu at the peak of the war) completely altered Hawaii's previous isolation and, in addition, created a windfall for landlords. Servicemen who were stationed in Hawaii before going to the Pacific and Asian military fronts later contributed substantially to Hawaii's postwar tourist boom and influx of new residents from the Mainland.

The group most changed by World War II was the Japanese. Immediately following the Pearl Harbor attack, all Japanese serving in the U.S. military were discharged. However, a decision was made in January, 1943 to recruit Japanese-Americans to serve in Europe. The response, both in Hawaii and on the Mainland was overwhelmingly favorable. The recruits were put into the all-Japanese 442nd Regiment and 100th Battalion, which together furnished 60 percent of Hawaii's fighting force and 80 percent of Hawaii's casualties.[10] Because of the heroic service of these men, the local Japanese community no longer had any possible reason to be defensive against charges of disloyalty. Furthermore, many in these two units experienced Mainland life for the first time, and comparisons drawn

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[10]According to Fuchs (1961, p. 306), the casualty count among the Hawaii Japanese was 700 deaths, 700 permanent injuries, and 1,000 serious wounds.

with Hawaii were not always unfavorable.[11] Many of those who served were able to attend college for the first time as a result of benefits provided by the G.I. Bill. Among these persons were a number of Hawaii's most prominent postwar politicians who attended Mainland law schools.[12]

Prior to the war, union organizational efforts were facilitated by a 1937 federal court ruling that planters could not interfere with union activity. Although union activity was severely curtailed during World War II, unions were quickly organized after its conclusion. Their strength was shown when the I.L.W.U. won a general sugar plantation strike in 1946 and shut down the Hawaii shipping docks for nearly six months in 1949.

During the war, the federal government became Hawaii's second largest employer after the plantations. At the war's peak in 1944, the federal government employed 82,000 civilians. Although federal employment was cut sharply at the end of the war, a construction boom kept unemployment below four percent through 1948. However, a cutback of federal civilian personnel from 28,100 in January, 1949 to 17,200 in March, 1950 resulted in widespread economic distress. In February, 1950 the unemployment rate reached an all time high of 15 percent (Hawaii Economic Foundation, 1950). The civilian population is estimated to

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[11] For example, one veteran stated, "Alot of the boys went to the Mainland and saw how the others live and maybe, whose ways appealed to them and they've come to question some of the things they used to do in an automatic way. When I was on the Mainland during the war I saw all the opportunities offered there . . . Hawaii is such a small place." See Glick et al. (1958).

[12] Prior to 1973, Hawaii had no law school.

have dropped from 484,000 in 1948 to 467,000 in 1954 in spite of a natural increase of 87,300 (computed from Nordyke, 1975).

Beginning in late 1954 and continuing through statehood, the economy improved markedly as a result of the reassignment of the 25th Infantry to Schofield Barracks, a rapid increase in tourism, and the construction boom that accompanied both. Defense expenditures by 1960 were a more important source of revenue than sugar and pineapple combined and visitor expenditures surpassed revenues derived from sugar. Table 2.3 shows the rapid growth of tourist and defense expenditures in contrast to the sugar and pineapple industries, which experienced little change between 1940 and 1960.

Table 2.3

Direct Income from Major Export Industries, 1940-1960
(Values adjusted in terms of real 1960 dollars)

	In Millions of Dollars					
Year	Sugar	Pineapple	Both	Defense	Tourism	Tourist Arrivals
1940	118.3	97.4	211.7	85.9	25.6	25,373
1950	151.5	149.6	301.1	188.9	31.0	46,593
1955	161.9	132.6	294.5	300.2	62.9	109,798
1960	118.4	119.4	237.8	351.4	131.0	296,517

Source: Hawaii Data Book, 1974, Tables 100, 110, and 133.

However, this economic growth was not shared equally by all islands. The state government, virtually all military personnel, and most of the tourist trade were concentrated on Oahu. In contrast, the sugar and pineapple plantations, which were characterized by unchanging

output and a rapidly declining labor force, were largely concentrated on the outer islands. Employment on the plantations had peaked in 1929 and the outer islands actually lost population between 1930 and 1940. However, it was not until after World War II, when outer island workers were no longer frozen to their wartime jobs, that the exodus from the outer islands assumed massive proportions. Between 1940 and 1960, the outer island population declined by approximately 20 percent. The rapid postwar growth of Oahu's population and corresponding decline in the outer island population are the subjects of Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Changes in the Hawaii, Oahu, and Outer Island Populations, 1930-1960

A. Population

Year	State	Oahu	Outer Islands
1930	368,336	202,923	165,413
1940	423,330	258,256	165,074
1950	499,794	353,409	146,774
1960	632,772	500,409	132,363

B. % Change from Previous Census

Year	State	Oahu	Outer Islands	% on Oahu
1930[a]	43.9	64.3	24.9	55.1
1940	11.5	27.3	-.2	61.0
1950	18.1	36.7	-11.1	70.6
1960	26.6	41.8	-9.8	79.1

[a]From 1920 to 1930

Sources: 1930, 1940, 1950, and 1960 U.S. Censuses of Hawaii.

The political fabric of Hawaii changed greatly between World War II and statehood, which was obtained in July 1959. Following the war, the Democratic Party, with the solid backing of Nisei[13] veterans and labor leaders, became competitive with the Republican Party. By 1954, the Democrats were in solid control of both the state senate and house of representatives. When statehood arrived, the old Haole and "Big Five" dominance of the state government had given to a largely non-Haole legislature in which organized labor assumed the largest voice.

2.5 Statehood to the Present[14]

As has been discussed, the period between 1941 and statehood was marked by momentous changes. In contrast, the period from statehood to the present has been marked by a consolidation of these earlier changes.

At present, the economic base is still comprised of tourism, defense expenditures, and sugar and pineapple. However, defense expenditures have grown more slowly than tourist expenditures, which now constitute the largest single source of income. Indeed, Table 2.5 shows an astounding tenfold increase in the number of tourists visiting Hawaii between 1960 and 1975.

The population on the outer islands bottomed out in the early 1960s. Since then, increased employment in the rapidly expanding

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[13]Nisei refers to American born Japanese whose parents (Issei) were born in Japan.

[14]"At present" refers to early 1978 when this chapter was written. Hence, some of the statements (especially those pertaining to the cost of housing) concerning the present situation in Hawaii are no longer

Table 2.5

Direct Income from Major Export Industries, 1960-1975
(Values adjusted in terms of real 1975 dollars)

	In Millions of Dollars					
Year	Sugar	Pineapple	Both	Defense	Tourism	Tourist Arrivals
1960	212.6	214.4	427.0	630.9	235.1	296,500
1965	270.3	206.6	476.9	701.8	367.0	689,500
1970	254.9	188.1	443.0	867.6	807.3	1,514,500
1975	365.8[a]	146.7	502.5	982.8	1,270.0	2,830,000

[a]1975 was characterized by exceptionally high sugar prices

Source: Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Tables 100, 166, and 176.

visitor industry has more than compensated for decreasing agricultural employment. Whereas 85.2 percent of the 9,552 existing hotel rooms in 1960 were located on Oahu, 43.6 percent of the 31,169 hotel rooms added to the state inventory between 1960 and 1975 were located on the outer islands (Hawaii Data Book, 1976). Between 1970 and 1975, the outer island population actually grew at a faster rate than the Oahu population (Table 2.6), reversing the trend toward population concentration on Oahu that began in the 1820s.

Between 1960 and 1970, the unemployment rate was consistently below the national average. However, the unemployment rate grew rapidly during 1970 and, with the exception of 1975, has been one to two points above the national average since 1971. It peaked at nine percent in early 1976 and in 1977 was slightly under eight percent.

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valid. As the research analysis is based in part on the circumstances in Hawaii in early 1978, the author chose not to update this chapter.

Table 2.6

Changes in the Hawaii, Oahu, and Outer Island Population, 1960-1975

A. Population

Year	State	Oahu	Outer Islands
1960	632,772	500,409	132,363
1970	769,913	630,528	139,385
1975 (est)	864,900	704,500	160,400

B. % Change from Previous Census

Year	State	Oahu	Outer Islands	% on Oahu
1960	26.6	41.8	-9.8	79.1
1970	21.7	26.0	5.3	81.9
1975	12.3	11.7	15.1	81.4

Source: Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Table 11.

Since 1962, the state government has been dominated by the so-called "Burns Machine." John A. Burns, who served as governor from 1962 to 1974, was a remarkable individual who acted as a catalyst to hasten the inevitable postwar political changes. Although born in Montana, he was raised in an impoverished part of Honolulu and did not belong to the privileged Haole elite. As a member of the Honolulu Police Commission during World War II he argued against the internment of the Japanese and did everything within his official powers to assist them. He attracted many ardent supporters among the Nisei veterans and became head of a revitalized Democratic Party after World War II. During his tenure as governor, one of the most comprehensive social welfare programs to be found in any state was enacted. Although Burns himself encouraged

inmigration to Hawaii, his administration was very much oriented to "local" interests. When he died in 1975, the outpouring of grief manifested in the local community was graphic evidence of the esteem in which he was held.

Burns was succeeded in 1974 by George Ariyoshi, the lieutenant-governor during Burns's last term of office. Ariyoshi's election was symbolic of postwar political changes as he became the first non-Haole governor of the state and the first AJA (American of Japanese ancestry) to be governor of any state. At present, the Democrats outnumber the Republicans by three to one in both state houses, control all major county political offices, and provide all four national congressmen. In short, the government has been completely transformed from a tool of the "Big Five" to one which is very sensitive to what it considers to be "local" interests and in which labor unions (as well as big companies) are highly influential.

2.6 The People of Hawaii--an Overview

Hawaii is renowned for its multiracial population that lives together in apparent harmony. That there is extensive interaction among Hawaii's racial groups is attested to by the fact that in 1975, 40.1 percent of all marriages in Hawaii were classified by the Hawaii Department of Health as interracial[15] (Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Table 16).

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[15]The term "race" is grossly misused in the popular and even in scholarly literature. For instance, the average Japanese and Korean are as similar in physical characteristics as the average Englishman and Frenchman. Yet, the former two are classified by the U.S. Bureau of the Census as "races" whereas the latter are not. Hence, many marriages classified by the Hawaii Department of Health as "interracial" are, in reality, not interracial at all. In this dissertation the term "ethnic relations" is used in lieu of "race relations."

The high intermarriage rate has naturally resulted in a large number of persons of mixed ancestry. This has created a problem of how persons of mixed ancestry should be classified. The U.S. Census Bureau, especially since the 1950 census, and the Hawaii Department of Health employ different classification criteria for persons of mixed ancestry and, as a result, give different ethnic distributions for comparable dates (Table 2.7). As Table 2.7 indicates, differences are especially marked in the case of Caucasians, Hawaiians, and Filipinos.

Notwithstanding definitional problems, a discussion of Hawaii's ethnic groups is undertaken here for a number of reasons discussed below. The different groups that came to Hawaii brought their cultural norms with them which persist to some degree notwithstanding considerable modifications, mostly in the direction of acquiring "local" values. These cultural norms are assumed here to influence migration decisions. Furthermore, "ethnic relations" can have an impact on migration. To give a Mainland example, few persons would argue that the black exodus from the South prior to the 1960s was not influenced by the systematic discrimination to which blacks there were subjected. Lastly, as a practical matter, differential outmigration rates may have a marked impact on the future ethnic distribution of Hawaii's population.[16]

Approximately half of Hawaii's nonwhite residents share an East Asian, i.e., Oriental ancestry. Samuels (1970) speaks of a local "Oriental in-group" consisting of Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans. Leon

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[16]The other factors influencing future changes will be differential rates of inmigration and natural increase.

Table 2.7

Ethnic Composition of Hawaii, 1950-1975
According to the U.S. Census Bureau (A) and the
Hawaii Department of Health (B)

U.S. Census Bureau

	1950[a]		1950[b]		1960		1970	
Ethnic Group	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Caucasian	114,793	23.0	114,793	23.0	202,230	32.0	298,160	38.7
Japanese	184,598	36.9	180,521	36.1	203,876	32.2	217,307	28.3
Filipino	61,062	12.2	53,391	10.7	68,691	10.9	93,915	12.2
Chinese	32,376	6.5	29,501	5.9	38,119	6.0	52,039	6.8
Hawaiian	12,245	2.5	12,245	2.5	10,502	1.7	71,375	9.3
Pt. Hawaiian	73,845	14.8	73,845	14.8	91,597	14.5		
Korean	7,030	1.4	5,111	1.0	*		8,656	1.1
Negro	2,651	.5	1,928	.4	4,943	.8	7,573	1.0
Mixed	*		20,337	4.1	*		*	
Other	11,169	2.2	8,120	1.6	12,864	2.0	19,536	2.5
Total	499,769		499,769		632,772		768,561	

B. Hawaii Department of Health

	1960[c]		1970[d]		1975[e]		1975[f]	
Ethnic Group	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Caucasian	162,689	25.7	255,437	33.0	279,128	33.7	230,080	27.8
Japanese	204,079	32.3	207,379	26.8	235,257	28.4	219,823	26.6
Filipino	56,252	8.9	61,240	7.9	109,127	13.2	83,790	10.1
Chinese	35,855	5.7	29,996	3.9	47,482	5.7	35,861	4.3
Hawaiian	11,294	1.8	7,697	1.0	98,177	11.9	10,933	1.3
Pt. Hawaiian	105,529	16.7	125,224	16.2			135,286	16.4
Korean	*		7,201	.9	13,048	1.6	10,731	1.3
Negro	4,193	.7	5,925	.8	9,416	1.1	7,637	.9
Mixed	45,801	7.2	60,770	7.9	*		76,325	9.2
Other	7,000	1.1	12,793	1.7	33,871	4.1	16,929	2.0
Total	632,772		773,632		827,399		827,399	

* Not counted separately.

[a]All persons with some Hawaiian ancestry counted as part-Hawaiian. All persons with Negro but no Hawaiian ancestry counted as Negro. All persons of Oriental-Caucasian ancestry classified by ancestry of Oriental parent. All persons counted as Caucasian indicated no nonwhite ancestry. This classification was used in the 1960 census, although in contrast to

Table 2.7 (continued) Ethnic Composition of Hawaii, 1950-1975 According to the U.S. Census Bureau (A) and the Hawaii Department of Health (B)

1950, census enumerators did not specify the bases for classification unless asked to do so by the respondent. In the 1970 census, respondents filled out census forms without guidelines, and part-Hawaiian was dropped as a category. Children of mixed Oriental-Caucasian ancestry were classified by the ancestry of the father.

[b]With all persons of mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry classified as "mixed."

[c]Based on the 1964-1966 Department of Health Survey. The Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development decided the ethnic distribution as shown by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, was "all washed up." Therefore, the census figures were readjusted to conform with what the census "should have shown." Those presently in HDPED disclaim any knowledge of how the readjustments were done.

[d]Based on a sample of 19,344 persons surveyed by the Hawaii State Department of Health.

[e]Based on a sample of 38,818 persons surveyed by the Hawaii State Department of Health. Criteria used were the same as those used in the 1970 census. Military barracks population of approximately 30,000 were excluded. My guess is that including the barracks population would add about 25,000 to the Caucasian and 3,000 to the Negro population, with the remaining 2,000 scattered among all other groups.

[f]Survey sample the same as above, but persons classified according to Hawaii State Department of Health criteria. Criteria are the same as used in the 1950 census.

Sources: U.S. Census of Population, 1950, 1960, and 1970; HDPED Report 119, April 2, 1977, Table 5; Hawaii Data Book, 1969, Table 6; and Hawaii Data Book, 1971, Table 9.

(1975), in a study of public high school students in Hawaii, found that ethnicity was more important than social class in shaping aspirations. He classified Japanese, Chinese and Koreans as the "East" group and found them to be sharply differentiated from all others, who were lumped together as the "West" group. The "East" group was characterized as having a higher likelihood of educational mobility, a stronger desire for high occupational status, an inclination towards stricter study habits, a tendency of dating and going to movies less as well as spending less time alone or outside the house, and a greater propensity to spend time with friends than members of the "West" group.

Within the Oriental group discussed above, the Japanese, who comprise about 30 percent of the Hawaii population, are by far the most numerous. They also comprise the most studied group in Hawaii. Studies by Kawakami (1955) and Johnson (1971) have indicated that family ties, as well as the children's sense of responsibility towards parents are very strong among the local Japanese. Johnson found that kinship ties were actually stronger among the Sansei (third generation) than among the Nisei.[17] Local Japanese culture is characterized by the accumulation of mutual obligations with one's family, other relatives, and friends after one reaches adulthood (see Ogawa, 1974).

In general, Japanese parents have high aspirations for their children and are willing to make necessary personal sacrifices and

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[17]However, in her study she included only couples in which both spouses were Japanese. Intermarriage has increased tremendously among the Sansei (prior to World War II, less than four percent of Japanese intermarried; 1975 data show a rate of 35 percent). It is a reasonable surmise that those who are least "Japanese" are most likely to intermarry.

exercise sufficient parental authority to facilitate the achievement of their aspirations. Male dominance is marked in traditional Japanese society and persists in the local Japanese population, although in considerably modified form. Recent studies by Sue (1973) and Hirano (1974) have indicated increasing dissatisfaction among AJA females with their subordinate family roles, whereas their male counterparts indicate satisfaction with the "status quo."

The Chinese comprise approximately four percent of Hawaii's population. Although much has been written concerning their rapid economic rise after leaving the plantations, little has been written concerning their present cultural attributes. In the 1960s, more than half of the marriages of Chinese involves a non-Chinese partner, most commonly a Japanese (Hsu, 1972). However, almost three quarters of Hawaii-born Chinese mothers included in a recent survey limited most of their social activities to other Chinese couples (Young, 1972). The same survey indicated that 85 percent of those interviewed had lived in an extended family situation for some period of time, and that 30 percent thought it desirable for married sons and daughters to live for an indefinite period of time with the parents. Hsu, in generalizing about Chinese-American families both in Hawaii and on the Mainland, states that family bonds are strongest between parents and children (especially sons), rather than between husband and wife or between siblings. In the absence of scholarly material differentiating characteristics of the local Japanese and Chinese, Japanese stereotypes of the Chinese (given in Samuels, 1970) are instructive, albeit biased. In comparing the Chinese to themselves, the Japanese view them as being "sharper business types," aloof, stingy with money, and more materialistic.

Koreans comprise about 1.5 percent of the Hawaii population. Prior to 1969, they were in the process of losing their separate identity because of intermarriage,[18] largely with Japanese and Chinese. Between 1969 and 1975, however, more than 6,000 Koreans immigrated to Hawaii and there are now two distinct groups; the recent immigrants, many of whom are quite poor, and the generally prosperous descendants of the immigrants who arrived in the first decade of this century.[19]

Filipinos comprise about 15 percent of Hawaii's population. They can roughly be divided into two groups: those who came prior to 1935 and the balance, numbering well over 30,000, who have immigrated to Hawaii since the immigration laws were liberalized in 1965. Although most Filipinos appear to be Oriental to the casual Mainland observer, they are not considered "Oriental" by the "Oriental in-group" discussed earlier because the latter stereotype them as "dark" with Latin traits of quick temper, jealousy and violence, tained with Spanish blood, and having a low standard of living (see Samuels, 1970). Although a fair volume of literature exists on the Filipinos in Hawaii, none are informative about the cultural characteristics of the Filipinos or their subsequent modifications in Hawaii.

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[18]Between 1960 and 1965, 80.1 and 77.1 percent of marriages of Korean brides and grooms, respectively, involved a non-Korean (Lind, 1967).

[19]That they have little in common is demonstrated by the heated disputes that occurred when the recent immigrants began attending the "Korean" churches in large numbers in the early 1970s. Disputes over what language to use in the services and the content of sermons (the recent arrivals tend to have a much stronger evangelical orientation) have been resolved only by the withdrawal of one of the groups from active participation in the involved churches.

Approximately 90 percent of the Filipinos have antecedents in the Ilocano speaking area in the northwestern Philippines. In the Philippines, the Ilocanos are viewed as hardworking, thrifty, and devoted to kin, but also aggressive, possessively jealous, and quick to resort to violence (Lasmon et al., 1971). Alcantara (1975) notes that local Filipino children are raised in a social, cooperative, and unhurried atmosphere. Much of the child care is left to older siblings, if they are available. Typically, by the time the local Filipinos reach adolescence, parental control has lessened considerably and peer group orientation is strong. Kinship ties are strong and households commonly contain not only the nuclear family, but assorted other relatives as well. Indeed, nearly 96 percent of 500 recent Filipino immigrants interviewed indicated they had relatives already living in Hawaii before they immigrated (Lasmon et al.). In contrast to members of the "Oriental in-group," the Ilocanos did not come from a culture in which education was highly valued. This may be a factor in the generally low educational levels found among Hawaii-born Filipinos.

Hawaii Department of Health statistics indicate that approximately one-sixth of the population are either pure or part-Hawaiian.[20] Although traditional values have been transformed by Western contact, a large number of those having Hawaiian ancestry consider themselves "Hawaiian" and, to varying degrees, have value orientations that can be considered

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[20]However, the number of pure Hawaiians is certainly far less than the 10,000 indicated by the Hawaii Department of Health surveys. One estimate places the number as low as 500 (Schmitt, 1973).

"Hawaiian."[21] In common with other groups, the Hawaiian subculture strongly emphasizes kinship ties. However, the definition of kin is quite fluid and can include many persons unrelated by blood. One manifestation of this is the common practice of "hanai" whereby an infant or child may be given to a childless couple, relative, or a good friend and the child becomes part of the adoptive family (see Howard et al., 1971). Generosity and sharing are stressed in the subculture and it is often argued that the financial demands of friends and relatives make it difficult for a Hawaiian to succeed in business.[22]

Childrearing patterns are quite distinct from those of other groups. Typically, a mother lavishes attention on a newborn infant but loses considerable interest after a couple of years when another infant is born. By the time the child reaches adolescence he is likely to spend most of his free time with peers and have only marginal contact with the rest of the household (Howard et al., 1971). As a result, the average adolescent becomes quite independent of adults and is unlikely to be responsive to adult authority represented by a schoolteacher

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[21]Lind (Honolulu Advertiser, December 24, 1974, p. A1) argues that part-Hawaiians invariably consider themselves more Hawaiian than whatever their other ethnic derivations are. There is some truth to the statement, but it is highly exaggerated.

[22]In a talk on Hawaiians attended by the author, Dr. George Kanehele, a prominent businessman, bemoaned the lack of Hawaiian businessmen and asked the rhetorical question, "How can one be a good Hawaiian and a good businessman?" A report by the Census Bureau that the gross sales of Hawaiian-owned businesses in California were more than three times those in Hawaii stimulated much interest and hypothesizing that Hawaiian businessmen in California were more successful because they were free of the financial demands of friends and relatives. See Bob Krauss, "How's Business? It's Better on Mainland for Hawaiians." Honolulu Advertiser, October 23, 1974, p. A1.

(Gallimore et al., 1972). In a typical Hawaiian family the mother is much more favorably disposed towards education, but the son typically identifies with his father who takes a more casual view toward education (McNassor and Hugo, 1972).

The Caucasians comprise the last group to be discussed here.[23] The present number of unmixed Caucasians is in the neighborhood of 300,000, or about 35 percent of Hawaii's population. Ironically, the contemporary Caucasians represent the least studied major group in Hawaii. For purposes of this study, the Caucasian population can be divided into four distinct groups: (1) the Portuguese; (2) those Haoles with Hawaii antecedents predating World War II; (3) those in the military community; and (4) the recent civilian inmigrants (World War II to the present) and their offspring.

The 1930 census, which reported 27,588 Portuguese residing in Hawaii, was the last to enumerate the Portuguese as a separate group. The 1964-66 Hawaii Department of Health Survey estimated that 21,720 unmixed Portuguese were residing in Hawaii (HDPED, 1969). The Portuguese are not considered "Haole" because they were brought to Hawaii to work on the plantations and were never accepted as social equals by the Haole

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[23]The major groups excluded include the following: (1) the Puerto Ricans (numbering about 5,000), most of whom were classified as Caucasian in the 1970 census but who are considered as separate in the local Hawaii context; (2) the Samoans (numbering perhaps 13,000), most of whom have moved to Hawaii since 1970 and who are culturally closer to the Hawaiians than to any other group; and (3) the blacks (numbering about 12,000), of whom more than two-thirds belong to the military community.

elite. They are often stereotyped as hardworking, loyal to family, and unintelligent.[24]

Most Portuguese who came to Hawaii were peasants from the Azores and Madieira Islands, the most impoverished areas in Portugal. They came from a static traditional society in which upward mobility was virtually impossible, and for most the move to middle level plantation positions represented a considerable advancement. Education was generally not valued by the immigrants who viewed their place in life as being the same from generation to generation. Women were rarely encouraged to seek gainful employment because in traditional Portuguese society a woman's primary role was that of a homemaker and mother.

The results of these characteristics on their present socio-economic status were dramatically shown in the 1964-66 survey of Oahu (see Schmitt, 1967b). Of all groups considered,[25] families headed by Portuguese had the lowest incomes of all civilian families with incomes averaging approximately 25 percent below those of all groups and 40 percent below those of "other Caucasians." In spite of generally low family incomes, only 32.7 percent of Portuguese females aged 17 and over were in the labor force, as compared with a female Japanese labor force participation rate of 55.8 percent and an overall female labor force participation rate of 46.4 percent. Portuguese male and female

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[24]In Hawaii, "dumb Portugee" jokes are widespread and are the counterpart of "dumb Polack" jokes on the Mainland.

[25]Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Portuguese, "other Caucasian," Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, Chinese, mixed non-Hawaiian, and "other."

unemployment rates were indicated to be 5.3 and 6.3 percent, respectively, compared to overall rates of 2.4 and 3.9 percent. Among Portuguese aged 45 and over, 1.1 percent had completed at least one year of college compared to an overall state rate of 16.9 percent. Among those aged 25-44, 9.1 percent completed at least one year of college as compared to an overall rate of 27.3 percent. By comparison, the Filipinos in both of the above groups were characterized by higher educational levels in spite of their later arrival in Hawaii and generally low levels of education obtained in the Philippines.

Furthermore, the Portuguese are more concentrated on the outer islands than any other group and the data given above refer only to Oahu. In 1964-66 more than 35 percent of the Portuguese lived on the outer islands, where incomes then averaged about 20 percent below those of Oahu. Within the outer islands, they are most concentrated in plantation areas.[26] Therefore, the relative economic position of the Portuguese vis-à-vis all groups is probably worse on the state level than the Oahu data taken alone suggest. Because the Portuguese differ in many respects from the non-Iberian Caucasians, they will be treated as a separate group in this dissertation whenever possible.

The second Caucasian group discussed here is comprised of those non-Portuguese who came to Hawaii before World War II and their descendants.[27]

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[26]The survey indicated that Portuguese comprised about one-sixth of the population in the Koloa District on Kauai and one-seventh of the population in the Makawao District on Maui. On Kauai, 60 percent of all Caucasians were indicated to be Portuguese; comparable shares for Maui and the Big Island were 40 and 38 percent, respectively.

[27]In local parlance they are called "kamaainas" (i.e., old time residents). Strictly speaking, most nonwhites are also "kamaainas," but

Their numbers are almost impossible to estimate because they cannot be separately identified in the 1970 census. The 1940 census showed about 104,000 Caucasians, of whom probably about 30,000 were Portuguese and 40,000 others were military related. This suggests an upper limit of 35,000 non-military related Haoles who were then living in Hawaii. A high proportion of those in Hawaii before 1940 were members of the upper or upper middle class because the inmigration of "working class" Haoles was greatly reduced by the opposition of the elite and the willingness of nonwhite workers to be employed at wages below those acceptable to most potential migrants (Hormann, 1950). Although members of this group no longer dominate political affairs, their influence in other ways has not been greatly disturbed. They are still dominant in the management of "Big Five" companies, as well as many other large local firms started prior to World War II. They still belong to exclusive social clubs[28] and many send their children to private schools, notably Punahou, which although 60 percent Caucasian is no longer the white "bastion" it represented prior to 1960. In general, they maintain a low profile and are most in evidence to the general public as financial sponsors for "civic" functions such as the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra.

A third Caucasian group consists of military personnel and dependents. At present, they comprise about 80 percent of the approximately 60,000 military personnel and 80,000 military dependents stationed in Hawaii.

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the term is usually used to distinguish the long established Caucasian residents from the newer arrivals ("Malihinis").

[28]The Pacific Club, the most exclusive social club in Hawaii, began admitting Orientals to membership only in 1967.

More than 99 percent of the military contingent are stationed on Oahu. The usual tours of duty in Hawaii are two and three years. Although the military contingent has been fairly stable in numbers since 1955, few of its members can be regarded as permanent members of the Hawaii community.

Those Caucasians who are not military related and who moved to Hawaii after 1940 comprise, along with their offspring, a growing share of Hawaii's population. Perhaps 150,000, or 18 percent of Hawaii's population belong to this group.[29] At least 95 percent of the Mainland-born who annually move to Hawaii are Caucasian. Between 1951 and 1975, an estimated 355,000 nonmilitary related "intended residents" were counted by state sponsored passenger surveys of westbound passengers to Hawaii.[30] The discrepancy between this estimate and the estimated 150,000 Haoles whose Hawaii origins do not predate World War II is in itself evidence that most of the intended residents no longer reside in Hawaii.

The passenger surveys[31] show that the average adult intended resident is in his or her twenties, equally likely to be single or

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[29]This estimate is derived from the fact that there are approximately (as of 1975) 300,000 unmixed Caucasians in Hawaii. Perhaps 25,000 are Portuguese and another 25,000 have Hawaii antecedents predating World War II. Another 100,000 to 110,000 are in the military community. This leaves 140,000 to 150,000 in the residual category.

[30]Only since 1961 has a distinction been made between military dependents and other civilians in the passenger survey. The nonmilitary related count for the period between 1961 and 1975 was 271,647. By assuming that each serviceman enumerated in the 1951 to 1960 surveys was accompanied by one dependent (a consistent average in the surveys taken between 1961 and 1975) an estimate of 85,000 nonmilitary related arrivals between 1951 and the end of 1960 was derived. For trends in the annual number of arrivals, see Figure 4.2.

[31]In its statistical report series, HDPED since 1962 has annually published a report on the characteristics of the intended residents. Readers interested in detailed characteristics of the intended immigrants are referred here to these reports.

married, and either without children or with one or two young children. The surveys consistently show more than 60 percent of the party heads to have professional, technical, or managerial occupations. In spite of the fact that other states blessed with climatic amenities (especially Florida, Arizona, and California) have been meccas for retirees, the surveys have consistently indicated that fewer than three percent of all intended residents are over 60 years of age.

Culturally, the large majority of Caucasians who move to Hawaii from the Mainland are typical of those from the middle and upper-middle classes, although a highly visible minority are "transients,"[32] and "surf-bums," to use local parlance. However, those who stay in Hawaii generally make varying degrees of adjustment to local cultural norms.

Although the different groups discussed above are characterized by cultural differences, there is a "local culture" which is shared by most residents. Central to local behavior is the concept of "aloha," which despite its appropriation and banalization for use in the tourist industry is nevertheless fervently believed in by most local residents and constitutes a potent force for shaping behavior. Basically, the term "aloha" conveys the spontaneous giving of friendship and help ("Kokua") without any thought of recompense. Those outsiders who have experienced it know that it has meaning far beyond that conveyed in tourist slogans. Another concept governing social interaction is summarized by the local expression "don't talk stink," which essentially

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[32]The term "transient" is a polite word for "hippie."

conveys the view that public criticism is undesirable as well as is behavior designed to draw attention to one's self at the expense of others.

There is a local cuisine which is indulged by persons of all backgrounds[33] and almost all local residents acquire great facility in using chopsticks. The exchanging of leis on special visits is almost universal. Most persons who have lived in Hawaii for any extended period of time use at least a few Hawaiian words in everyday conversation. Very common are elaborate weddings and gift giving on special occasions. Island speech patterns are distinct from those found on the Mainland and the use of "pidgin" persists, notwithstanding the official position of the public school system. "Kin" and social picnics, which may include several hundred persons, often occupy most of available public park space, particularly during the summer months. "Hawaiian" music is locally popular and an evolving means of local self-expression.

The characteristics mentioned above are sources of great pride among local residents and are commonly believed to indeed make Hawaii "unique" and a more "civilized" place to live than the Mainland.

2.7 The People of Hawaii: Income Levels

Perhaps the most significant change that has occurred since World War II has been the movement of much of the nonwhite population into

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[33]Some items that make up the local cuisine are poi and lau lau (Hawaiian), sushi rolls, teriyaki steak, and saimin (Japanese), malasadas (Portuguese), kim chee (Korean), manapua (Chinese), and rice.

middle-class status. However, as Table 2.8 indicates, large disparities in income persist among Hawaii's different ethnic groups.

Table 2.8

Distribution of Family Income Before Taxes
by Military Status and Ethnic Stock of Family Head, 1973

Race	Percent Earning Under $10,000	$10,000-$24,999	$25,000+	Median Income	No. of Families
Civilian Families					
Chinese	26.4	57.8	15.8	$15,228	9,639
Korean	34.3	50.4	15.3	14,401	1,611
Japanese	26.0	62.6	11.4	14,344	55,815
Caucasian	31.6	52.5	15.9	14,097	40,727
Hawaiian[a]	46.6	48.0	5.4	10,436	23,790
Mixed	51.8	43.2	5.0	9,732	6,800
Filipino	52.9	43.7	3.4	9,634	19,194
Puerto Rican	67.1	32.0	.9	7,598	1,557
Samoan	82.9	17.1	0	6,876	1,007
Military Families					
Caucasian	57.5	36.8	5.7	$ 9,277	22,514
Filipino	78.2	21.8	0	8,039	1,333
Negro	80.2	19.8	0	7,724	1,322

[a]Includes part-Hawaiians.

Source: Mildred Lee, Ethnic Structures in Hawaii, 1975, Table 16. Data derived from 1972-74 Hawaii Department of Health Survey.

This table shows that among the civilian population in 1973, Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean families reported roughly equal incomes that are far in excess of those of any other group.[34] Economically, the Caucasians now share dominance with the Orientals.

[34]Had Portuguese been distinguished from other Caucasians, the median "Caucasian" income would have approximated that of the Chinese. Had

College enrollment data[35] for the Spring semester of 1977 at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (which includes almost 90 percent of state enrollment in all four year programs) indicate that the favored economic position of the above-mentioned groups will continue in the near future. While the Japanese and Chinese comprised 27 and four percent of the state population, respectively, they accounted for 40 and 12 percent of the enrollment. The Caucasian share of the enrollment (27 percent) approximated their share of the population (28 percent). However, Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians who comprised 18 percent of the population and Filipinos, whose share of the population was 10 percent, were grossly underrepresented. Their shares of the total enrollment were two and three percent, respectively.

Data given in this section provide graphic evidence that there are significant economic differences among Hawaii's various groups. The local Oriental population has been the greatest beneficiary of the great social and economic changes that took place after World War II.

2.8 Ethnic Relations in Hawaii

It is the author's view that whereas a number of excellent studies exist that describe ethnic relations in pre-1940 Hawaii,[36] none exist that comprehensively describe contemporary race relations in Hawaii.

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recent Korean immigrants been excluded, the median Korean income would have been somewhat above that of the Chinese.

[35]As reported in Ka Leo O Hawaii, July 18, 1977, p. 6.

[36]The two best works discussing race relations in pre-World War II Hawaii are Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (1933) and Edwin Burrows, Hawaiian Americans (1947).

The discussion that follows is admittedly somewhat speculative and subjective, but has been included because of its possible relevance in understanding outmigration from Hawaii.

In comparing ethnic relations in Hawaii to those of other multiracial island societies such as Fiji, Mauritius, or Trinidad, one cannot help but be impressed by the following features that characterize Hawaii but not the other above-mentioned countries: the many common cultural elements that are widely shared, the lack of overt racial hostilities, the lack of polarization reflected in political parties, a high intermarriage rate, and the relative absence of residential segregation. However, a discerning observer also learns that the image of complete racial harmony and openhearted acceptance of newcomers that is promoted by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau is far from totally accurate.

When one discusses "ethnic relations" in Hawaii there are actually two partly although not completely independent issues: how persons view each other in terms of ethnic extraction, and what can be termed "local-nonlocal" interaction. The latter issue is undoubtedly of more importance in influencing outmigration and will be discussed first.

Given Hawaii's geographical isolation and unique history as compared to the Mainland, it is to be expected that a strong "in-group feeling" exists. The definition of a "local" that is most commonly used is one who was born in Hawaii and is culturally "local," although for some, a non-Hawaii born resident who has lived in Hawaii for an appreciable period of time and unselfconsciously adopts "local" patterns of behavior can also be considered as "local." For many, the definition excludes blacks and those Caucasians who are neither Portuguese nor

Puerto Rican. In the eyes of most residents, even a Japanese from the Mainland or a native of the Philippines cannot qualify as "local"; they were not born in Hawaii and are not considered to have the shared experiences of the "locals."[37]

The popular stereotype of a Haole from the Mainland (some also include Hawaii-born Haoles) is one who is brash, selfish, "loud-mouthed," unfriendly, and with feelings of superiority towards other groups.[38] For a non-Haole to be called "haolefied" conjures up these negative traits. Newcomers are commonly believed to compete with the local population for beaches, jobs, housing, and welfare payments. As a practical matter, the local population has achieved economic parity and political dominance after decades of being subordinated by the Haole elite. The demographic impact of the newcomers is perceived by many to pose a threat to their hard-won gains.

What sparse literature exists on the interaction of newcomers with the resident population indicates that many, if not most newly arrived Caucasians believe that it is difficult to make friends with locals (see Hormann, 1950 and Facer, 1961). Hormann notes that several of his acquaintances returned to the Mainland for this reason.[39] Grant (1974) in

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[37]Evidence of this is the derisive term "Katonk" applied to Mainland-born Japanese, and the characterization of recent fighting among students in Hawaii high schools as being between locals and newcomers even though all of the participants in some fights have been ethnic Filipinos.

[38]This stereotype also applies to Mainland-born Japanese.

[39]The author also knows of a number of persons who returned to the Mainland because they felt socially isolated in Hawaii.

a study of the adjustment of children of recent Caucasian inmigrants in a largely Hawaiian school found that they could form varying degrees of friendship with the local students, depending on what they had to offer (e.g., in the form of help with school work) or their adoption of "local values."[40] However, even the most acculturated were somewhat isolated. The so-called "transients," who arrived in Hawaii in large numbers in the 1960s, evoked an enormous negative local reaction, and numerous newspaper articles appearing between 1966 and 1971 referred to the "transient problem."[41] Largely because of hostility directed towards them, most "transients" eventually left the state.[42] Regarding the Mainland-born Japanese, Johnson (1970) notes that only by marriage to a local Japanese is a Mainland-born Japanese likely to develop extensive social relationships within the local Japanese community.

Newly arrived Caucasians, especially women, often complain of discrimination in hiring practices. The head of the Hawaii State Fair

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[40]However, the adoption of "local values" was opposed by parents who believed they were detrimental to good academic performance in school.

[41]The flavor of these articles is typified by the article "Hippie Controls May Be Asked" that appeared on the front page of the Honolulu Star Bulletin on December 11, 1970. Discussed were the efforts of the Hawaii State Association of Counties to interest the state legislature in enacting statewide measures to control Hawaii's "transient hippie" population.

[42]This information was obtained in a personal communication (March 4, 1976) with the Reverend Howard Corey who worked with the "transients" in Waikiki. In light of the hostility (still present) towards the "transients," it is unfortunate that no one has done a scholarly study on their characteristics, interactions with the local population and impact on the landscape (most marked on the outer islands).

Employment Agency observed that most complaints registered with the agency in Fiscal Year 1974-75 were by Haoles[43] (Honolulu Advertiser, November 15, 1975).

Local-nonlocal tensions discussed here must be put into broader perspective. Such tensions do exist almost everywhere, especially in areas receiving a large inmigration. If a newly arrived Caucasian complains of nonacceptance by his local neighbors, it may be because many local families organize their social activities around kin and various social groups (most notably co-workers) to the exclusion of others in the immediate neighborhood.[44] If nonwhite employers sometimes appear reluctant to hire new residents, the same is also sometimes true of Caucasian employers who believe that there is a good chance that a recent Mainland arrival will move back to the Mainland within a short period of time.[45] Many newcomers do find the local residents to be tolerant and friendly, and express views on Hawaii's race relations that are akin to the official views of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau. A newcomer's adjustment in Hawaii undoubtedly depends on many factors; length of residence in Hawaii, prior attitudes, success in making local friends, and

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[43]Noteworthy is the fact that the second largest number of complaints were filed by blacks, although they comprise only 0.5 percent of the civilian community. Unfortunately, space does not permit a detailed discussion of black-local relations.

[44]In a Y.W.C.A. class session titled "Haoles in Hawaii" that was attended by the author, virtually everyone in attendance was Caucasian. In the discussion that followed the lecture, many in attendance complained bitterly about the unfriendliness of their neighbors. The one Oriental woman in the audience finally spoke and said that although her neighbors were Oriental, she did not know them because her interactions were primarily with relatives.

[45]Concerning newcomers from the Mainland who seek employment, Dorothy Hubbard, who heads an employment agency, has stated, "Fresh from

that elusive attribute called "luck." What is of primary relevance to this study is the fact that many newcomers do not believe that they are treated fairly by the local residents.

The second issue of ethnic relations among "locals" will be only briefly discussed in the form of a series of observations as it is believed by the author to have a minimal impact on outmigration. Overt hostility among the different local ethnic groups is rare. Discrimination in housing does occur[46] but does not appear to be a serious problem. The residents of Hawaii are justly proud of the relative abasence of neighborhoods inhabited almost solely by one ethnic group. There is a tendency of some employers (mainly of small firms) to hire members of their own ethnic group and this works mainly against the Filipinos and Hawaiians, who are rarely employers (see Lasmon et al., 1971). People in Hawaii do tend to be race conscious and often refer to their friends or acquaintances by such terms as "my Haole friend." Stereotyping of the different racial groups is widespread. A casual glance at friendship cliques indicates considerable interaction across racial lines, but there are many cliques exclusively comprised of one ethnic group. Leon (1975) noted that among public high school students there is a tendency for cliques to be dominated by one ethnic group but that the incidence is much lower than indicated in a survey taken in 1957.

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the Mainland, they are the most difficult to place. The employer knows that if they cannot make ends meet they'll take off. As soon as they make enough money for plane fare, they're off." See Sanford Zalberg, "Qualifying is a 2-way Problem," Honolulu Advertiser, January 10, 1975, p. A1.

[46]For example, before the practice was outlawed by fair housing laws in the late 1960s, it was not unusual to see classified rental ads that specified "AJAs only." See Hirata (1971).

Perhaps the greatest amount of friction is generated over purported ethnic imbalances in the state government. At present, the governor, lieutenant governor, the leaders of both the state house and senate, and about half of all state legislators are Japanese. This high proportion of elected officials who are Japanese has led to charges of Japanese domination.[47] Gross statistical imbalances in the state civil service, and the Department of Education, which administers all public education throughout the state, have led to charges of "racism" in hiring practices (see Haas, 1975).[48] Irrespective of whether there is gross discrimination in hiring for the generally secure state government jobs,[49] its existence is widely believed and friction is thereby created.

What has been stated above about ethnic relations must be put in the context of the generally poor past treatment of Orientals and Filipinos on the Mainland. A local nonwhite may believe discrimination exists and

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[47]Indeed, what opposition existed to statehood just prior to its reality was largely based on fears of "Japanese domination." See Fuchs (1961) on the poll on attitudes taken just prior to statehood.

[48]A survey of state government employees undertaken in 1975 included all state government agencies except the Department of Education and the University of Hawaii. Fifty-one percent of all employees were Japanese. The Hawaiians comprised 17 percent (their share of the civilian workforce) but were concentrated in low paying maintenance and security positions. Caucasians and Filipinos with fifteen and three percent, respectively of the government workforce, were underrepresented. See Haas (1975).

A survey of employees in the D.O.E. taken in 1974 indicated that Japanese comprised 58 percent of all teachers and 67 percent of all educational officers. Including Chinese and Koreans, these rates rise to 66 and 79 percent, respectively. See Tom Kåser, "Survey of Teachers Released by D.O.E., Honolulu Advertiser, December 19, 1974, p. A3.

[49]Educated Japanese and other Orientals seeking desirable jobs were effectively shut out of the "Big Five" management in the 1950s and 1960s and many therefore chose government service instead.

sometimes adversely affects him, but nevertheless usually believes he "belongs" in Hawaii and does not feel self-conscious about being in a minority group. If intergroup relationships do stimulate outmigration, it is primarily among newcomers from the Mainland.

2.9 Economic Problems in Hawaii

The 1970 census suggested that the economic conditions were then excellent in Hawaii. It indicated a median family income of $11,554 and an unemployment rate of 3.1 percent. By way of comparison, the median family income nationwide was $9,554 and the unemployment rate was 4.2 percent. Among all states Hawaii ranked third in median income and second lowest in unemployment.

However, cost of living indices kept for Oahu since 1961 indicate that the cost of living in Hawaii has consistently been approximately 20 percent above that of the United States as a whole. This high cost of living results largely from two factors: most goods must be shipped in from the Mainland and extra transportation and warehousing costs are therefore incurred, and housing costs are almost double the Mainland average. When adjustments are made for living costs, real family income in Hawaii in 1970 approximated the national average.

Furthermore, a closer scrutiny of the 1970 census reveals a labor force participation rate of 81.5 percent among males aged 16 and over compared to 76.7 percent nationwide. Also indicated was a labor force participation rate of 49.0 percent among females aged 16 and over compared to 41.4 percent nationwide. Among all states, Hawaii's male and female labor force participation rates ranked third and first, respectively. Hawaii also ranked first in the labor force participation rate of

married women with husbands present; 48.0 percent in the labor force, as contrasted with 40.8 percent nationwide. Obviously, the high indicated median income is largely dependent on both spouses working in many families.

Existing data indicate that wages in Hawaii are somewhat lower than the national average in nominal terms and considerably lower in terms of what can be purchased with the wages. Figure 2.2 contains a comparison of real wages adjusted for cost of living differentials for Hawaii, the major west coast cities of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle, and the United States as a whole in four industries for which data are available during the period from 1961 to 1975. It indicates that real wages in Hawaii lag greatly behind those in the west coast cities and that nominal wages in Hawaii are higher than the national average only in contract construction.

A comparison of yearly wages of workers by industry in 1973 for Hawaii and the United States is portrayed in Figure 2.3. Notable is the high wage in agriculture compared to the national average. This reflects the fact that the highly unionized plantation workers receive considerably higher wages than the largely unorganized farm workers on the Mainland. Nominal wages are also higher in Hawaii than nationwide in construction, communication, utilities and government.[50] However, real wages are much lower in retail and wholesale trades, real estate, finance and insurance, and services. These industries are those in which women

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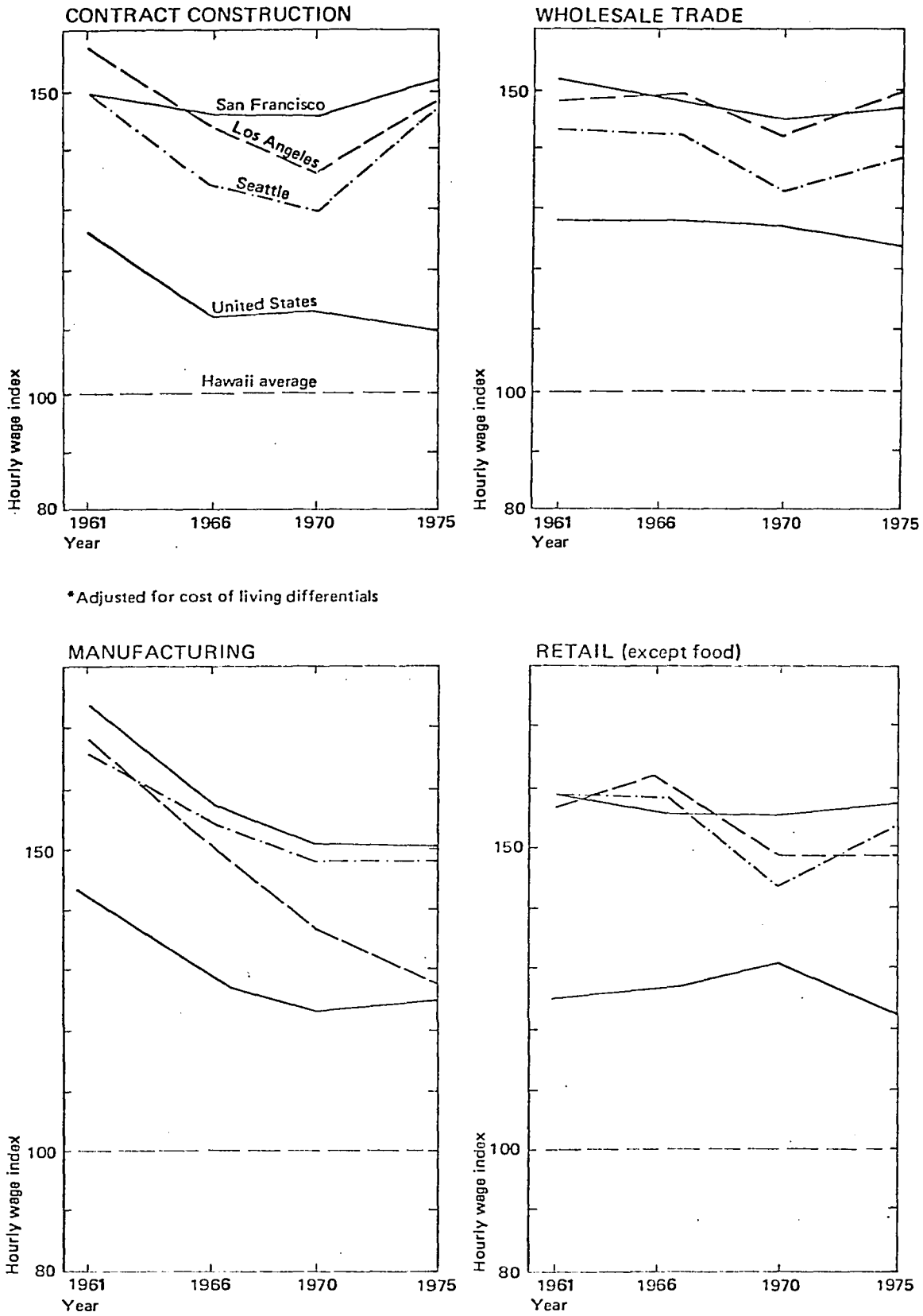
[50]Federal employees receive a nontaxable cost of living allowance (17.5 percent in 1978) in addition to the standard federal salary.

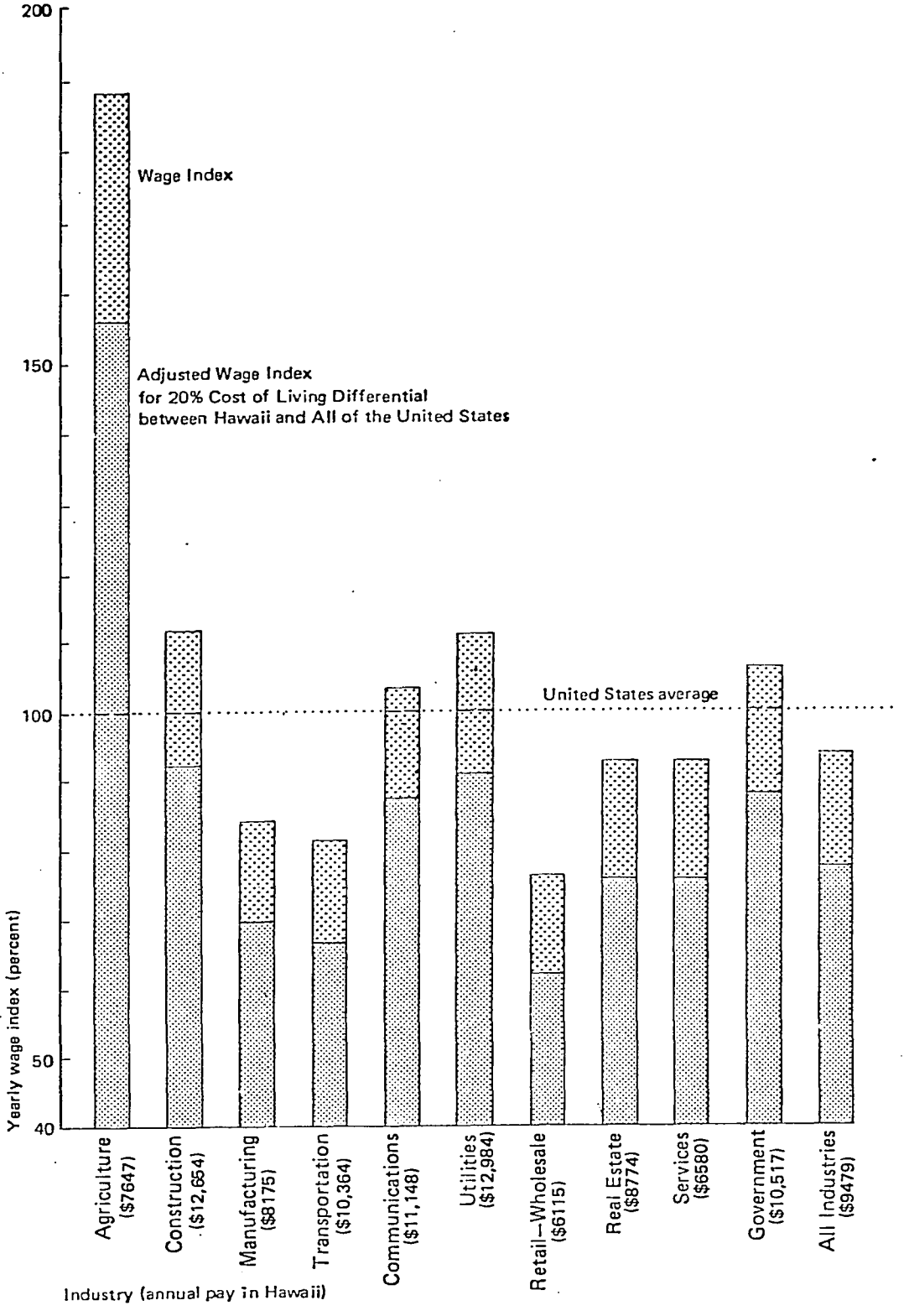
Figure 2.2 Hourly Wage Index* of Selected West Coast Cities (Hawaii = 100)



*Adjusted for cost of living differentials

Sources: U.S. Department of Labor, *Employment and Earnings of States and Areas, 1939–1970, 1975; Consumer Price Index, 1961, 1966, 1970, 1975.*

Figure 2.3 Yearly Wage Index of Hawaii, 1973 (United States = 100)



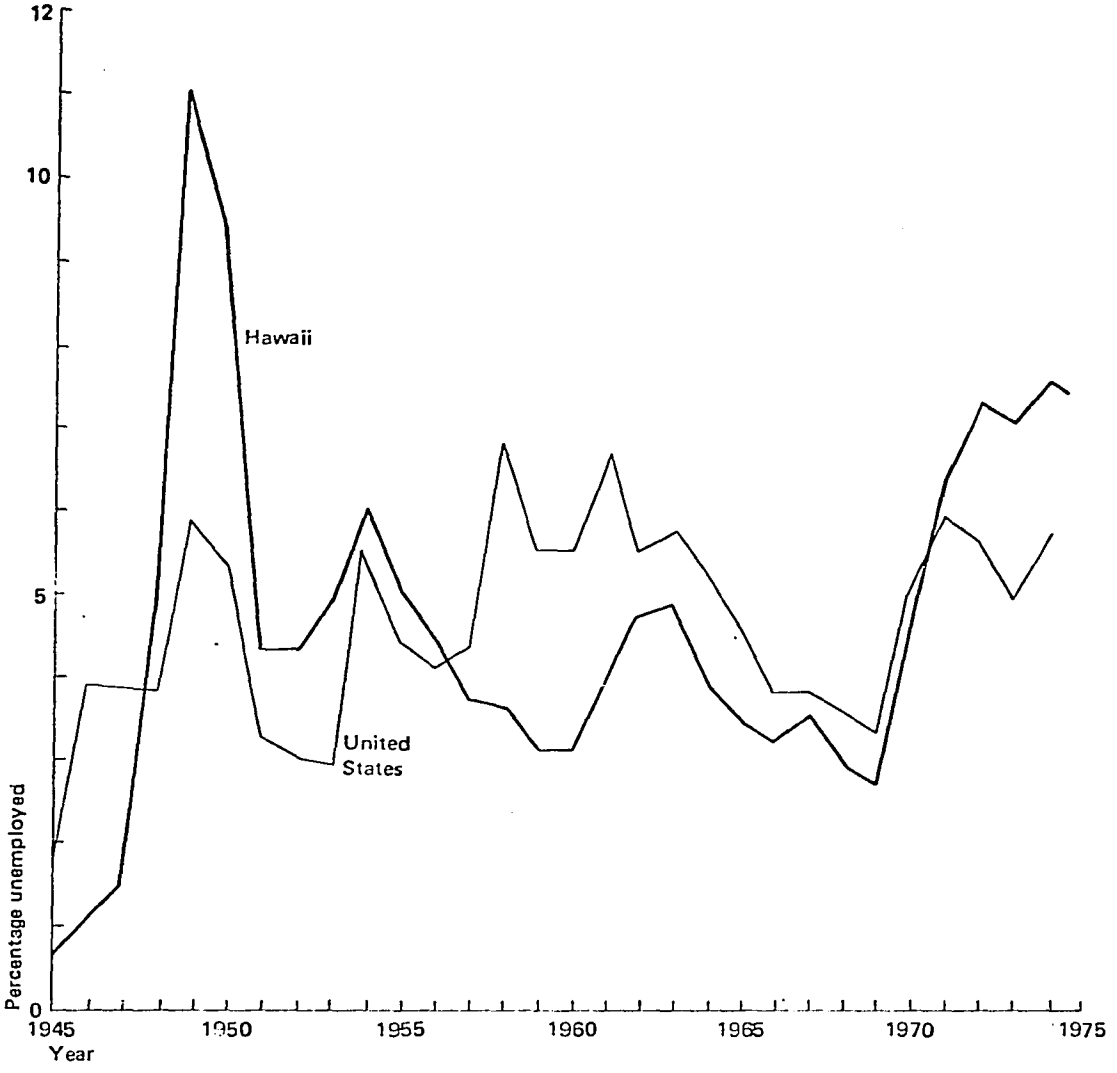
Sources: *Hawaii Data Book*, (1975:Table 151); *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, (1975:Table 595)

comprise the majority of the work force. Overall, in 1973 the annual wage per employee in Hawaii was $8,479, compared to the national average of $9,106. Part of this differential is due to the heavy concentration of Hawaii workers in the generally low paying services and trades (Table 2.9), but standardization of national wages by the Hawaii industrial mix brings the national average down only slightly to $8,979 which is still six percent higher than the Hawaii average in nominal terms and 27 percent higher in real terms. Thus, if most persons migrate to achieve higher wages, a substantial outmigration from Hawaii would be expected for that reason.

Figure 2.4 shows the unemployment rates for Hawaii and the United States for the period 1945-1974. Notable are the extremely low unemployment rate in Hawaii just after World War II, very high unemployment in 1949 and 1950, decreased unemployment rates through the mid-1950s that nevertheless remained above those of the United States, low unemployment rates relative to the national average between 1958 and 1970, and increased unemployment rates during the post-1970 economic recession which affected Hawaii more than the Mainland. That the late 1950s through 1970 were indeed characterized by healthy economic conditions is shown by the expansion of the employed civilian labor foce from 178,656 in 1957 to 304,700 in 1970, an increase of 70 percent (Hawaii Data Book, 1972).

However, the expansion of jobs has been generated mainly by the growth of tourism. This is reflected in the tremendous relative and absolute expansion of the service and trade sectors, as is shown in Table 2.9, which portrays changes in the employed civilian labor force from 1950 to 1975.

Figure 2.4 Unemployment Rates of Hawaii and the United States, 1945 – 1974



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial times to 1970*, 1975; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1976; *Hawaii Data Book*, 1960 and 1976

Table 2.9

Civilian Employment by Industry in Hawaii as a Percentage of the Employed Civilian Labor Force, 1950-75

	Percentage of Total Employment					
			Year			
Industry	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Agriculture	18.1	15.7	8.4	7.2	4.5	2.9
Manufacturing	16.4	13.8	12.4	10.5	8.2	6.9
Service	10.1	11.0	14.1	16.3	18.7	20.6
Trade	18.0	17.4	20.5	21.4	22.6	24.3
Construction	5.8	5.5	8.5	7.5	8.3	8.1
Finance	2.3	2.7	4.1	4.3	5.9	6.7
Transport[a]	7.4	6.3	7.1	7.0	7.8	7.3
Government	22.0	22.2	23.8	24.7	24.2	23.5
Federal	(11.4)	(12.1)	(13.0)	(12.7)	(11.0)	(8.7)
Other	(10.6)	(10.1)	(10.8)	(12.0)	(13.2)	(14.8)
All industries (in 000s)	150.8	169.9	208.1	234.1	304.7	349.1

[a]Includes utilities and communications.

Sources: Hawaii Data Book, 1970, Table 14, Hawaii Data Book, 1972, Table 25, and Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Table 142.

The growing service and trade sectors generate largely menial, low paying jobs. Employment in agriculture and manufacturing (tied largely to the processing of sugar and pineapple has declined in absolute as well as relative terms over the 25 year period. Federal government employment has declined since 1968 because of employment cutbacks at the military bases. This has been compensated for by the rapid expansion of employment in the state and local governments, but salaries for comparable jobs there average about 20 percent below those of the federal government.

Overall, the composition of the available jobs is changing in the direction of requiring fewer job skills and lower educational levels. At

the same time educational levels have risen faster in Hawaii than in the United States as a whole. In 1940, the median number of school years completed by those aged 25 and over in Hawaii was 6.9 years compared to 8.6 years in the nation. By 1970, the median was 12.3 years in Hawaii compared to 12.2 years in the nation. Therefore, there is an increasing divergence in Hawaii between educational levels required in available occupations and those obtained by persons entering the labor force. This appears to be a national problem[51] but is probably worse in Hawaii than most places on the Mainland.[52]

Hawaii's small population and lack of economic diversity increase the chance that there will be a mismatch between many professional job requirements and the skills possessed by the highly qualified. In practical terms, this means that many highly specialized jobs are filled by persons from elsewhere and, conversely, many persons in Hawaii with specialized training (e.g., industrial design) must seek employment elsewhere if they are to find employment that meets their job skills.[53]

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[51]For example, see "Who Needs College?" Newsweek, April 26, 1977, pp. 60-69 for a discussion on the problems of job finding among recent college graduates.

[52]Hard data in support of this statement are admittedly missing. A discussion of the problem of job finding among highly educated persons in Hawaii is given in Jocelyn Fujii, "The Best Educated Clerks Around," Honolulu Star Bulletin, December 26, 1973, pp. 29-30.

[53]For example, the president of one of the "Big Five" firms states that about half of top management positions are held by persons transferred from the Mainland. He claims that although locals are preferred, this is necessary because many of the specialized job requirements cannot be met in the local population. See "Major Hawaii Firms Respond to Survey on Executives, Race," Honolulu Advertiser, November 20, 1975, p. A8. On the other hand, Janos Gereben discusses the flight of Hawaii's artistic talent because of a lack of a local market in "Hawaii's Neglected Talent," Honolulu Star Bulletin, January 19, 1976, p. A8.

In summary, in spite of the healthy Hawaii economy suggested in the 1970 census, unemployment has often been well above the national average, wages are not high by Mainland standards, and the employment structure has been changing in a direction detrimental to the increasing job qualifications and educational levels found in the local population.

2.10 Housing Costs in Hawaii

Although it has already been mentioned that the cost of living in Hawaii is about 20 percent above the national average, housing is separately considered here because it is a basic need whose fulfillment usually requires a large proportion of disposable income. The 1970 census adequately portrays Hawaii's extremely high housing costs and its impact on home ownership rates and crowding (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10

Housing Data for Hawaii and the United States, 1970

Item	Hawaii	U.S.	Hawaii Rank
Median value of owned units	$35,100	$17,000	1
Median asking price of vacant units	40,800	15,400	1
Median monthly contract rent	120	70	3
Median asking price of vacant rental units	174	81	2
% of occupied housing units with more than one person per room	19.9%	8.2%	1
Median number of rooms per housing unit	4.6	5.0	49
% of occupied units occupied by owner	46.1%	61.9%	50

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Housing Characteristics of the Population.

Especially notable in Table 2.10 is the indication that vacant housing, especially rental units, command higher prices than existing occupied units. This can be expected to impact newcomers the most.

Housing costs have consistently been higher than the national average since World War II,[54] but in the late 1960s housing prices began to soar at a rapid rate. By early 1974, the mean asking price for a single family house advertised in the local newspapers reached $85,900 on Oahu, which contains more than 80 percent of all housing units in the state (Titchen, 1977). Prices have since stabilized somewhat[55] because most residents have been priced out of the housing market. Comparable data are not available for the outer islands and housing costs are somewhat lower there, but still considerably above the Mainland average.[56] In spite of recent rapid inflation in Mainland housing costs, single family housing prices in Hawaii at present are approximately double those on the Mainland.[57]

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[54]In 1940, the median price of an owned house in Hawaii was $2,540 and the median gross rent was $21. By 1950, these medians had increased to $12,283 and $32, respectively, compared to the U.S. medians of $7,400 and $42. In 1960, the Hawaii medians rose to $20,900 and $71, compared to the U.S. medians of $11,900 and $72. The especially marked increase in the median contract rent in Hawaii was partly due to the demolition or conversion to owned units of plantation housing where rents were nominal.

[55]In early 1977, the average asking price for a single family house was $92,000. See Kathy Titchen, "Will Hawaii Real Estate Boom Again?" Honolulu Star Bulletin & Advertiser, May 8, 1977, p. E1.

[56]In 1975, the average cost of a single family house was $78,100 on Maui, $70,000 on Kauai, and $52,400 on the Big Island (Hawaii Data Book, 1976, Table 287).

[57]In 1974, the median cost of a single family house sold in the United States was $35,900, but by 1976 it had risen to $42,800 (Statistical Abstract, U.S., 1976, Table 741).

Hawaii's high housing costs notwithstanding, the average single family house is about 10 percent smaller in floor space and on a lot 15 percent smaller than its Mainland counterpart, as well as being of single wall construction (see FHA, 1974). Furthermore, many houses are sold on a leasehold basis. A person owning a leasehold house pays the land company an annual rent stipulated in a lease agreement, which is usually renegotiated after a set number of years. Because of the rapid inflation in land values, individuals whose leases are approaching termination now face the prospect of lease payments that will exceed monthly house payments. The growing seriousness of the leasehold problem is illustrated by the fact that whereas 4.7 percent of owner occupied housing was on lease land in 1940, the comparable proportion in 1974 was 26.9 percent (Hawaii Data Book, 1975). The legislature has recently passed laws governing the sale of leasehold land to individual home owners, but they are presently being challenged on legal grounds by the land companies.

The general inflation in housing costs has priced the average family out of the single family housing market.[58] One result has been an increasing trend toward condominium and multifamily rental construction. Whereas 5,399 single family, 228 duplex, and 5,122 multifamily units were authorized to be built in Hawaii in 1970, the comparable numbers in 1974 were 3,455, 488, and 15,203 (Hawaii Data Book, 1975). More condominium than single family units (5,884 vs. 5,473) were sold in 1975 (Hawaii Data Book, 1976). Although condominium units are less expensive on the average

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[58]Even in 1972, before housing prices peaked, former lieutenant governor Tom Gill estimated that 85 percent of families could not qualify for single family home loans. See Sanford Zalburg, "Viewpoints Vary on Combatting the High Housing Cost," Honolulu Advertiser, October 17, 1972, pp. A1 and A6.

than single family units, the average unit on Oahu sold for $54,900 in early 1974 and $59,800 in late 1976 (Titchen, 1977).

The complex causes of Hawaii's high housing costs preclude their discussion in great detail here. In brief, labor costs are somewhat below the west coast average (Dunbar, 1972) and shipping costs in 1972 added only about $800 to the cost of the average house (ibid.). Therefore, the high housing costs are not significantly due to labor or shipping expenses.

A number of other factors, however, do greatly affect housing costs. Substantial markups of prices of materials do occur in the supply houses, most of which have effective monopolies on given materials. Site preparation costs are much higher than those generally found on the Mainland and stringent subdivision and zoning regulations have limited the amount of land available for residential development. Undocumented, but undoubtedly a significant factor is the concentration of most developable land in the hands of a few large land holding companies,[59] who can effectively control prices by regulating the amount of land available for development at any given time. Considerable speculation also contributed substantially to the inflation in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Residential land prices rose 17-fold in value between 1950 and 1975. Indeed, according to Oahu tax records, land in 1976 was appraised at 52 percent of property value in single family housing areas (Krauss,

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[59]About 50 percent of all land in the state are in state or federal ownership. Of the remainder, approximately 88 percent are owned by only 39 landowners, each of whom own more than 5,000 acres of land. For a discussion of land ownership patterns, see Baker (1973).

1976). In practical terms, this means that a 6,000 square foot residential lot in a middle class area in Honolulu may cost from $40,000 to $60,000. In spite of the fact that land prices nationwide have increased sixfold in the past twenty years, land prices nationwide account for only 25 percent of the total builder's costs (Time, September 12, 1977).

Notwithstanding the increases in housing costs, the housing demand remains brisk. Inmigration is a factor in stimulating housing demand and therefore prices, although to what extent it influences housing prices is impossible to directly measure.[60]

In view of the almost universal desire of families with children to own single family housing and its easier attainment on the Mainland, it is reasonable to expect that some of the outmigration results from the high housing costs in Hawaii. However, it should be noted that local families have coped with housing costs far better than aggregate data on housing costs vs. family income taken alone would suggest. Parents commonly help married children financially in purchasing homes, and in Oriental families it is not uncommon for at least one married child and his or her family to live with the parents. Sometimes, the married couple then eventually takes over ownership of the family house and builds a smaller adjoining unit for the parents or finds one for them nearby. Furthermore, local families, unlike new residents, can often locate "bargains" in buying or renting housing through the contacts of

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[60]The rapid inflation in housing prices in the late 1960s (the average single family home cost about $30,000 in 1967) and the early 1970s coincided with the peak in the numbers of intended residents arriving from the Mainland (see Figure 4.2). The rise in housing prices in late 1976 after two years of stability has coincided with an increase in the number of intended residents from about 18,000 in 1975 to about 21,000 in 1976.

relatives and friends. Although the nature and efficacy of the above-mentioned adjustments have never been formally studied, a knowledge of them is nevertheless essential in understanding how different groups are affected by housing costs.

2.11 "Quality of Life" in Hawaii

In recent years there has been an increasing awareness of that elusive concept called "quality of life," which is now almost universally recognized by scholars to be a potent factor in many migration decisions. This leads to the question, "How has the quality of life changed in Hawaii since World War II?"

There can be no definitive answer to this question, especially because it depends on a value orientation. In some respects the quality of life can be said to have improved since World War II. Real incomes increased greatly between 1945 and 1970 although no notable improvement has since occurred. Hawaii's extensive state social services have increased security, although at the cost of heavy state taxes. Notwithstanding chronic housing problems, housing quality has in general improved and the picturesque but often dilapidated pre-World War II housing, particularly on plantations, is slowly disappearing from the housing stock. Population growth on Oahu has resulted in many more places of entertainment to accommodate differing tastes. The reaffirmation of ethnic identity *vis-à-vis* Caucasians by Hawaii's local nonwhite population has also been a positive gain. It is also true that the climate, beaches, natural vegetation, and rugged and attractive topography continue to be valued by the residents. Moreover, there has been an expansion in the number of outdoor recreational facilities.

However, in other respects the quality of life has declined since World War II. A large portion of Honolulu has been converted from quiet single family housing areas to high-rise apartments, with attendant problems of decline in neighborhood identification, increased congestion, severe parking problems, and partial displacement of greenery. The numerous low rise (one to four stories) apartments surrounded by concrete parking losts and few, if any, plantings constitute visual eyesores and sterile living environments for those unlucky enough to live in them. The average person in the incredibly built up and cluttered area of Waikiki would find it difficult to believe that it was largely a low rise housing area until the mid 1950s. Traffic problems in many areas of Honolulu now exceed those of many large cities on the Mainland.

The Honolulu urban area has spread outward as well as upward, displacing agricultural land and reducing the amount of "open space" on Oahu. In this process of leapfrog expansion, many persons who formerly farmed land on small plots rented from large landowners have been displaced without compensation and with little opportunity of replicating their rural lifestyle elsewhere.[61] Although the absolute numbers involved have been relatively small in comparison to Hawaii's total population, it nevertheless represents the passing of a "way of life" that is considered by many to be "traditional" and desirable.

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[61]Recently, the tenants in one windward valley on Oahu fought eviction for more than a year and attracted considerable community support. The state government intervened to buy the valley from the developers and will become the new landlord. What is notable is not the attempted eviction, as similar evictions have occurred frequently in the past, but the fact that community support altered the seemingly inevitable eviction. In taking its action, the government did not address the basic problems of where the population increase will be located and the ownership of most rural land by a few large landlords.

Population growth and increasing affluence have led to increasing air and water pollution, although the overall impacts tend to be lessened by the trade winds, which carry air pollutants off the islands and sewage away from leeward shores.[62] A prime example of the results of water pollution has been the partial destruction of most of the once impressive coral reef in Kaneohe Bay on Oahu, which has been caused by sedimentation resulting from residential construction and the effluents generated from the developments themselves (Cox and Bartram, 1975). Other pressures placed on the environment are exemplified by the recent dramatic reduction by overgathering of Opihi clams, which are locally considered a culinary delicacy and are valued for necklaces. "Tourists support Hawaii"[63] but compete for recreational amenities, notably beaches and parks, which result in once quiet recreational areas becoming increasingly congested.

The above negative changes have affected the outer islands less than Oahu, but they too are changing at an increasing rate. During the last fifteen years, about twenty miles of coastline on the western coast of Maui have become lined with hotels and tourist condominiums, and further intensive development is presently occurring along about twenty miles of the central leeward shore of Maui. Kailua-Kona, once a sleepy Hawaiian village on the Big Island, has been transformed into a complex of hotels, condominiums, and tourist facilities without plan or order

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[62]Indeed, the biggest air pollution menace is the Big Island volcano during eruptions!

[63]Or so the Hawaii Visitors Bureau claims via numerous television commercials.

and comprising a visual eyesore.[64] Kauai has been less changed by tourist development than either the Big Island or Maui, although about five miles on the south coast have become lined with hotels and tourist condominiums, and tenant farmers in a valley near the main town of Lihue have recently been evicted to make way for resort development. In spite of its negative impacts, the tourist industry has undeniably created jobs, albeit mainly low wage service ones, and stopped the economic decline of the outer islands.

Important to the quality of life for most residents is that elusive concept called the "aloha spirit." The negative changes that have taken place are not conducive to the maintenance of the "aloha spirit" and the Hawaii Visitors Bureau is sufficiently concerned about negative reactions of locals to tourists to run television ads emphasizing their contributions to the economy and the fact that they comprise less than ten percent of the total de facto population at any given time. Whether the "aloha spirit" is indeed withering is a matter of conjecture. There are, for instance, many testimonies from tourists praising the spontaneous generosity shown by local residents. Yet, there has been sufficient local concern to generate a number of newspaper articles on the topic.[65]

Svart (1976) believes that once a "paradise" loses its attractiveness due to environmental problems caused by an increasing population, a

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[64]Admittedly, this is a gross value judgment, but I have never heard a local resident speak of Kailua-Kona in positive terms.

[65]The most penetrating article is Andrew Lind, "Aloha Spirit, Is It Just a Tourist Attraction?" Honolulu Star Bulletin & Advertiser, July 27, 1975, pp. G1 and G6.

massive outmigration occurs as people look elsewhere for "paradise." There is no visible evidence that this is occurring in Hawaii and, judging from the increasing number of tourist arrivals, Hawaii has not lost its charm for potential tourists. If declining "quality of life," however defined, is related to the volume of outmigration from Hawaii, it is reasonable to expect that its impact would be greatest for those who moved to Hawaii because they were "looking for paradise," or at least for a higher quality of life.

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter has broadly portrayed the complexity of Hawaii and its people to the reader. Although Hawaii has "special" attractions, it also has "special" problems that are relevant in the consideration of why some persons choose to move away from a given location. This chapter provides an essential background to the following chapter, in which tentative expectations about the nature and volume of outmigration from Hawaii will be discussed.

CHAPTER III

TENTATIVE EXPECTATIONS VS. RESEARCH FINDINGS -

3.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter I, this research is guided by a number of research concerns, rather than by specific hypotheses. Nonetheless, there were prior expectations concerning what this study would reveal in terms of the research issues raised. These expectations did affect the manner in which data were analyzed and the types of questions asked in the questionnaire. On the other hand, whether or not the expectations were "proved" was deemed to be of considerably less importance than deriving satisfactory explanations for the research concerns. Hence, the term "tentative expectations" is used here for expected research findings.

In part, this study was guided by a series of broad research concerns because of a dissatisfaction with prevailing migration research in which migration is typically viewed from only one level of generality (usually macrolevel and with the use of census data) and in which only a few hypotheses or concerns which are inadequate for addressing the complex considerations involved in migration are used. Shaw (1975, p. 1) observes that because migration studies tend to be narrow in scope and purpose,

> [t]here is a surprising lack of systematically accumulated knowledge on the subject. What knowledge there is on the characteristics of migrants, the determinants of migration, and factors influencing the magnitude of migration in generalized contexts (e.g., rural-urban, interurban movements) is fragmentary and largely unintegrated.

Notwithstanding the flaws characterizing migration research, the tentative explanations were derived largely from insights contained in the migration literature. These insights were combined with an understanding of the Hawaii context and common sense to form the tentative expectations.

Although the research concerns (see Section 1.3) and the initial expectations of what the findings would be in terms of the concerns raised are interrelated, they are discussed separately below. However, the question concerning why some persons leave Hawaii whereas others stay (Question 3 in Section 1.3) will be discussed first, because a satisfactory answer to this question is essential in addressing the other research concerns. The next issue to be taken up is that of social influences in migration (Question 4), intimately connected to the question of why some migrate whereas others do not. Next to be discussed is the issue of where the migrants go and why (Question 5) because the undertaking of voluntary moves is linked to perceptions of potential destinations. The other research concerns are addressed in the order they were raised in Section 1.3.

A summary of research findings is also contained in the latter part of this chapter. This summary is presented here rather than in the concluding chapter for two reasons: (1) a comparison of findings with expectations can be easily made, and (2) the reader is thereby alerted to the findings in advance of the actual exposition of the evidence for them.

3.2 Why do the Outmigrants Leave Hawaii? Why do Others Choose to Stay in Hawaii?

Because rational persons do not make decisions they perceive to be personally counterproductive, it is assumed by the author that voluntary moves are undertaken mainly because (a) a goal is not being met at a given location, (b) it is believed that the goal can be better met at another location, and (c) perceived advantages that will accrue from the move outweigh perceived disadvantages that will be entailed by the move. The possible range of goals that might stimulate movement is broad, to say the least. The problem of collapsing the range of possible reasons into a manageable "package" with general applicability for a wide range of circumstances and types of areas has perhaps provided the largest obstacle to the development of universally accepted theories or approaches in migration studies.

The question of why some persons leave and others choose to stay at a given location has been addressed by researchers on varying levels of generality for a wide variety of areas, but with a strong bias towards addressing the question of why persons leave rather than the converse question of why others do not move. Furthermore, the emphasis has been on explaining net migration, with few studies incorporating the fact that in most areas the net migration is only a small proportion of gross migration (i.e., the sum of the in- and outmigration) or the possibility that those moving into and out of a given area may tend to have different motivations for moving.

The prevailing economic explanation for migration is that persons move long distances primarily for economic advancement and that the end

result of migration is to equalize regional economic opportunities. Most persons who adopt this point of view concentrate on macrostudies, using census data pertaining to migration and measures of economic opportunity. A number of these studies (e.g., Kohn et al., 1973; Nelson, 1959; Herrick, 1965; and Lowry, 1966) have shown positive correlations between net migration and measures of economic health. Indeed, Riddell (1970, p. 99) in summarizing available migration studies of this type, asserted that "these studies have all indicated the supreme importance of economic factors."

However, a number of studies concentrating on interregional or intermetropolitan migration flows have suggested that census economic measures are poor predictors of net migration flows. Schwind (1971) discovered that the economic variables he used added little explanation beyond that provided by the simple gravity model in predicting net migration flows between economic regions in the United States. He suggested that the use of environmental amenity variables would have added greatly to the predictive power of his essential economic model of migration. Climatic variables have been added to essentially economic models and have been shown to have significant predictive power in explaining net migration flows in the United States (see Balakrishnan, 1966; Hirsch, 1969; and Kelley, 1967). Kelley concluded from his study (p. 41) that economic variables did not seem to have great utility in explaining net migration flows among metropolitan areas,[1] but

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[1]Indeed, there was a positive correlation of .21 between unemployment in destination areas and net migration.

that the climatic variables used gave the highest correlation (.57) with net migration.

In summary, those engaged in macrostudies have argued that net migration flows between areas in the United States result from economic or amenity considerations or both. However, to infer individual motivations (as is invariably done) from structural characteristics of migration flows as shown by census data is to engage in the "ecological fallacy." Obviously, many possible reasons for moving, such as to escape from an undesirable family situation, can never be inferred from even the most detailed of census data.

Another problem in interpretation results from the fact that only rarely do those engaged in macrostudies disaggregate migration flows in any meaningful way. Apgar (1970) strongly criticizes studies that test economic influences in migration, yet fail to separate military and college moves, even when separate data are available. Of the studies available to the author, only Lowry (1966) excluded moves of military personnel in his analysis. He discovered that inmigration and outmigration rates in areas with large military concentrations nevertheless tended to be much higher than in areas with few military personnel. This occurred because military dependents were not included with the military personnel.[2] No efforts have been made to separate college migrants in any of the macrostudies testing economic or climatic variables.

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[2]Because of the movements of military personnel and dependents, migration flows to and from Hawaii as shown by the census are by themselves devoid of practical meaning. For more on this problem, see Chapter IV and Appendix B.

Another complication involved in interpreting the findings of the macrostudies is that those areas with climatic amenities have been characterized by higher than average economic growth, and studies taken on the macrolevel cannot resolve the question of how much of the economic growth would have occurred in the absence of migration and how much was attributable to the influx of new residents. Svart (1974) argues persuasively that inmigration has generated most of the economic growth in climatically favored areas, but he did not study Hawaii, for which an excellent case can be made that so-called "footloose industries"[3] have contributed negligibly to economic growth in Hawaii whereas most of the growth that has taken place since 1955 is attributable to the growth in tourism. Even if macrostudies could demonstrate that net migration is correlated mainly with economic demand for labor or environmental amenities, it does not necessarily follow that most long distance migration is stimulated primarily as a result of those concerns. It is conceivable, for instance, that migration undertaken mainly for economic or amenity reasons may be strongly directed to relatively few locations, whereas a much greater number of moves undertaken for other reasons may contribute little to net flows between areas.

In summary, macrostudies cannot by themselves provide definite answers pertaining to why people move. Nonetheless, the fact that they do show correlations between net migration and indices of economic health

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[3]"Footloose industries" are defined as those that are not tied to any resource or large population base and can, in theory, locate almost anywhere. There is no such thing as a completely footloose industry. Hawaii tests the concept to almost the ultimate limit because of its almost complete lack of a resource base, high shipping costs to and from Hawaii, problems of communication with Mainland markets, and small population.

and climate suggest that economic and amenity considerations at least affect the direction of migration.

Another method of ascertaining motives for migration is to ask the migrants themselves why they moved. Although this approach seems intuitively sensible, it is not universally endorsed. Mabogunje (1970) argues, for instance, that the questioning of rural-urban migrants in Africa on why they moved only causes the respondents to think up a number of reasons that obscure the obvious answer that there is good money to be made in the towns! Balan et al. (1973, p. 152) reported that among migrants to Monterrey, Mexico, "most persons were scarcely aware of the factors that entered into their decisions."

Even if one assumes that migrants can verbalize their reasons for moving, distorted perceptions in recalling past moves or in discussing why a move will take place present problems of interpretation. Almost all interviews with migrants are conducted after the migration takes place and it is certainly true that memories can become somewhat distorted over time and that considerable rationalizing of perhaps unclear motives for moving can also take place. However, anyone who believes that it is better to interview migrants before they leave is urged to read Brown's study (1960) comparing persons in England who had decided to move to New Zealand with a control sample matched for family, residential and occupational characteristics. Attitudes expressed by the migrants vis-à-vis nonmigrants could have occurred only by selectively retaining and elaborating positive information while selectively discounting or dismissing negative information about New Zealand. Brown concludes (p. 193), "When a favorable attitude to a

destination is formulated, other destinations (as well as the place of present residence) are systematically undervalued." Brown's study provides a strong argument that migrants are probably more lucid and perceptive about motivations after they move than prior to the move.

These objections notwithstanding, the approach of finding out motives from the migrants themselves has been used increasingly in recent years. Some of the studies based on this approach give support to the proposition that most long distance migration is motivated by economic considerations. In studies by Schwarzweller et al. (1971) on migration from an isolated East Kentucky community, Bauder et al. (1965) on rural and urban migrants to Des Moines, Iowa, and Lansing and Mueller (1967) involving 4,000 migrants chosen nationwide, most respondents gave economic reasons for moving. In the Lansing and Mueller study, however, there was no probing of responses, and such answers as "to find a job" were duly recorded as economic.

However, other studies based on this approach have suggested that other considerations may be more important than purely economic ones in stimulating long distance migration. For example, Kiser's study (1933) indicated that many blacks left St. Helena Island, South Carolina, because they felt that farming in general and St. Helena in particular were "dull." Many who left had originally intended only to visit in northern cities but later decided to stay in them. In an extensive study of motivations of Dutch emigrants, Beijer et al. (1961, p. 58) found economic motives to be "absent, vague, or not of a pressing nature" in about one-half of all cases. Economic considerations were overriding in only 13.5 percent of the sample (p. 221). Almost a fifth of all

emigration was primarily due to discontent with what were perceived to be the narrow confines of Dutch society. Svart (1976) cites four questionnaire surveys of Arizona residents which indicated that about a third of the migrants moved to Arizona for health reasons. In 1956, inmigrants seeking work with the Hawaii Employment Agency were queried as to why they moved to Hawaii. Almost a third stated that "they had read and heard about the beauty of Hawaii and the ideal climate and that they had given up jobs at home because of a desire to live in the Islands" (Stevens, 1957, p. 7). This study does lend support to the prevailing popular opinion that a large proportion of those who come to Hawaii are "looking for paradise."

In all studies mentioned above, persons in the military or attending college were grossly underrepresented or absent. Furthermore, no distinctions were made between first time movers and repeat movers, and it is quite possible that motives involved in initial moves may be quite different from those in subsequent moves. In addition, no controls were made for age, and motives may have a correspondence with age because of its relationship with demographic and career cycles. In spite of these problems, studies mentioned above do suggest that economic motives are often important in migration and desires for perceived environmental amenities do influence many persons to move to those locations having them.

The question of why many persons do not migrate, even from what are generally considered to be economically unfavorable locations, has received scant attention. One reason is undoubtedly the fact that this question cannot be addressed by a macrolevel study that relies only on census data. Compounding any answer to this question is the fact that

any nonmigrant must be considered a potential migrant until he or she dies. Nevertheless, migration probabilities tend to drop off rapidly between ages 30 and retirement, and one's probability of moving tends to decline with increasing length of residence in a community. Perhaps it is more relevant to inquire about why one has not migrated within a given time span.

Peterson (1958) argues that in the absence of information concerning alternative areas, outmigration from an area will be minimal as only the extremely adventuresome wish to move to areas without information concerning opportunities or friends and relatives in them. Several studies support his contention. Uhlenberg (1973) attributes the small black migration to northern cities prior to World War I to the relative lack of information concerning northern cities among southern blacks. Not until 1917, when labor recruiters from northern cities worked among southern blacks did the black migration to northern cities begin to assume large proportions. Likewise, the mass movement out of the depressed southern Appalachia area began only after World War II, when the relative isolation of the area was greatly reduced by improved communications (see Schwarzweller et al., 1971).

Although lack of information concerning alternative opportunities elsewhere may explain a low rate of outmigration from an isolated area, it is nevertheless true that except in extreme circumstances, there are many persons who will continue to stay in an economically depressed area even though better opportunities are present elsewhere and there is abundant information about them. In these cases there is the obvious possibility that most of the nonmovers are pleased with their (or their

spouse's) employment and environmental amenities where they live. Others may find it too costly to move, especially if they own fixed assets (such as farmland) that are difficult to sell. Social relationships in a community generally enhance its attractiveness for local residents. Nonmovers in the Beachcreek and St. Helena studies earlier mentioned generally placed much higher values on the social relationships in their communities than those who left their respective areas.

The study that perhaps best delineated motivations and underlying personality characteristics of movers and nonmovers was undertaken by Taylor (1969). He interviewed movers and nonmovers in an English mining village whose economic base (a coal mine) had just been terminated. All persons interviewed were former coal miners. A large minority of movers expressed very positive feelings about potential destinations. In contrast, the nonmovers tended to give stereotyped responses to potential new locations; characterizing cities as being inhabited by unfriendly persons, too large, and "just one big jungle of estates." In searching beyond responses given for moving or staying, Taylor discovered that the movers tended to be differentiated in many ways from nonmovers. Compared to nonmovers, movers were much more likely to have been born outside the village and were generally "less close" to their parents. In addition, they were much more likely to belong to "culturally dissenting" organizations[4] and to give formulated accounts of

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[4]In the "working class" culture in the village, typical group activities centered around the pubs, bingo parlors, and union social clubs. Organization that concentrated on individual fulfillment (e.g., gardening clubs) and self-improvement (e.g., temperance clubs) were definitely culturally dissenting in the village context.

ambitions for their children. In short, Taylor (p. 115) characterized the migrants as having a "sense of dislocation" and the nonmigrants as having a "sense of belonging.

Taylor also discussed the importance of "triggering factors" in precipitating migration decisions. The closing of the mine was obviously a triggering event that encouraged many to leave who already had mixed feelings about staying in the village as well as a minority (termed "resultant migrants") who left only because they perceived that migration was the only alternative to unemployment. Common triggering events are marriage, graduation from high school, a decision to attend college, induction into or separation from the armed forces, company transfers, and job offers in distant cities. An Area Redevelopment Administration study (1964) of movers in the United States indicated that "triggering events" immediately preceded moves in 54 percent of all moves and were distributed in the following manner: job offer, 17 percent (of all moves); job transfer, 16 percent; loss of job, six percent; change in family composition, six percent; graduation from school or completion of military service, six percent; and retirement or illness, three percent. What constitute triggering events for some persons do not constitute triggering events for others, and some persons move even in the absence of triggering events. Nevertheless, the concept of triggering events is useful in explaining why many moves occur when they do.

Another factor affecting migration decisions is societal expectations that shape personal values, obligations to others, and aspirations. This issue will be addressed in detail in the following section.

Concerning the study at hand, it was initially expected that in Hawaii the most common immediate factors related to outmigration decisions are poor job opportunities, dissatisfaction with wages, and difficulties in obtaining housing at reasonable prices.[5] Among persons not born in Hawaii, it was expected that a significant minority leave because they feel "out of place" in Hawaii. It was also believed that a small, but significant minority of "locals" leave to escape from parental or societal controls (see following section). Dissatisfactions with Hawaii's climatic and other environmental amenities were deemed to be of little importance in motivating outmigration.

It was also believed that a large share of the local outmigrants leave either to attend college or perform military service. The large military presence in Hawaii was expected to produce a significant proportion of local females who leave because of marriage with military personnel who are then transferred to the Mainland.

It was expected that underlying some moves made apparently for other reasons was simply a desire to "get off the rock" and experience the Mainland. This underlying factor was expected to be most prevalent among young single adults.

It was believed that most persons who do not move from Hawaii stay because they regard Hawaii as a very satisfying place in which to live. Yi Fu Tuan (1972, p. 90) defines "existential insideness" as:

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[5]The issue of moving long distance to obtain better housing at affordable costs has not been addressed in U.S. migration studies, but this is undoubtedly due in part to the fact that this is not an appreciable consideration nationwide. However, the housing situations in Hawaii and Alaska are certainly unique among all states. Beijer et al. (1961) mentioned that more than one-third of all emigrants interviewed

> . . . part of knowing implicitly that this place is where you belong--in all other places we are existential outsiders no matter how open we are to their symbols and significance. . . . The person who has no place with which he identifies is in effect homeless, without roots. But someone who does experience a place from the attitude of existential insideness is part of that place and it is part of him.

Although the description above may strike the reader as scientifically vague, the author believes that it is intuitively valid. "Existential insideness" exists anywhere persons live, but appears to be especially strong among Hawaii's local population for reasons discussed in Chapter II. Most local residents have intense pride in their state and believe that Hawaii's mix of climatic, physical, and social characteristics make it a uniquely desirable place to live, notwithstanding Hawaii's problems. Some local persons undoubtedly stay because of family obligations or a lack of knowledge about the Mainland, but these reasons were expected to be of far less importance than those related to "existential insideness."

3.3 Is There a Differential Rate of Outmigration Among Hawaii's Major Ethnic Groups and is This Affected by Differential Cultural Influences?

The role of social influences on migration has been largely neglected, even among sociologists. Nevertheless, it seems intuitively apparent that social influences do affect migration. For example, the large predominance of males participating in rural-urban migration in India is undoubtedly in part attributable to cultural restraints placed

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had been discontented with their housing in Holland, but housing considerations nevertheless appear to have been only a minor factor in stimulating emigration.

on the mobility of unmarried females. If an area is characterized by societal values that are sharply differentiated from the rest of the nation of which it is a part, one may expect outmigration from that area to be lessened as a result. Societal values also undoubtedly affect a person's attachment to a given area.

The most monumental work that demonstrated societal influences on migration was undertaken by Thomas and Znaniecki (1920) concerning emigration from Poland to the United States. The authors were concerned with the interaction of "values," which they defined as societal norms, and "attitudes," which were defined as the reactions of individuals to the prevailing societal norms. They gave strong evidence that the traditional Polish corporate agrarian societal values in the early nineteenth century retarded outmigration, mainly because of the existing extended family obligations. However, a number of social and economic changes that occurred in the late nineteenth century led to a partial disintegration of the traditional society. More persons then adopted attitudes that were at variance with the traditional values and their successful defiance of them in turn weakened their hold on the society at large. The resulting weakening of the traditional family resulted in many more persons opting for migration and successfully resisting family sanctions to prevent them from doing so.

Conner (1968) studied English and French speaking (Acadian) residents in a county in Nova Scotia and concluded that whereas the English speaking residents strongly identified with the "national society," the French speakers were oriented to their "local" culture. The prevailing attitude in both the English and Acadian villages was

that outmigration was regrettable, but those in Acadian villages, in contrast to those in English villages, expected the outmigrants to eventually return. These different orientations were reflected in a much heavier permanent outmigration from English villages. Prior to World War II, the outmigration of the local Appalachian "hillbillies" from West Virginia was small in spite of chronically depressed economic conditions there. Weller (1965, p. 83) points to the strong social ties in explaining the low outmigration.

> The fierce loyalty of mountain people to home is mostly a loyalty to the only culture in which they feel secure and which operates in ways they know and appreciate . . . For mountaineers, moving is a kind of death to his [sic] way of life. It cuts him off from his sustaining roots.

However, it should be noted that once heavy outmigration began in Appalachian areas, it proceeded to the point where many counties suffered severe depopulation. An argument may be made that the strong hold of the Appalachian subculture on its inhabitants delayed the time when outmigration became massive, but did not retard outmigration once it became a common phenomenon. Indeed, Schwarzweller et al. (1971) believed that the strong family ties characterizing the Appalachian population actually facilitated migration once it became widespread because those who had previously migrated helped other kin to migrate and in conflicts between a patriarchal family head and a rebellious son, the migration of the son became the accepted social solution. In the east Kentucky community studied, the strongly family oriented culture was not weakening in spite of the outmigration, and the outmigrants were able to largely replicate their own Appalachian culture in the southern Ohio industrial towns.

Litwak (1961), in a challenging article, argued that extended family ties in the United States actually facilitate migration because extended families have greater resources to aid a family member and increasingly recognize that the financial success of the extended family often depends on the migration of many of its members. Although Litwak does not prove his hypothesis, it nevertheless presents a challenge to conventional wisdom.

Even when social influences on migration occur, their effects may be unnoticed because the researcher is viewing the social influences on an inappropriate scale. Forster (1959) studied two ethnic Hawaiian villages on Maui that appeared to be virtually identical in terms of "Hawaiianness." Yet, one village was characterized by heavy outmigration (mainly to Honolulu) and the other had lost few residents. Forster found that this difference was attributable to strong sanctions against migration and favorable attitudes towards welfare benefits in one village, and a negative value orientation towards welfare assistance and strong encouragement of the migration of unemployed children in the other village.[6] Any generalization about "Hawaiian" culture obscures the real differences in these two villages.

Hawaii's population is largely Oriental, but with the exception of the movement of Japanese out of relocation camps during World War II and their subsequent adjustment to Chicago, the author is unaware of any work

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[6]These differences may be related to the greater Chinese influence in the latter village. A number of Chinese had settled there and married into the local Hawaiian community in the late nineteenth century, and many in the village were descendants of the Chinese settlers and their Hawaiian wives.

dealing with the internal migration of Orientals in the United States. However, the literature that exists on the Japanese relocation is instructive concerning possible social influences on Japanese migration in general.

In early 1943, all but 18,000 of the 110,000 interned Japanese were allowed to leave the camps, as long as they did not move to west coast states. However, only 30,000 chose to leave the camps before they were closed in December, 1944. Those who left were disproportionately young adults, Nisei, Christian, and dissatisfied with strict family controls (Uhlenberg, 1973). After the war, the large majority who did not earlier leave the camps moved back to California. Many of the Nisei returned unwillingly to California at the insistence of their parents. Eldest sons were especially likely to return to California because of the Japanese custom that the eldest son assume primary responsibility for parents in time of need (War Relocation Agency, 1947).

On balance, the family ties appeared to increase the return migration to California although some did not return to California because they wanted to escape parental controls. Among Japanese interviewed in Chicago after World War II, most intended to stay in Chicago and many were pleased to be working for non-Japanese, who were believed to pay better wages and be less likely to make extra work demands than Japanese employers (Uyeki, 1953). The net result of the Japanese cultural influences undoubtedly reduced the dispersion of Japanese from the west coast, but those who left were disproportionately "freedom" migrants.

In summary, the available literature on social influences on migration suggest that they do influence migration, both through values

and the attachments they create for a given area or culture. The latter point is very important in understanding why in a given area it is the recent inmigrants who leave in disproportionate numbers. A number of studies (e.g., Goldstein, 1958 and Morrison, 1971) have shown that the probability of moving away from a given area is inversely proportional to the length of time one has lived there ("axiom of cumulative inertia"). A new migrant to an area often has few social ties there and thus has little to lose in the way of social relationships if he decides to move again. If the local residents are perceived to be unfriendly or have undesirable social values, the desire to move again may actually be enhanced.

Based on the axiom of cumulative inertia, the author confidently expected that the study would reveal that recent inmigrants (in practical terms, this means "Haoles") comprise the bulk of nonmilitary related outmigrants from Hawaii. Among the local groups the Hawaii-born Caucasians were expected to leave in disproportionately large numbers because of the assumption that they tend to be more oriented towards the "national culture" than the local nonwhites.

Among Hawaii's local nonwhites, the Oriental population was expected to be characterized by a somewhat higher rate of outmigration than Filipinos and Hawaiians, but also by a considerably lower rate than that of Caucasians. Social obligations and the tight family structure that characterize the Oriental population were expected to have a negative influence on outmigration, although some Oriental outmigrants were

expected to be motivated by a wish to escape family ties.[7] The wish to escape family ties was expected to be particularly strong among Oriental females for reasons discussed in Section 2.6. Another factor expected to reduce the rate of outmigration is that local Orientals appear to be more successful than other persons in obtaining employment in the state government and are often able to obtain employment through kin who are employers. However, many Orientals also have a strong urge for upward mobility which cannot always be obtained in Hawaii. In addition, some Japanese parents (and undoubtedly other Oriental parents as well) actually prefer that their children attend college on the Mainland for prestige reasons (Johnson, 1971).

The literature on Hawaii's Filipinos did not prove to be helpful to the author in forming tentative expectations concerning their rate of outmigration. Nevertheless, it was expected that the rate of outmigration among Filipinos would be somewhat lower than that of the Orientals, in part because Filipinos tend to be of a considerably lower socioeconomic status and socioeconomic status is indicated by national studies to have a positive correlation with moving long distances (see Section 3.6). In addition, the urge for upward mobility that characterizes the Oriental population appears to be less marked among local Filipinos.

Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were expected to be characterized by the lowest rate of outmigration as those identifying with the Hawaiian

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[7]However, the family conflicts are undoubtedly much less severe than those indicated in the relocation camp surveys. From all available evidence on the Japanese (see Section 2.6), it is apparent that family conflicts tend to be much less in Nisei-Sansei families (the norm in

subculture were perceived to have the strongest ties to Hawaii by sentiment and "roots"[8] and to have weak identifications with Mainland values.

3.4 Where do Hawaii's Outmigrants Go? What are the Factors Influencing the Destination Choices?

A satisfactory answer to the question of why a particular destination is chosen by a migrant is crucial because a voluntary decision to move is generally based on the perception that a potential destination offers advantages over a present location.

Most macrostudies concerned with migration flows employ gravity models, which are based on the premise that the volume of migration from a given area to another area is directly proportional to the product of the two populations and inversely proportional to the distance of the destination. Some sociologists use an intervening opportunities model in which the volume of migration from one area to the other is directly proportional to the number of opportunities (invariably defined by population size) at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of opportunities between the two areas. In effect, social distance replaces euclidian distance in the intervening opportunities model. In practice, both methods appear to have about equal predictive

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Hawaii today) than in Issei-Nisei families. For a description of Nisei-Sansei vis-à-vis Issei-Nisei family relationships in Hawaii, see Johnson (1971).

[8] Just prior to the Great Depression, Adams and Kai (1928) expressed a concern that many persons would migrate to the Mainland in the future if employment opportunities were not developed outside of plantation labor. However, they confidently state (p. 17) that "Hawaiians are bound to Hawaii by strong ties of sentiment and will remain in Hawaii under any probable conditions."

powers in estimating migration flows between given areas (see Olsson, 1965). According to the principle of least effort,[9] one would expect the volume of migration to decline with distance if all other factors are equal and it can be strongly argued that the number of job opportunities and amount of information generated at a given location is a function of population size.

Gravity (and intervening opportunities) models used in U.S. migration studies generally "explain" a large portion of the variance in migration flows but, as Adams (1969) observes, most migration flows to specific destinations in the United States are well above or below those predicted by using a gravity model alone. In Schwind's study (1971), however, economic variables added little to the prediction of migration flows beyond that given by the simple gravity model. Furthermore, there are many migration flows that appear to have little relevance to assumptions implicit in the gravity model. For example, the strong preference for New York City among migrants from Puerto Rico[10] cannot be explained by the gravity model. Likewise, most Scandinavian immigrants who entered New York City in the late nineteenth century moved directly to midwestern states, in contrast to the Italian immigrants who mainly stayed on the east coast.

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[9] This is to say that if the perceived outcomes of a number of different options are equally satisfactory, a person will generally choose the option which he believes requires the least amount of effort (which includes time, expense, mental stress, and physical effort) on his part.

[10] In 1960, more than 60 percent of Puerto Ricans enumerated in the United States resided in New York City.

Macrostudies have revealed that those areas experiencing a large net inmigration are characterized by higher gross outmigration rates than those experiencing a large net outmigration (see Cordey-Hayes and Gleave, 1973; Lowry, 1967; and Lansing and Mueller, 1967). What this means is that areas grow rapidly because people are attracted to them rather than through a high retentive hold on residents, conversely, areas that are declining in population are doing so not because of a weak retentive hold on residents, but because they are attracting few new residents. In general, migrants avoid economically declining areas and move mainly to areas experiencing rapid population growth and economic expansion.

Wolpert (1965) has suggested that the potential destination be evaluated in terms of its perceived utility by potential migrants; a concept that he labels "place utility." However, rather than suggesting that potential migrants be queried as to their evaluations of potential locations, he states that the aggregate "place utility" of a given location be determined by the volume of migration to it.

Studies that have focused on why migrants choose particular destinations (e.g., Schwarzweller et al., 1970; Rubin, 1958; Morrison, 1973; McDonald and McDonald, 1964; and Blumberg and Bell, 1966) have indicated the important role of friends and relatives already at the destinations. In all of the above mentioned studies, the role of relatives in stimulating migration to specific locations was more important than that of friends. Relatives provided not only job and housing information for potential migrants, but were sources of moral support and actual assistance in obtaining jobs and housing as well.

Researchers studying the migration from eastern Kentucky to southern Ohio industrial cities (Schwarzweller et al., 1971) discovered that many managers actually preferred to hire new employees from eastern Kentucky through the kinship networks at the plants because they believed the new workers could then be trained by their relatives and friends already on the job and that the new workers would work harder because of their obligations to the relatives who recommended them. In this case, the "place utility" of the destination is very much tied to the relatives and friends who not only provide needed information on housing and employment, but who also "create" the opportunities.

Obviously, the pioneer migrants to a given area do not have friends and relatives already there and there are others who also move to places where no friends or relatives are already residing. In military moves, the location of friends and relatives is usually irrelevant and it is reasonable to expect that in choosing colleges the location of friends and relatives is often ignored because a college provides an institutional setting in which new friends can easily be made.[11] One study (Area Redevelopment Administration, 1964) suggested that the influence of friends and relatives in choosing destinations is inversely proportional to a migrant's socioeconomic status and that black migration patterns are especially influenced by the location of relatives.

In summary, available evidence on migration flows show that other things being equal, the number going to a given destination tends to drop

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[11] However, there are no available studies that address the issue of the role of friends and relatives in choosing distant colleges.

off with distance. Migrants avoid those areas experiencing economic decline and are attracted disproportionately to areas experiencing rapid population growth. In choosing specific destinations, many migrants are influenced by the locations of friends and relatives who have already moved.

It was initially expected that Hawaii's local nonwhite outmigrants would be concentrated in California, with a secondary concentration in other west coast areas. This was based on the belief that not only is California closest to Hawaii (although air fares are the same to all major west coast cities), but it also has the largest population of any state, is characterized by wages higher than both the west coast and national averages, appears to be perceived by most Hawaii residents as having the climate closest to that of Hawaii, and contains more than half of all Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese living on the Mainland. It was suspected that California's ethnic concentrations in general would attract some local nonwhites to California, but that this influence would be secondary to that of friends and relatives who had already moved to California. It was also believed that the migration rates to non-westcoast areas drop off rapidly with distance, but that the nonwhite outmigration flows are becoming more dispersed as Hawaii residents are receiving increasing amounts of information concerning areas beyond the west coast. Persons in the military were expected to be the most dispersed geographically as many of the nation's military bases are in the southeastern states.

It was believed that white outmigrants, especially those born on the Mainland, would be the most dispersed because they were perceived to

have friends and relatives who were quite scattered in Mainland locations as well as tending to have a more "national" as compared to a "local" orientation among Hawaii's nonwhites. It was also expected that among all ethnic groups, those with the most specialized job skills would be the most geographically dispersed on the Mainland.

3.5 What is the Volume of Local Outmigration for Hawaii and How Has it been Changing Over Time?

In this study, it was initially expected that there would be a lower rate of local outmigration from Hawaii than that generally found for Mainland states because of the attachment of local residents to Hawaii and the intervening obstacle presented by the distance to the Mainland. However, it was also expected that local outmigration to the Mainland has increased tremendously since World War II, largely because access to information concerning the Mainland first became extensive in World War II as a result of the wartime military presence and the exposure of Hawaii-born soldiers to the Mainland. In addition, economic conditions in Hawaii (Section 2.9) were assumed to have stimulated the outmigration of many local residents since World War II.

Among previous inmigrants from the Mainland, the annual volume was assumed to have increased greatly since World War II if only because the annual number coming to Hawaii has increased greatly from prewar years. It was expected, however, that year to year fluctuations would be sensitive to economic conditions because recent inmigrants are the most impacted by worsening economic conditions.

3.6 What are the Demographic Characteristics of the Outmigrants from Hawaii?

Migration studies invariably indicate that among adults, migration is concentrated in the 18-29 age group and drops off thereafter with age. Bogue (1959), who otherwise believes that meaningful generalizations concerning migration cannot be made, agrees that migration tends to be age specific. Because migrants tend to be young they are often single, although they do not appear to be more likely than nonmigrants to be single when age is controlled (Folger and Rowan, 1953).

One of Ravenstein's "laws" of migration states that females are more migratory than males (1885, p. 185). However, studies undertaken in various countries do not indicate a consistent pattern of sex selection in migration. Concerning the United States, a recent U.S. Bureau of the Census Survey (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1974) indicates that 6.5 and 6.1 percent of males and females, respectively, moved across state lines in 1973.

Lee (1971) argues that migration tends to be bimodal, with the most and least skilled being most likely to migrate. Support for this assertion is provided by Shimkin's study (1971) of black outmigration from Holmes County, Mississippi, to northern cities. However, a number of other studies show a direct correlation between education and job skills and the propensity to move (Economic Redevelopment Administration, 1964; Pihlblad and Gregory, 1975; Illsley et al., 1963; Marckwardt, 1967; and Long and Boertein, 1976). Kiser's study (1932) of the movement of blacks from St. Helena Island, South Carolina, to northern cities indicated little correlation between social class and the propensity to move north.

Browning and Feindt (1970) conclude that whereas migrants to Monterey, Mexico were at one time strongly positively selected in terms of job skills and education, this selectivity has declined markedly over time as migration to Monterey has become a mass phenomenon. Their finding is supported by a study by Schwarzweller et al. (1971) which indicates that most of the initial movers out of Eastern Kentucky were from "upper class" families, but later the "middle class" and finally "lower class" families became dominant in the outmigration. This pattern appears to have resulted from the differential diffusion rates of information concerning outside job opportunities to persons in the three classes. However, Beijer et al. (1961, p. 201) concluded that there was no evidence that emigrants from Holland were of a "lesser quality than before [emigration] became widespread."

It is argued here that in general the educated and highly skilled are disproportionately migratory for the following reasons: (1) information about alternative locations is undoubtedly positively correlated with education; (2) education and job skills are positively correlated with income, which in part determines the relative costs of a move; (3) highly specialized jobs are much scarcer and more unevenly spatially distributed than nonspecialized jobs (see Lee, 1971); (4) managers and administrators are much more likely to be transferred than blue collar workers; and (5) the pursuits of higher education or specialized job training in themselves often require migration to meet these goals.

There is little reason to suspect that the selectivity of migrants from a given area changes drastically over time, unless the paucity of job opportunities is such that it eventually causes massive depopulation.

Indeed, many semiskilled to unskilled, low paying industries are attracted to areas in which low wages prevail.[12] The chief beneficiaries in such areas can be assumed to be those persons with few job skills and low aspirations.

It was initially expected in the study that local migrants from Hawaii should be even more concentrated among young single adults than is the general case for first time interstate migrants on the national level. Costs of traveling to the Mainland are high and whereas families on the Mainland who move by automobile do not absorb significant extra moving costs for each member of the family, in Hawaii the aggregate air fare to the Mainland for four persons is four times that for one person.[13] Furthermore, the increasing responsibilities and resulting incorporation into the social network after one attains early adulthood that is characteristic of local Oriental families in Hawaii (Section 2.6) can be expected to reduce outmigration of middle-aged Oriental adults.

Among the local population, it was initially expected that the outmigrants immediately after World War II were predominantly male because it was the local World War II servicemen who were first exposed to the

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[12] The movement of textile industries from New England to the southeastern United States is a prime example.

[13] A study undertaken in the early 1960s indicated that the mean cost per move for interlabor area movers who were not transferred was only $180 per family. Among nontransfers, 63 percent of all families paid less than $50 to move their possessions (Area Redevelopment Administration, 1964). Airfare per person from Hawaii to Los Angeles was $320 in 1945, $184 in 1950, $86 in 1970 (the lowest air fare ever) and $120 in 1977. Furthermore, all but minimal possessions have to be shipped separately. For fluctuations in the airfare to Los Angeles, see State of Hawaii Data Book, 1974, Table 255.

Mainland in large numbers and, as a result, received the necessary information with which to make migration decisions. However, the local outmigrants were believed to be presently much more evenly distributed between the sexes and may even be now preponderantly female. This belief is based on two factors: the greatly increased military presence after 1955 which led to increasing possibilities of local females marrying servicemen, who generally go to overseas stations or the Mainland upon completion of their terms of duty in Hawaii; and the increasing dissatisfaction among local Oriental females with their subordinate roles(Section 2.6). Outmigration offers an alternative for those females who are dissatisfied.

Characteristics of the local outmigrants in terms of job skills and education were believed to be very much related to their reasons for leaving Hawaii. It was expected that those who leave for educational and job related reasons would be better educated and with generally more specialized job skills than the general population. Those leaving for military reasons were expected to be somewhat less educated on the average than the general population and those leaving mainly because of high housing costs were expected to be characterized by low incomes. On balance, it was expected that local outmigrants would be characterized by higher job specializations and skills than the local population at large.

3.7 What do Hawaii's Outmigrants Find on the Mainland Compared to Prior Expectations?

The above question phrased in general terms is relevant both to a migrant's adjustment in a given location and his subsequent moves. Few

studies address this issue directly. Lansing and Mueller (1967) suggested that many persons move on the basis of very limited information about the destination and that this hinders the realization of economically purposeful objectives. However, the studies cited in Section 3.4 indicate that most migrants had learned a considerable amount of information concerning the destination before they moved. More than half of the head of household movers in the Beach Creek (Schwarzweller et al., 1971) and "redevelopment area" studies (Area Redevelopment Administration, 1964) arranged jobs in advance before they moved. Studies of Kiser (1932) and Herrick (1965) indicated that more than half of the migrants had visited the destinations before they moved to them.

Although the above studies suggest most migrants are fairly knowledgeable about their destinations, there is a difference between hearing something and actually experiencing it. A local in Hawaii who is told that the winters in North Dakota are extremely cold or that Los Angeles is huge, for instance, can be expected to have an incomplete perception of what these observations mean in terms of lifestyle until he or she has actually experienced them.

It was initially expected that whereas all Hawaii-born adult migrants prior to migration know much about the Mainland in terms of what is taught in the schools, or is shown on television, and that some have considerable access to firsthand information about the Mainland from relatives or friends, many are not knowledgeable about the destinations in terms of having previously visited them.[14] All other things

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[14]A preliminary survey undertaken by the author involving students in a freshman geography class indicated that of the 27 students born in

being equal, prior lack of information was expected to hinder both social and economic adjustments at the destination.

3.8 What Share of Hawaii's Outmigrants Eventually Return to Hawaii? When and Why do They Return?

Return migration, until recently, has received little attention in the migration literature. Perhaps because they commonly assume the primacy of economic reasons in migration, scholars viewing migration from a macrolevel have tended to assume that most return migrants were economic failures at the previous destinations (see Bowman and Myers, 1967; Vanderkamp, 1958; Marckwardt, 1966; and Kiker and Traynham, 1974).

Studies that directly address the motivations of return migrants, however, do not indicate that "economic failure" is usually the primary motive for return. The massive study of Dutch emigration (Beijer et al., 1961) suggested that the great majority of those who returned to Holland did so because of social dissatisfactions, not economic ones. Approximately half of Puerto Ricans who returned to Puerto Rico when their work contracts with the War Manpower Commission expired gave family reasons for returning, as contrasted with less than a quarter who mentioned the expiration of their contracts as the primary reason for returning (Senior, 1971). When Puerto Rican migrants in New York City were asked to compare Puerto Rico with New York City (Myers and Maswick, 1968), intended stayers and returnees gave equal evaluations of economic opportunities in

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Hawaii, eight had never visted the Mainland. Of those who had visited the Mainland, the majority confined their visits largely to Disneyland in California and/or Las Vegas.

both places. However, the intended returnees evaluated Puerto Rico much higher in terms of friends, "good home life," good climate, and "nice neighbors."

Simmons and Ramiro (1972) discovered that migrants returning from Bogatá to rural areas in Colombia tended to be much better educated and much wealthier than those rural-urban migrants who stayed in Bogatá. This appears to be related to the types of economic opportunities available in the rural areas. Nearly half of the returnees in the Beech Creek Study (Schwarzweller et al., 1971) subsequently remigrated to the same or similar destinations. This hardly suggests that the initial moves were regarded as failures.

In summary, available evidence suggests that migrants are more likely to return for social reasons rather than because of economic failure. The type of person who is most likely to return appears to depend on the social and economic characteristics at the origin of the move.

Most return migration appears to occur soon after the initial move. About half of Beech Creek outmigrants who later returned did so within two years of the original migration (ibid.). Campbell and Johnson (1976), after a review of the available literature, concluded that return migration generally occurs within two to four years of the initial move. This generally short period is consistent with the axiom of cumulative inertia earlier discussed, as well as the length of service generally required of former draftees in the military and the period of time generally spent at universities.

There has been a tendency to grossly underestimate the volume of return migration, in part because census data based on five year periods grossly understate the extent of return migration, but also because of a tendency to confuse the issue of the total number of moves with the total number of movers. Marckwardt (1968), for example, after reviewing census data and the Survey Research study showing that only seven percent of all moves made by a nationwide sample between 1950 and 1963 were to the place of birth concluded that return migration was unusual.

However, a number of studies that trace individual movement suggest that the rate of return migration to a given location is often substantial. From change of residence data provided by the Canadian Family Allowance System, Vanderkamp (1958) estimated that perhaps half of all migrants from a given province eventually returned to that province. Kiker and Trayham (1974) concluded from the Social Security Administration work history sample that more than 40 percent of workers who migrated from southeastern states in the early 1960s had returned to the southeast by 1970.[15] The Beech Creek study (Schwarzweller et al., 1971) indicated that more than one-third of those who moved for the first time returned, although many subsequently remigrated. In contrast, however, studies of black outmigrants from Yazoo County, Mississippi (Price, 1971), and St. Helena Island, South Carolina (Kiser,

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[15] However, many undoubtedly did not return to the states they originally migrated from. "Return migration" here is used in a very loose sense. For example, a person moving from Hawaii to New York and then to California could be considered as a "return migrant" if the census-defined "Pacific States" is used as the frame of reference.

1932), indicated that few black outmigtants later returned.[16] Apparently, social and economic conditions in the southern rural areas discouraged return migration of blacks.

The author expected that the rate of return migration among the Hawaii-born population would be much higher than the average found on the Mainland. It was expected that it would be greatest among persons who had moved for military reasons as many who served in the military prior to the establishment of the volunteer army were drafted. Furthermore, being stationed at a military base can easily result in negative perceptions of the surrounding area, especially where local-military tensions are evident.[17] However, it was also believed that many of the other Hawaii-born migrants, especially those attending college on the Mainland, migrate with the intention of returning, some have difficulty adjusting to the Mainland, and family obligations cause many to return. In addition, it was believed that the sense of "belonging in Hawaii" would persist among many local outmigrants.

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[16]Again, the scale used in defining return migration must be kept in mind. In the St. Helena case, at least, few blacks who went to northern cities returned either to the southeast or to South Carolina.

[17]A recent article in the Hawaii Observer explored the bitterness that many servicemen feel about being stationed in Hawaii. Servicemen interviewed appeared to be especially unhappy over perceived anti-G.I. attitudes and actions in the local community. However, career personnel tended to have the attitude that the complaints of the young G.I.s were typical of those found on Mainland bases. See Brian Nicol, ""Many Young G.I.s Seem Especially Unhappy about Living in Hawaii," Hawaii Observer, November 3, 1977, pp. 10-12.

3.9 What is the Relationship Between Inmigration to Hawaii and Local Outmigration from Hawaii?

The question of whether the volume of inmigration is related to the rate of outmigration among either the previous inmigrants or the local population in a given area defies easy answers and, not surprisingly, appears to have escaped attention in the migration literature dealing at scales above the community level. Svart (1976) does argue that outmigration from a formerly desired area begins apace when the "quality of life" declines as a result of population growth, but does not specify whether "locals" or recent arrivals are most likely to leave.

A tentative guess was made that the outmigration of "locals" is stimulated by the inflow of persons from the Mainland. The basis for this belief lies in the fact that most of the inmigrants from the Mainland are highly educated and many are qualified for specialized jobs which are in limited supply. Furthermore, inmigrants do affect housing costs, and housing costs were tentatively identified in Section 3.2 as being a prime cause of outmigration. It was believed, however, that the problems engendered by inmigration would have a much greater effect in stimulating outmigration of the recent inmigrants who have fewer social attachments to Hawaii than the local residents.

3.10 What are the Consequences of the Local Outmigration for Hawaii?

The available migration literature is devoid of any discussion of the consequences of outmigration in areas experiencing a net inmigration. No tentative expectations were formulated prior to the study.

3.11 A Preview of Research Findings

On some issues the research findings confirmed the initial expectations, but the findings were at considerable variance with the initial expectations on a number of important questions. These conflicts resulted from faulty assumptions initially made by the author. Findings pertaining to the research concerns are discussed in the order the concerns were originally raised (see Section 1.3).

What is the volume of local outmigration from Hawaii and how has it been changing over time?

Among those recruited for plantation labor, the rates of outmigration were high for all groups except the Chinese. Prior to World War II, the rates were quite low among Hawaiians and second generation nonwhites, but they continued to be high among second generation Portuguese and Puerto Ricans. On the eve of World War II, perhaps five percent of Hawaii-born adult nonwhites and 40 percent of Caucasian Hawaii-born adults were living on the Mainland.

There was an upsurge in nonwhite outmigration after the end of World War II. The volume of nonwhite outmigration peaked in the late 1950s and thereafter remained at a fairly constant level until about 1970. The outmigration of local whites remained high throughout the postwar period. Since 1970, there has been an apparent drop in the yearly volume of local outmigrants. This drop is related to rising out-of-state college tuitions and the reduced number of personnel in the all volunteer military.

During the late 1950s and the 1960s perhaps two-thirds and five-ninths of Hawaii-born whites and nonwhites, respectively, went to the

Mainland for at least six months after reaching the age of 17. The permanent loss among nonwhites was about 30 percent in the mid-1950s but, because of an increased rate of return, dropped to about 20 percent by the late 1960s. In contrast, the permanent loss among Hawaii-born white adults ranged from 40 to 50 percent for the period between 1945 and 1970. There is not sufficient information with which to estimate the permanent loss of either whites or nonwhites since 1970.

What are the demographic characteristics of the outmigrants?

Most local nonwhites leaving Hawaii prior to World War II were young male adults. Outmigration has continued to involve mainly young adults, but males and females are now equally represented among the nonwhite outmigrants. Most are unmarried and few have accompanying children. Local white outmigrants are also equally likely to be male or female, but are more likely to be married, in their thirties, and accompanied by children. In the long run, the outmigrants tend to be better educated and with higher status occupations than those never moving from Hawaii.

However, this study shows that the personality differences between the movers and stayers are more revealing than the demographic differences. Concerning those who leave, the most apt characterization that can be made is that as compared to those who stay, they are generally more adventuresome and restless. In contrast, the stayers are generally more "rooted" in Hawaii. These attributes do appear to have a positive correlation with eventual academic achievement and occupational ranking.

Why do the outmigrants leave Hawaii? Why do others choose to stay in Hawaii?

The survey of 1964 graduates suggested that about two-fifths of the outmigrants left to attend college, perhaps a quarter left with the military, a fifth went to seek immediate employment on the Mainland and a tenth left with Mainland-born spouses (usually servicemen) to the Mainland. During the late 1950s, the proportion of outmigrants seeking immediate jobs was much higher whereas the proportion leaving to attend college was considerably lower.

However, it must be kept in mind that these are overt purposes, not underlying motivations. Perhaps the most significant findings of the study were that most who left to attend a Mainland college were not motivated by the desire to obtain a better academic education than could be obtained at the University of Hawaii, perhaps a majority initially leaving Hawaii with the military were not drafted or coerced into joining by the threat of the draft, and job and salary dissatisfactions were the major motivations for only a small proportion of those moving to the Mainland to seek immediate employment. Rather, the main motivations behind the moves were to "get off the rock," experience something different, and, in many cases, to escape parental control. Excepting those who married servicemen from the Mainland, few envisioned that they would be on the Mainland for more than a few years.

Information about the Mainland appears to have been of little importance in motivating the initial desire to move. Rather, the general sequence of events was usually that a desire to move first developed and information would then be solicited, usually from friends

and relatives who were either living on the Mainland or had once lived there. If the parents proved willing to pay at least a considerable proportion of the college expenses, the enlistee could pass the military physical and written examination, or the potential jobseeker had a friend to move with and/or relatives and friends at the potential destination, the move would then be generally made.

Why did nearly half of the graduates not move? A minority of the nonmovers did have the desire to move at one time but were prevented from doing so by outside circumstances. However, it does appear that the large majority who had a strong desire to move did so as most had friends and/or relatives living on the Mainland, requirements for military service were not overly demanding, and Island parents in general have college ambitions for their children and are willing to finance a Mainland college education if it is economically feasible to do so. The large majority who did not leave the Isles had no strong desire to do so. For them, the security of family and friends and the Island "way of life" were paramount considerations. In contrast to those eager to leave, they tended to believe negative reports about the Mainland. In general, the movers could be termed "restless" or "adventuresome" whereas the stayers were security oriented. Economic circumstances appear to have been largely unrelated to these orientations although those from affluent families had the highest probabilities of moving to the Mainland via the college route.

In contrast, most of the outmigration among plantation laborers was economically oriented. Prior to the Great Depression, economic opportunities on the west coast were far superior to those offered in

Hawaii. Even more important, however, was the fact that most laborers who left had not been in Hawaii long enough to establish "roots" there.

What are the social contexts in which outmigration takes place? Is there a differential rate of outmigration among Hawaii's major ethnic groups and is this influenced by differential cultural influences acting on members of Hawaii's major ethnic groups?

The survey of 1964 high school graduates revealed that close family relationships discourage outmigration as does a strong identification with perceived "local" values. Mainly for these reasons, the outmigration rate is much lower among nonwhites than whites.

Among local nonwhites, outmigration rates of the various ethnic groups are similar. However, the outmigration rate of married Orientals, especially those with children, is much lower than among other married nonwhites. This is related to the accumulation of family ties and obligations that develop after marriage in Oriental families.

Social influences markedly affect the rates of return migration. This issue is discussed later in the section on return migration.

Where do Hawaii's outmigrants go? What are the factors influencing the destination choices?

The largest number by far move to California, but the actual proportion going to California at a given time depends on the distribution of overt purposes for moving. Almost all who seek employment go to San Francisco or Los Angeles. Large proportions of those attending college go to Oregon, Washington, or a midwestern state. Many who join the military are assigned to bases in the south, once basic training in California is completed. Those marrying servicemen generally return with them to their home states.

However, a considerable proportion of those who initially move to places other than California end up in the Golden State. Retentive powers of all non-California destinations are low.

Those initially moving to California are attracted mainly by good employment opportunities, high wages, good climate, abundant knowledge about the state, and friends and relatives and many other former Isle residents living there. Large numbers of Orientals per se do not attract local Oriental outmigrants to California; rather, it is the large number of Orientals with Hawaii antecedents.

For those choosing to attend college outside of California, the northwest is preferred by many because it is perceived to be environmentally attractive and Hawaii students are already plentiful in many of the colleges there. Many attending non-west coast colleges are attracted by the elements of adventure and experiencing what it is like to live away from other Orientals and Island people in general.

For those joining the military or marrying servicemen, the element of choice in the initial Mainland destination is generally absent.

Many migrants originally moving to other areas later move to California because it is widely considered to be the Mainland state that best combines the advantages of Hawaii and the Mainland. Discounting the sites of basic training for those in the military, only about two-fifths of the 1964 high school graduates who left originally moved to California. By 1975, however, nearly two-thirds of the graduates still living on the Mainland were residing in California.

What do Hawaii's outmigrants find in the Mainland compared to prior expectations?

Excluding those in the military, most persons who move do have some knowledge about the place they initially move to, but this knowledge is not a substitute for actually living in the area. It appears that the amount of prior knowledge about the area moved to is not an important consideration for the eventual social and economic adjustments of the local outmigrants. For the bulk of outmigrants the most important factors in adjustment are their personalities and events unique to each individual.

What share of Hawaii's outmigrants eventually return to Hawaii? When and why do they return?

The return rate depends on economic circumstances and the degree of social attachment to Hawaii. Among those plantation laborers departing before World War II, few returned. This reflects both the lack of economic opportunities in Hawaii and the lack of Hawaii "roots."

Those nonwhites who left during the early 1950s were in the main intensely loyal to Hawaii, but economic conditions in Hawaii were then very poor. Under such circumstances, only about a third eventually returned. In contrast, the Hawaii economy was rapidly expanding in the late 1960s. Under such conditions between 50 and 60 percent of the nonwhite outmigrants among the 1964 high school graduates returned to Hawaii before this study was undertaken. The comparable rate for the whites in the 1964 graduating class was well under 50 percent. The rate of return for the nonwhites among the 1964 high school graduates is well in excess of return rates generally cited in the migration literature as being "average."

Most return migration occurs within five years of the initial move. Return usually occurs almost immediately after the purpose that motivated the initial move is fulfilled.

Few in the survey sample returned because of economic difficulties. For most returnees the stay on the Mainland was a success in terms of academic training, learning job skills, or broadening personal outlooks. At the time of their initial moves most had expected to return, but this is also true of most who were still on the Mainland in 1975. Those who returned did so mainly for social reasons; their hearts had always been in Hawaii during their Mainland stays. By contrast, those who stayed on the Mainland did so mainly for economic reasons. Whereas those graduating from high school were generally aware of the generally better job opportunities and high wages as well as lower living costs on the Mainland, knowledge of these facts made little practical impression for most and did not provide the stimulus for very much of the outmigration. However, the practical significance of these facts in terms of standard of living became increasingly obvious with duration of residence on the Mainland. Those who valued their economic improvement more than the social ties of friends and relatives or the local lifestyle were generally the ones who stayed on the Mainland.

What is the relationship between inmigration to Hawaii and local outmigration from Hawaii?

To the extent that this study does not focus on inmigration it cannot provide adequate information on which to assess the relationship between inmigration of nonlocals from the Mainland and foreign countries and the outmigration of local residents. The author believes for reasons

discussed in Chapter II that inmigration is a cause of the high housing costs, increased crowding, especially on Oahu, and a contributor to the presently substantial (in comparison to the Mainland) unemployment rate.[18] Assuming these beliefs to be true (and they can be legitimately debated), the facts that there was an almost complete absence of persons in the questionnaire sample who moved primarily because of high housing costs or perceived environmental degradation and only a small proportion moved primarily for economic reasons suggest that the impact of inmigrants from elsewhere on the gross outmigration has been insignificant. Its impact has been much greater in discouraging the return of outmigrants already on the Mainland. Perhaps three-quarters would return if they were assured of jobs on return and housing costs on Hawaii and on the Mainland were comparable; the actual proportion returning during the 1970s was probably under half. Economic considerations being equal, the rate of outmigration of recent inmigrants is undoubtedly sensitive to the volume of inmigration as recent inmigrants are most impacted by economic problems resulting from inmigration and furthermore do not have social ties to keep them in Hawaii.

What are the consequences of the local outmigration for Hawaii?

In discussing the consequences of the outmigration of local residents for Hawaii, one cannot avoid making value judgments concerning what is "good." During the 1960s apparently about 50 percent of local

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[18]On the other hand, the tourist sector is undoubtedly helped by the influx of persons willing to take low paying jobs shunned by locals. This certainly helps keep tourist costs competitive with those of competing tourist areas.

non-Haoles and perhaps two-thirds of local Haoles reaching maturity migrated to the Mainland within 10 years of reaching the age of 18. These rates suggest an annual gross outmigration of some 5,000 Hawaii-born non-Haole adults and perhaps 900 Hawaii-born Haole adults.[19] However, since the permanent loss is estimated to have been approximately 20 percent among local non-Haoles and 40 percent among local Haoles, the net loss is estimated to have been in the neighborhood of perhaps 2,000 and 500 respectively. This annual net loss of approximately 2,500 adults represents approximately one percent of the Hawaii-born population in Hawaii that was aged 18 and over in 1970. Compared to the estimated 20,000 nonmilitary related civilians and 6,000 inmigrants arriving annually in the late 1960s this is not a large number. Changes in ethnic distribution that are taking place in Hawaii are far more a function of the inmigration from the Mainland and abroad than of local residents leaving for the Mainland.[20]

Of concern to policy makers should be the types of local residents leaving the state. The survey sample shows that the restless and

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[19]Approximately 11,000 persons graduated from high school annually during the 1960s. Estimates of the Hawaii Department of Education suggest that about 83 percent of those who were eligible to graduate did so during the decade. Perhaps three-quarters of the 13,250 who are estimated to have reached the age of 18 each year were Hawaii-born non-Haoles. The proportion who were Hawaii-born Haoles almost certainly did not exceed 10 percent. Applying the outmigration rates of 50 percent for non-Haoles and 67 percent for Haoles yield yearly totals of 5,000 and 900 respectively. This estimate ignores the possibility of outmigration past age 29 (the age of the survey sample) but 1970 public use census data show this number to be small (see Chapter V).

[20]It would not surprise the author if a study revealed that more than half of the nonmilitary related "intended residents" normally leave within five years of arrival in Hawaii. However, the inmigration from the Mainland is of such a magnitude that even an outmigration rate of 60 percent of the nonlocal inmigrants would not change the above observation.

discontented are overrepresented among the local outmigrants. If one is to view the prevailing local values as the best of possible worlds, the loss of the discontented may be viewed as desirable. If, on the other hand, change is viewed as necessary to meet new challenges, the outmigration could be viewed with alarm.

From the author's viewpoint, the returnees are beneficial to both the local economy and society. A high proportion have graduated from Mainland colleges and some have learned skills there that could not have been obtained in Hawaii. From the questionnaire survey, it is obvious that most returnees felt broadened by living on the Mainland, yet felt a strong commitment to the local society. In that sense they were maintainers rather than threats to local values. It is no accident that the overwhelming majority of local politicians who were instrumental in the overthrow of the pre-World War II political oligopoly received part or all of their college educations on the Mainland. This experience gave them an expanded vision of what "could be" while doing nothing to shake their fundamental commitment to what they considered to be the positive aspects of the island society.

Both the questionnaire survey and the 1970 public use census sample revealed the long-term outmigrants (defined as those still living on the Mainland in 1975 in the questionnaire sample and on the Mainland for more than five years in the public use sample) to be on the average much better educated and with higher job skills than their counterparts in Hawaii. This may seem a loss to Hawaii, but it must be kept in mind that migrants in general are better educated and have higher job skills than nonmigrants. Furthermore, the local economy cannot fully utilize

those who have learned occupations for which there is no demand in Hawaii. Those migrants coming from the Mainland are in general well educated and in professional or managerial occupations, and outnumber the local outmigrants. Of course, the inmigrants are perceived by most local residents to be socially different and to compete for the relatively limited number of high status jobs in the economy.

The questionnaire survey and subsequent interviews revealed that many of the long-term outmigrants felt a strong commitment to Hawaii but believed they could not return because of the limited job market and high living costs, especially for housing. The fact that those persons would prefer to live in Hawaii but are still on the Mainland is an indication of real problems that exist in Hawaii. Nevertheless, the number of local residents permanently lost to the Mainland per year because of these problems perhaps did not exceed 1,500 a year during the late 1960s. This is not a substantial loss.

3.12 Summary

Tentative expectations discussed in this chapter evolved from several basic considerations. It was expected that most of the civilian outmigration from Hawaii is either a direct or an indirect result of economic and housing problems in Hawaii. However, the recent inmigrants and local residents were expected to be differentially affected by these problems and to have generally different social orientations to Hawaii. As a result, the outmigration rate of recent inmigrants was expected to be much greater than that of Hawaii-born residents. However, differential outmigration rates were expected among the different local ethnic

groups. This was expected partly because of differing general socioeconomic circumstances, but, in addition, larger societal influences were expected to play a role.

It was expected that the outmigration of Hawaii's local nonwhite population is heavily directed to California because of a perception that California is most similar to Hawaii in terms of climate, as well as the facts that large Japanese, Chinese, Filipino populations already reside in California, outmigration from Hawaii was heavily directed to California in the past, wages in California tend to be well above the national average, and California is the least distant of all Mainland states. Although local Haoles and previous inmigrants were also expected to be concentrated in California, they were expected to be more dispersed than the local nonwhite population because they were assumed to have a generally greater knowledge of alternative destinations and a weaker "local orientation."

It was initially believed that the yearly volume of local outmigration has increased greatly since World War II. This is due to the greater information now available about the Mainland, but also to chronic economic problems in Hawaii. It was expected that the local adult outmigrants would be younger on the average than the national average for first time outmigrants, about equally male and female, and generally of a higher socioeconomic status than those not migrating. These characteristics were expected to result from obstacles in moving to the Mainland, various social values in the local population, and differential economic needs and perceptions of opportunities elsewhere.

It was believed that the return rate among Hawaii's local outmigrants would be high by Mainland standards, largely because of the strong emotional ties to Hawaii that were expected to persist among most local residents who move to the Mainland. It was also expected that inmigration from the Mainland would be positively related to the outmigration of the local population because the problems believed to stimulate outmigration were perceived to be partly a function of population growth.

Perhaps the biggest surprise concerning the research findings was the discovery that only a small proportion of the contemporary local outmigration is stimulated either directly or indirectly by economic and housing problems in Hawaii. Furthermore, formal academic considerations are generally not important motivations for attending college on the Mainland. More important are the desires for change, to experience the Mainland, independence, and to escape from family situations. Most initially do not envision their departure to be permanent.

In contrast to the author's initial expectations, the rate of gross local outmigration has declined since the late 1960s. This is related to the great increase in out-of-state college tuitions and the drop in manpower needs of the all volunteer army.

As expected, the annual rate of outmigration is higher among local whites than nonwhites. This appears to be related to a stronger "local" orientation among nonwhites. Outmigration rates appear to be similar among the major nonwhite ethnic groups.

The outmigration of the local nonwhites is heavily directed towards California. However, the proportion who go to California during a given time period depends on the distribution of overt purposes associated with

the moves. The proportion who initially move to California is much lower than the proportion who permanently settle there in preference to other Mainland states.

As expected, the study revealed that most nonwhite local outmigrants are young unmarried adults without accompanying children. The past male dominance among nonwhite outmigrants was shown to have given way to a numerical balance between the sexes. Outmigrants were shown to be characterized by higher educational, occupational and income levels than nonmigrants. More important, however, are the personality differences between the migrants and nonmigrants. As compared to the nonmigrants, the movers are characterized by a greater restlessness, desire for adventure, and a wish to experience change.

Not unexpectedly, the study showed that the return rate of local nonwhites is high by national standards. This return rate is highly sensitive to economic conditions in Hawaii. If they are good, more than half of the nonwhite outmigrants will return whereas perhaps only a third will return if economic conditions are poor. Insomuch as economic conditions affect the net outmigration rate, it is through return migration. In fact, the volume of inmigration from the Mainland and abroad appears to have little influence on the outmigration of local residents, but does discourage return migration that would take place if there were no inmigration of nonlocal residents.

Evidence for the research findings are presented in Chapters IV through XIV. Implications of these findings for migration theory and Hawaii's population policies are discussed in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORICAL OUTMIGRATION PATTERNS AS REVEALED BY SECONDARY SOURCES

4.1 Introduction

An historical approach in studying migration is valuable for four reasons: (1) present migration flows are not independent of past flows in the sense that persons who have previously moved to a location exercise an influence on present migration patterns because of information conveyed to potential migrants and practical assistance rendered for those who move; (2) an understanding of social and economic conditions in the past and how persons reacted to them in terms of migration can give valuable insights on how persons will react in the future, given similar conditions; (3) the migration process itself is illuminated by an understanding of how changing conditions are related to changing patterns of movement in terms of volume, destination, and duration; and (4) migration itself is a dynamic process and a look at one time period as is common in migration studies often induces a static view of the reality of migration.

This chapter provides an historical overview of outmigration trends as shown by the census, immigration, and other sources of available secondary data ordinarily used in migration research. More detailed information on historical migration patterns is to be found in the various appendices. As will become apparent during the chapter, this approach does give a historical perspective on migration patterns and an

idea of the volume of outmigration as well as some of the gross demographic characteristics of the outmigrants. Research questions left unanswered by this approach will also become apparent in this chapter.

4.2 Outmigration Prior to World War II as Revealed by Steerage and Other Historical Data

The flow of Hawaiians to the Mainland and other overseas areas began shortly after the initial visit of Captain Cook in 1778.[1] This number grew from an estimated 200 (out of 134,750) in 1823 to 4,000 (of an estimated 83,000) in 1850 but thereafter began to decline and in 1920 there were only 126 Hawaiians enumerated on the Mainland.[2] This number increased to 660 (compared to 64,000 still in Hawaii) in 1930 but then declined slightly to approximately 650 in 1940.[3] The increase in the number of Hawaiians away from Hawaii up to 1850 was related to the rise of the whaling industry and the need for Hawaiian seamen on whaling vessels, and a demand for labor to extract unexploited resources on the United States and Canadian west coast. The subsequent decline resulted largely from the demise of the whaling industry, the decreasing need for

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[1]A detailed discussion of the initial outflow of Hawaiians as well as that of other groups prior to World War II is contailed in Appendix A.

[2]Estimates for 1823 and 1850 are derived from an unpublished manuscript by Romanzo Adams which is on file in the Hawaii collection at the University of Hawaii. The 1920 figure is derived from published data of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

[3]657 "Polynesians" were enumerated in 1940. Only six non-Hawaiian Polynesians were enumerated on the Mainland in 1930.

persons with skills the Hawaiians had for exploiting the fishing, timber and mineral resources of the west coast, and the increasing discrimination Hawaiians were subjected to on the Mainland (see Appendix A). Although the outmigration of Hawaiians prior to the twentieth century has had virtually no influence on present outmigration patterns of Hawaiians, this early movement is of interest as it is a demonstration that the native Hawaiians responded in large numbers to economic incentives afforded elsewhere.

The volume and sex distribution of the outmigrants from the various groups recruited for plantation labor are summarized in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Persons wishing more detail are referred to Appendix A. Table 4.1 shows that with the exception of the Chinese, substantial proportions in each group recruited went to the Mainland. Among the Spaniards, Russians, Germans and Hindus (as well as Norwegians, Galicians and other smaller European groups not shown in Table 4.1) the outmigration was of such a magnitude that these groups ceased to have a separate identity. Notable is the large return flow of the Asians back to their country of origin whereas virtually all of the European and Puerto Rican departees went to the Mainland. Although the most immediate explanation for this is that the Mainland provided an intervening opportunity for those Europeans and Puerto Ricans wishing to return "home," this is not the primary reason. Planters preferred unmarried Asian males who would leave after their contracts expired. Therefore, it served their purpose to recruit Asians committed to eventual return "home." In contrast, Europeans and Puerto Ricans were recruited largely in family groups and expected to stay, thus providing a counterweight to

Table 4.1. Summary of the Outmigration of Groups Imported for Plantation Labor in Hawaii

Group	Years imported and total number		Number Leaving to Mainland Via Steerage Passage	Estimated Number Returning to Home Country	Number Moving to Hawaii from West Coast 1912-1934	Comments
Japanese	1886-1924	180,000	1,000 prior to 1898 40,000 1900-1907 3,434 1908-1934[a] Approx. 45,000 total	100,000	2,428	Outmigration of laborers from Japan prevented by Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907
Filipinos	1908-1934	120,000	21,683 1909-1934	40,000	1,466	Outmigration virtually halted by Tydings-McDuffy Act in 1934
Chinese	1878-1884	46,000	1,000 prior to 1898 1,371 1906-1934 Approx. 2,400 total	23,000	1,455	Aliens prevented by law from moving to Mainland after 1882
Korean	1904-1905	8,000	1,163 1905-1907 143 1908-1933[a] 1,306 total	1,246	34	Restriction for Japanese applied for Koreans as well
Portuguese	1878-1884 1906-1913 Total	10,700 6,800 17,500	3,900 prior to 1898 6,500 1900-1910[b] 7,699 1911-1934 Approx. 18,100 total	Virtually none	1,730	Due to high rate of natural increase there were 25,000 Portuguese in Hawaii in 1930

Table 4.1 (continued) Summary of the Outmigration of Groups Imported for Plantation Labor in Hawaii

Group	Years imported		Number Leaving to Mainland Via Steerage Passage	Estimated Number Returning to Home Country	Number Moving to Hawaii from West Coast 1912-1934	Comments
Spanish	1906-1913	8,000	1,000 1907-1910[b] 6,303 1911-1928 Approx. 7,300 total	Virtually none	89	Only 1,248 enumerated in 1930 census
Puerto Rican	1901 1921	5,000 676	500 1902-1910[b] 1,793 1911-1934 Approx. 2,300 total	Virtually none	191	6,671 in Hawaii in 1930; 8,296 in Hawaii in 1940.
Russian	1906-1916	2,248	1,503 1907-1928	Virtually none	95	Ceased to be group with separate identity by 1920.
"Hindu"	1904-1905	629	457 1906-1912	135	0	Completely out of Hawaii by 1913
Germans	1881-1885	1,403	Not counted separately but probably over 1,000	Virtually none	Unknown, but very few	Most of German community moved to Mainland by 1920

[a]The large majority of persons leaving between 1907 and 1934 were native born. See "comment" for explantation of why this was so.

[b]Approximately 8,000 "Iberians" were counted among the steerage outmigrants between 1900 and 1910. Based on circumstantial evidence, 500 of this total was allotted to Puerto Ricans, and Spanish were assumed to have numbered about 1,000. This left 6,500 Portuguese.

Sources: Lind (1938, p. 205), U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1905, p. 21), Adams (1937, pp. 11-12), and Report of the Hawaii Governor to the Commissioner General of the U.S. for the years 1906-1934.

Table 4.2. Sex Distribution of Steerage Migrants to Mainland, 1884-1934

Group	Adult Male	Adult Female	All Children	Total
European				
Portuguese	7,500	4,400	6,200	18,100
Spanish	3,000	1,600	2,700	7,300
Puerto Rican	1,000	600	700	2,300
Russian	700	300	500	1,500
All European[a]	12,200	6,900	10,100	29,200
Asian				
Japanese to 1907[b]	37,800	2,700	1,100	41,600
1907-1933	2,600	600	200	3,400
Filipino	20,700	500	450	21,700
Chinese	2,000	200	200	2,400
Korean to 1907[b]	1,080	50	40	1,170
1907-1933	110	30	0	140
"Hindu"	450	0	0	450
All Asian	64,740	4,130	1,990	70,690
All Persons	76,940	11,030	12,090	100,060

[a]Including German and miscellaneous groups would probably take total to 31,000

[b]Most leaving after 1907 were Hawaii-born.

Sources: See Table 4.7.

the "yellow peril." Those families recruited did not expect to return. Furthermore, whites on the west coast were much more hospitable to Europeans than to Asians.

The strategies of recruitment followed by the planters are reflected in Table 4.2 which shows the sex distribution of migrants to the Mainland. More than 90 percent of Asians going to the Mainland were adult males and fewer than three percent were children. Among those of non-Asian ancestry, adult males, adult females, and children comprised approximately 40, 25, and 35 percent, respectively of the outmigrants. One result of these differences was that whereas Asians comprised more than two-thirds of the outmigrants, Hawaii-born whites outnumbered their nonwhite counterparts on the Mainland by more than three to one on the Mainland by 1930 (see Section 4.5).

Various sources cited in Appendix A on why plantation laborers departed to the Mainland agree on the fundamental causes; low wages and dissatisfaction with working conditions on the plantations. Wages were much higher on the west coast and during the first two decades of the twentieth century, at least, the west coast provided more opportunity for upwardly mobile nonwhites. Had legal restrictions not been placed on their movement (see Table 4.1 and Appendix A), the numbers of Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos going to the Mainland would have been greater. One indication that most outmigrants believed their move to be wise was the low rate of return from the Mainland (Table 4.1). That the Chinese alone were relatively immune to the lures of the Mainland results from their early arrival and movement away from the plantations into Hawaii commerce and the rampant anti-Chinese sentiment that existed on the west coast.

Numbers going to the Mainland dropped substantially during the Great Depression. Steerage data do not exist for the years after 1934 but the trend for the years from 1929 to 1934 is clear; 3,108 departures in 1929, 2,218 in 1930, 1,248 in 1932, 581 in 1933 and 856 in 1934. The 1934 figure would have been well below that of 1933 had it not been for the departure of 520 Filipinos who left in anticipation of the implementation of the Tydings-McDuffy Act.[4] This declining number was a reaction to worsening economic conditions on the Mainland; the impact of the Great Depression in Hawaii was quite mild compared to that on the Mainland.

All told, approximately 100,000 plantation laborers and their descendants left to the Mainland prior to World War II. Considering the fact that the non-Haole and the non-Hawaiian population in Hawaii in 1940 was under 350,000, this represents a substantial number indeed.

4.3 Outmigration from Hawaii Prior to World War II as Indicated by U.S. Census Place of Birth Data

Changes in the numbers of Hawaii-born enumerated on the Mainland between 1850 and 1940 are given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 does not adequately convey the demographic impact of the discontented plantation laborers who went to the Mainland as few were Hawaii-born and the large majority of Oriental outmigrants were single males. Nevertheless, Table 4.3 is enlightening in that it shows that the number of Hawaii-born living on the Mainland grew very slowly

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[4]The Tydings-McDuffy Act, which was implemented in May, 1934, specified that only 50 Filipinos a year were to be admitted to the Mainland United States. Under the provisions of the law, all foreign-born Filipinos in Hawaii were considered Filipino nationals.

Table 4.3

Number of Hawaii-born Enumerated in the Contiguous United States, 1850-1940

Year	Total	White	Negro	Other Nonwhite	All Hawaii-Born	% on Mainland
1850	588	na	na	na		
1860	435	na	na	na		
1870	584	na	na	na		
1880	1,278	na	na	na		
1890	1,304	na	na	na	49,421	2.6
1900	1,317	1,261[a]	31	25	60,238	2.2
1910	3,741	3,416[a]	58	267	90,224	4.1
1920	10,551	9,351	191	1,009	146,900	7.2
1930	19,457	15,349	217	3,891	233,974	8.3
1940	23,723	18,619	5,113		302,229	7.8

[a]including Hawaiians

Sources: Schmitt, 1968, p. 183, and 1850 to 1940 U.S. Censuses.

between 1850 and 1900, but increased rapidly thereafter to 1930. The increase between 1930 and 1940, however, did not keep pace with the growth of the Hawaii-born population.

Although the published 1940 census (and earlier censuses as well) contains no information concerning the number of Hawaii-born living in Hawaii by race, a reasonable estimate is made here that approximately 28 percent of all Hawaii-born whites but only 2.2 percent of Hawaii-born nonwhites were residing on the Mainland in 1940.[5] Among the nonwhite

[5]The reasoning for the estimates is based on information contained in the 1940 census of Hawaii. There were a total of 54,228 persons in Hawaii who were born on the Mainland. As only 255 Negroes were enumerated in the census, a reasonable estimate is that at least 53,500 of the Mainland-born were Caucasian. 7,851 were born in Europe and 1,851 were born in Puerto Rico. Assuming all of these to be white, there were 49,000

Hawaii-born, outmigration to the Mainland had not yet become a widespread phenomenon.

Leading destinations of Hawaii-born outmigrants between 1900 and 1940 are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

States Containing the Largest Shares of Hawaii-born Residents 1900-1940

Year	Leading	(%)	Second	(%)	Third	(%)
			A. All Persons			
1900	California	63.0	Washington	9.1	Utah	7.5[a]
1910	California	85.3	Washington	3.8	Utah	1.7
1920	California	78.5	Washington	4.4	New York	2.4
1930	California	79.7	Washington	3.0	New York	2.9
1940	California	75.3	New York	4.0	Washington	3.3
			B. White			
1920	California	79.9	Washington	4.1	New York	2.4
1930	California	80.0	Washington	2.9	New York	2.8
1940	California	73.5	New York	3.8	Washington	3.4
			C. Nonwhite			
1920[b]	California	74.8	Washington	5.7	Michigan	3.7
1930[b]	California	80.5	Washington	3.5	New York	2.7
1940[c]	California	81.9	New York	4.7	Washington	2.9

[a]Reflects the Hawaiian Mormon Settlement of Iosepa.
[b]Excluding Negroes.
[c]Including Negroes.

Sources: 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930 and 1940 U.S. Censuses.

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whites in Hawaii (out of 112,100) who were born in Hawaii. The residual 229,500 Hawaii-born living in Hawaii were presumably nonwhite.

It was in the early twentieth century that a large number of imported plantation laborers and offspring migrated to the Mainland. All available evidence suggest that the large majority did not move beyond the west coast. Notable in Table 4.4 is an indication of the relative lack of attractiveness of Oregon and Washington, as compared to California. In 1940, for instance, the California population was approximately double that of Oregon and Washington combined, yet the Hawaii-born in California outnumbered those in the northwest by more than seventeen to one. Undoubtedly, one reason for the preference for California is that all scheduled passenger service from Hawaii to the west coast prior to 1920 was to San Francisco.

In 1940, the sex ratios among the Hawaii-born residing on the Mainland were 102 and 180, respectively, among whites and nonwhites. The balanced sex ratio among whites in part reflects the fact that many migrated to the Mainland as children of foreign-born adults. In contrast, few children accompanied the foreign-born Japanese and Filipinos who migrated to the Mainland in the early twentieth century. A marked excess of males appears to be a common pattern in newly formed outmigration streams. In discussing outmigration from an Appalachian community, Schwarzweller et al. (1971) noted that there was strong parental opposition in the study area to unaccompanied female migration unless relatives lived at the destination. This appears to be a plausible explanation for the marked male surplus among the nonwhite Hawaii-born who moved to the Mainland prior to World War II. Most societies are more protective (or restrictive) of female than of male adolescents. Not until after World War II was there a sufficient number of nonwhites on the

Mainland to ensure a good probability that a female wishing to move unaccompanied to the Mainland had relatives at a given destination.

The 1940 published census gives place of birth of residents living in large cities. A breakdown of the numbers of Hawaii-born by race in large California cities is given in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Numbers of Hawaii-born in California Cities, 1940

City	Pop. (000)	%	Hawaii-born Whites	%	Hawaii-born Nonwhites	%
San Francisco	634	9.2	2,218	16.2	620	14.8
Oakland	302	4.4	3,639	26.6	122	2.9
Los Angeles	1,504	21.8	831	6.1	1,294	30.9
San Diego	230	3.3	553	4.0	77	1.8
Total California	6,908		13,682		4,186	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1940, Place of Birth

Table 4.5 shows that more than a quarter of the Hawaii-born whites living in California in 1940 (and a fifth of all whites on the Mainland) were residing in Oakland. In 1940, the Portuguese in California were concentrated in Oakland and surrounding Alameda County (Brown, 1944). This large number of Hawaii-born in Oakland suggests that a large share (perhaps a majority) of the Hawaii-born whites living in California were of Portuguese ancestry. In contrast, few nonwhites were attracted to Oakland. Los Angeles attracted few whites in proportion to its size. One reason was probably the lack of direct passenger service to Los

Angeles from Hawaii until 1922. More than a quarter of all nonwhites living on the Mainland in 1940 were in Los Angeles. More than half of all Japanese living in California in 1940 resided in Los Angeles county and it appears that most Hawaii-born Japanese went to Los Angeles. Evidence for this premise will be presented in Chapter VII, in which the location of the Hawaii-born as shown by the public use census tapes is discussed.

Prior to 1922, all passenger ships serving California from Hawaii went to San Francisco, and in 1940 San Francisco contained more than its share (as measured by its proportion of the California population) of both Hawaii-born whites and nonwhites. Whether the Hawaii-born Chinese were concentrated in San Francisco (the residence of most Chinese living in California) cannot be determined from place of birth data, but evidence to be presented in Chapter VII suggests that this was the case.

4.4 Outmigration Prior to World War II; a Summary

There was a substantial outmigration to the Mainland prior to World War II. Hawaiians left in large numbers in the mid-nineteenth century and the flow was reduced in the late nineteenth century only because of changing economic conditions and increasing discrimination against Hawaiians on the west coast (see Appendix A). Among the various groups recruited for plantation labor, only the Chinese were characterized by a low outflow to the Mainland. All told, approximately 100,000 of the plantation laborers and their descendants left prior to World War II, with most migrating within a few years of arrival in Hawaii.

Most apparently departed because of dissatisfaction with the onerous conditions of plantation labor and a perception that economic conditions

and opportunities for advancement were better on the west coast. Furthermore, most of the nonwhites and many of the whites had no family ties to keep them in Hawaii. This great outflow suggests there is nothing uniquely "American" about substantial volumes of movement into and out of frontier areas. It also provides support for the axiom that once a person makes a move, he is more prone than previous nonmovers to move to a different place that appears promising.

Most of the outmigrants settled in California and, within California, most of the Spanish, Portuguese and Puerto Ricans went to the Bay Area. The Japanese, by contrast, appear to have been overwhelmingly attracted to the Los Angeles area. In the case of the Puerto Ricans, Spanish and Portuguese, all of whom left largely in family groups, communications with those left in Hawaii appear to have been well established prior to World War II. In contrast, the bulk of Asians who left were single males recently recruited from their countries of birth, and the proportion of Hawaii-born nonwhites who lived on the Mainland was still miniscule in 1940. For the nonwhites in general, the communications network between persons still in Hawaii and those on the Mainland was undoubtedly only weakly established prior to World War II. However, there does appear to have been sufficient information about Mainland conditions that worsening economic conditions on the Mainland during the Great Depression resulted in a sharply reduced nonwhite outflow to the Mainland.

4.5 Migration Since World War II: An Overview

As was discussed in Chapter II, World War II represented a watershed, both in economic and social terms, for Hawaii's local population.

It also represents a watershed in terms of the migration flows into and out of Hawaii. Caucasians from the Mainland replaced Asians from abroad as the primary source of new residents. With the partial exception of the Filipinos, the return of plantation laborers to their home countries almost completely stopped after World War II. Almost all outmigrants now move to the Mainland. Military related migration since World War II has contributed more than half of all migratory movements into and out of the state. Needless to say, it greatly complicates the evaluation of migration trends.

Economic conditions since World War II have been discussed in detail in Chapter II, but in brief the history is as follows: boom conditions in World War II accompanied by an influx of 82,000 war workers from the Mainland; a slowdown between the end of the war and 1949, but with the impact cushioned by the departure of most of the imported war workers; economic collapse in 1949 and 1950 which was caused by a sudden reduction in the federal government work force and the transfer of military personnel elsewhere; sluggish economic conditions between 1951 and 1955, improving economic conditions between 1955 and 1960, rapid economic expansion between 1960 and 1970, and a slowly expanding economy characterized by high unemployment since the end of 1970.

Hawaii's population grew from 423,300 in 1940 to 500,000 in 1950, 632,700 in 1960, 769,900 in 1960 and an estimated 846,900 in 1975. This represents a doubling in only 35 years. However, there was a net outmigration in both the 1940-50 and 1950-60 decades. According to the author's estimates, the net migration in the nonmilitary related

population was -15,800 between 1940 and 1950, -24,000 between 1950 and 1960, and +43,900 between 1960 and 1970. Methods of derivation and separate estimates for whites and nonwhites are presented in Appendix B.

Between the end of World War II and 1965 the main source used by the Hawaii government to estimate net migration was the yearly count of civilian passengers entering and leaving Hawaii. The difference between the two figures was assumed to be the net migration between Hawaii and the Mainland. Net migration estimates derived from the passenger surveys are portrayed in Figure 4.1. Fluctuations shown correspond closely to economic conditions in Hawaii.

Beginning with 1951, the state government has collected data on intended residents from the Mainland who arrive in civilian carriers. Prior to 1960, the intended residents were classifed as military or nonmilitary, but military dependents have been counted separately since 1960. Trends in the number of nonmilitary related intended residents with adjustments made for the estimated numbers of military dependents among the pre-1960 intended residents are portrayed in Figure 4.2. It shows the following: less than 6,000 nonmilitary related intended residents arriving annually between 1951 and 1955; an increase to 12,000 by 1959 with little change thereafter to 1962; a rapid rise to a peak of more than 24,000 in 1970; and a decline to 18,300 by 1975. Although the absolute numbers shown may be inaccurate,[6] overall trends are

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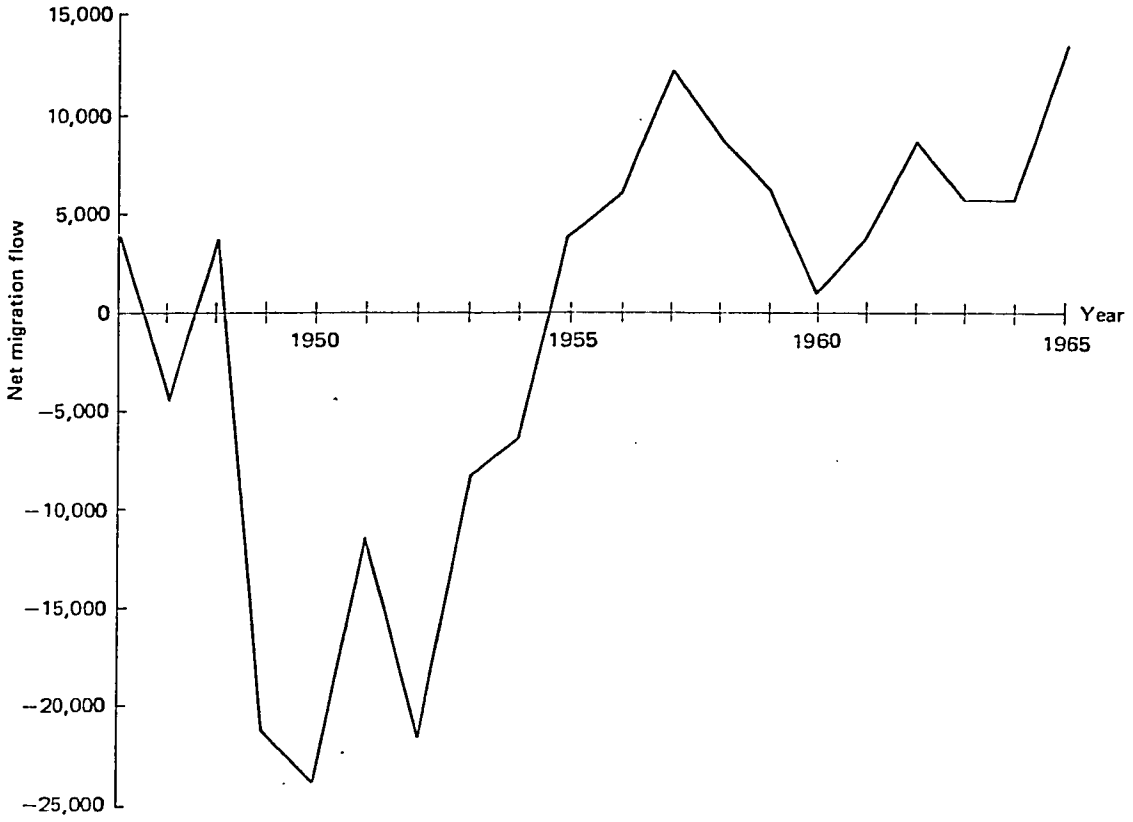
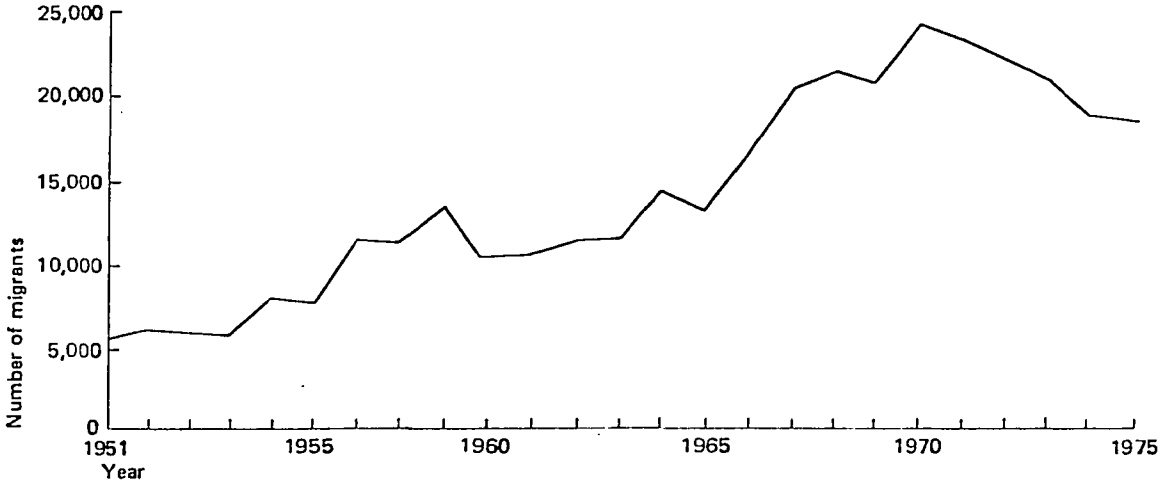
[6]Two problems being that "intended resident" is open to different interpretations among those completing the forms and that nearly half of the airline passengers do not complete and return the questionnaire. The total is inflated to take account of the latter problem, but it is not known whether "intended residents" are more or less likely than tourists to complete the passenger surveys.

Figure 4.1 Estimated Net Civilian Passenger Movement between Hawaii and the Mainland, Fiscal Year 1946 — 1965



Source: Schmitt (1968:187)

Figure 4.2 Number of Nonmilitary Related Intended Migrants from the Mainland to Hawaii 1951–1975



Note: Prior to 1960, military dependents were not counted among the intended residents. After 1960, data show an average of one dependent per intended military resident. This ratio was also assumed to have characterized the pre–1960 intended resident

Sources: Schmitt (1968:184); *Hawaii Data Book* (1976:Table12)

plausible if it is assumed that the numbers entering Hawaii are positively correlated with objective economic conditions in the state.

The balance of this chapter will be devoted to assessing outmigration trends since World War II as suggested by published census data and other secondary sources of information.

4.6 Census Evidence on the Volume, Destinations, and Age Characteristics of Outmigrants from Hawaii

In the 1950 census all residents on the Mainland were asked where they had resided a year previously.[7] Those previously living in Hawaii included 23,710 whites and 2,370 nonwhites. No breakdown was provided by age or sex in the published census. Although the former figure represents 19 percent of all Caucasians living in Hawaii in 1950, a large percentage of the outmigrants (perhaps two-thirds) were military related while in Hawaii in 1949.

The nonwhite figure represents 0.6 percent of the 1950 nonwhite population in Hawaii. In comparison 2.6 percent of all persons living in the United States made an interstate move in the year prior to the 1950 census. As the nonwhite outmigration figure includes blacks, most of whom were in the military,[8] the actual proportion of "local" nonwhites who moved to the Mainland was well under .6 percent. One source (Hawaii Economic Foundation, 1950) in noting that the large majority of

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[7]Residents in Hawaii were not asked this question. They were asked, instead, where they were on VJ Day.

[8]The 1950 census enumerated 1,676 "others" in Hawaii who were in the military. The great majority were black although no data are available on the precise number. This suggests that perhaps 600 of the 1949-50 outmigrants were black.

nonmilitary related civilians who left during the 1949-50 economic slump were Caucasian, asserted that the reason was that nonwhites believed that opportunities for them on the Mainland would be limited because of their minority status.

In the 1960 and 1970 censuses, respondents were asked where they had resided five years prior to the census. Table 4.6 shows the 1955-60 and 1965-70 population flows between Hawaii and the Mainland according to the 1960 and 1970 censuses.

Table 4.6 suggests an increasing flow both to and from the Mainland. This has certainly been true for the period between the end of World War II and 1970. However, Table 4.6 does not break migration into military and nonmilitary components; most of the migration since the mid-1950s has involved military personnel and their dependents. Furthermore, the migration figures for both the 1955-60 and 1965-70 periods are marred by major inaccuracies inherent in the census procedures. These inaccuracies and estimates of in- and outmigration by military status are given in Appendix C.

Of major interest here are the outmigration figures for "other nonwhites." At least 80 percent of "other nonwhite" outmigrants are Hawaii-born.[9] In Appendix C it is estimated that 2,100 blacks were among the 1955-60 outmigrants counted in the 1960 census. This leaves a residual of 18,700 other nonwhites among the outmigrants. The latter figure represents 4.4 percent of the 1960 other nonwhite population in Hawaii. By comparison, the 1965-70 other nonwhite outmigrants represent 4.5 percent of the 1970 Hawaii resident other nonwhite population.

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[9]This is shown by the 1970 public use tapes used in the study. See Chapter V.

Table 4.6

Population Flows Between Hawaii and the Mainland
1955-60 and 1965-70

Race	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
	A. 1955-60 Gross Migration					
	In Hawaii, 1960 On Mainland, 1955			On Mainland, 1960 In Hawaii, 1955		
White	51,011	34,582	85,593	35,285	28,595	63,880
Nonwhite	5,616	3,559	9,175	10,909	9,951	20,860
(Negro)	2,169	740	2,909	NA	NA	NA
(Other)	3,447	3,819	6,266	NA	NA	NA
Total	56,627	38,141	94,768	46,194	38,546	84,740
	B. 1965-70 Gross Migration					
	Mainland 1965-Hawaii 1970			Hawaii 1965-Mainland 1970		
White	65,368	49,460	114,828	60,649	49,516	110,165
Nonwhite	9,273	7,331	16,604	13,244	12,025	25,269
(Negro)	2,904	1,147	4,081	2,929	1,828	4,757
(Other)	6,639	6,184	12,552	10,315	10,197	20,512
Total	74,640	56,791	131,431	73,893	61,541	135,434
	C. Net Migration					
	1955-60			1965-70		
White	15,726	5,987	21,713	4,899	-56	4,843
Nonwhite	-5,293	-6,392	-11,685	-4,154	-4,694	-8,846
(Negro)	NA	NA	NA	-25	-681	-706
(Other)	NA	NA	NA	-4,127	-4,013	-8,140
Total	10,433	-405	10,028	747	-4,750	-4,003

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 and 1970.

The above suggests virtually identical local outmigration rates for both periods. However, it should be noted that the outmigration figures represent "net migration" in the sense that a person moving both to the Mainland and back to Hawaii during the five year period is not counted as a migrant. If this type of movement was more prevalent in the 1965-70 period than 10 years previously, the rate of gross outmigration may have been greater in the latter period. In both time periods there was a minimum outmigration of 3,500 "others" per year. This is more than twice the volume for the economically troubled year preceding the 1950 census. Furthermore, economic conditions in Hawaii were considerably better in the late 1960s than they were a decade earlier. These facts suggest that since World War II, the outmigration of local nonwhites has not been sensitive to local economic conditions. Whether this is the case will be investigated in detail when the results of the questionnaire survey are discussed.

Figures 4.3A and 4.3B portray the geographical distribution of the white and nonwhite outmigrants in 1950 and 1960, respectively. In Figure 4.3C the distribution of all outmigrants in 1960 and 1970 are compared.[10]

A comparison of Figures 4.3A and 4.3B shows a similar distribution of white outmigrants in both 1950 and 1960. At both dates approximately three-eighths were in California with an additional tenth in the Washington, D.C. area (i.e., including Virginia and Maryland) and a twentieth in

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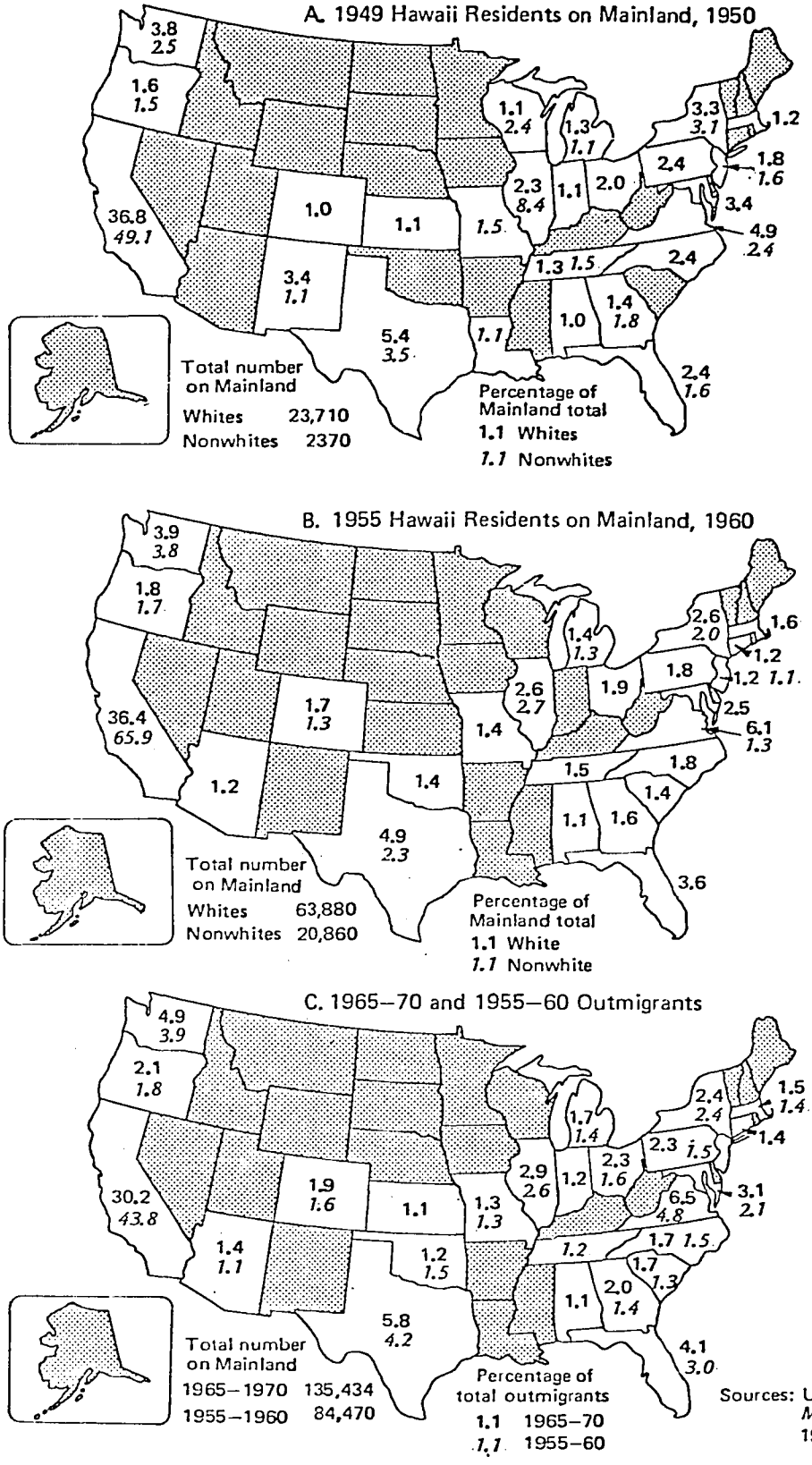
[10]The published 1970 census gives destination totals for "all persons" and Negroes. These categories are worthless from the standpoint of meaningful interpretation of outmigration patterns from Hawaii.

Figure 4.3 States with More Than One Percent of Hawaii Outmigrants



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Migration by States*, 1950, 1960 and 1970

Texas. In both periods the eastern industrial states are poorly represented in relation to their large populations. The similarities mentioned result from the fact that the large majority of white outmigrants were military related while in Hawaii with most either moving to new bases or "home."[11]

Interpretation of the distribution of the nonwhite outmigrants in 1950 is complicated by the fact that perhaps a quarter were blacks. This undoubtedly accounts for the presence of several southern states with more than one percent of the total. It is nevertheless evident that compared to the pre-World War II era, the local nonwhite outmigrants in the late 1940s were much more likely to move to locations outside of California. Especially notable is the emergence of Illinois as a magnet for nonwhite outmigrants. In 1940, less than two percent of Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland resided in Illinois. Reasons for the scattering of nonwhite outmigrants and the sudden emergence of Illinois as an important destination are discussed in Sections 4.7 and 4.9. Most notable about the distribution of the 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants (of whom perhaps an eighth were black) is the total dominance of California with two-thirds of the total. A comparison of Figures 4.3A and 4.3B also shows lesser gains for Oregon and Washington. Relative losses occurred in almost all non-west coast states but the really spectacular decline occurred in Illinois, which had obviously lost its lustre. Why these shifts took place will be addressed later in this chapter.

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[11]The South has always been a fertile recruiting ground for military personnel and contains a large military population, especially in Virginia, Texas, Maryland and Florida.

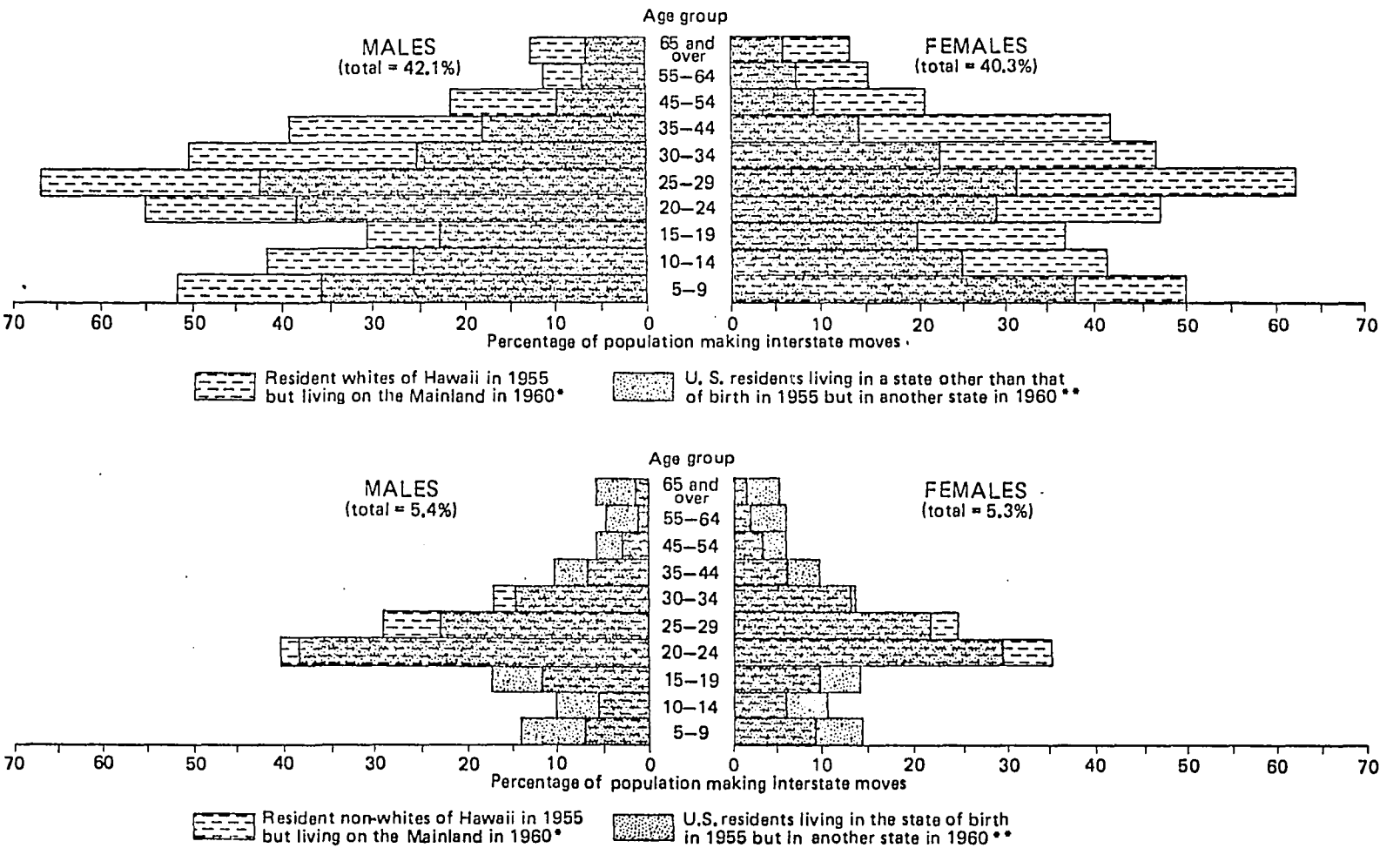
About the only observation worth making concerning Figure 4.3C is that the 1965-70 outmigrants were more scattered geographically than they had been ten years previously. To what extent this is a result of military-related moves cannot be determined from the published census. Therefore, more insight into the distribution of 1965-70 outmigrants depends on an analysis of public use census tapes. This will be done in the following chapter.

In Figure 4.4A the 1955-60 outmigration rates by age groups of the 1955 white population in Hawaii are compared to the 1955-60 interstate migration rates of all persons in the United States who lived in a state in 1955 that was different from that of birth. In Figure 4.4B nonwhite outmigration rates by age are compared to interstate migration rates of all persons in the United States who resided in their state of birth in 1955.

Figure 4.4A portrays a white population in Hawaii that is extremely mobile. Although this mobility is in large part a function of the military population, the substantial outmigration rates of whites aged 45 and over who resided in Hawaii in 1955 suggest that even the civilian white population is mobile by the standards of the U.S. population who did not reside in the state of birth in 1955.

Interpretation of Figure 4.4B is somewhat complicated by the fact that the non-Hawaii-born black outmigrants are disproportionately concentrated in the 20-34 age group. However, it appears that the outmigration rate of young adult local nonwhites was quite similar to the interstate migration rate of their Mainland counterparts who lived in their state of birth in 1955. In contrast, the outmigration rates among

Figure 4.4 1955–60 Outmigration Rates from Hawaii and 1955–60 Interstate Migration Rates of Selected National Populations by Age and Sex



*as percentage of total Hawaii population

**as percentage of total National population

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Migration by Economic Area*, 1960

nonwhites under the age of 20 or over 35 in 1960 were substantially below those of the "locals" in the general United States population. This supports the expectation stated in Chapter III that the local outmigrants from Hawaii tend to be disproportionately young adults without accompanying children. Unfortunately, the migration data in the 1950 and 1970 censuses are not presented by race; therefore, comparable comparisons cannot be done for the 1949-50 and 1965-70 outmigrants.

4.7 Outmigration Rates from Oahu and the Outer Islands

A comparison of outer island and Oahu outmigration rates to the Mainland is of interest for two reasons: (1) prior to the mid-1960s there were powerful economic incentives for migrating from the outer islands; however, the outer island residents had a viable destination choice in Oahu whereas the outer islands did not represent a viable choice for most wishing to leave Oahu for economic reasons, and (2) white outmigration from the outer islands has not been greatly affected by the military contingent there because it has never numbered more than 600 (including dependents) since World War II.

No information on outmigration to the Mainland by island is provided in the 1950 census. Migration flows by race (i.e., white and nonwhite) are given for Oahu and the outer islands in the 1960 census. A summary of the flows between Oahu, the outer islands and the Mainland is provided in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7 shows that whereas 5.8 percent of the nonwhite population on Oahu in 1955 were on the Mainland in 1960, the comparable proportion from the outer islands was 4.5 percent. It is true that virtually all

Table 4.7. Migration Flows Between Oahu, the Outer Islands, and the Mainland, 1955-60 by Race and Sex

OAHU (A)	White			Nonwhite		
OUTMIGRATION	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Population in 1955[a]	70,752	58,971	129,543	144,000	135,250	279,340
Outmigrants to Mainland (%)	32,596 (46.2)	26,387 (44.8)	58,593 (45.2)	8,421 (5.8)	7,709 (5.7)	16,130 (5.8)
Outmigrants to Outer Islands (%)	413 (.6)	318 (.6)	721 (.6)	1,303 (.9)	1,136 (.8)	2,439 (.9)
Total Outmigrants (%)	33,012 (46.8)	26,705 (45.3)	59,807 (46.1)	9,724 (6.6)	8,845 (6.5)	18,569 (6.5)
INMIGRATION						
Inmigrants from Mainland	49,837	33,755	83,592	5,271	3,264	8,535
Inmigrants from Outer Islands	964	1,000	1,964	4,653	4,933	9,586
Total Inmigrants	50,801	34,755	85,556	9,924	8,197	18,121
1960 Pop. Aged 5 and Over[a]	88,364	67,021	155,385	144,290	134,602	278,892
1955-60 Net Migration (%)	17,612 (25.2)	8,050 (13.7)	25,662 (19.8)	200 (.1)	-648 (-.5)	-448 (-.2)

OUTER ISLANDS (B)	White			Nonwhite		
OUTMIGRATION	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Population in 1955[a]	13,197	11,933	25,130	57,771	49,952	107,723
Outmigrants to Mainland (%)	2,693 (20.4)	2,206 (18.5)	4,899 (19.5)	2,488 (4.3)	2,242 (4.5)	4,730 (4.5)
Outmigrants to Oahu (%)	954 (7.2)	1,000 (8.4)	1,954 (7.8)	4,653 (8.1)	4,931 (9.9)	9,586 (9.1)
Total Outmigrants (%)	3,647 (27.7)	3,206 (26.8)	6,853 (27.3)	7,141 (12.4)	7,173 (14.4)	14,274 (13.3)
INMIGRATION						
Inmigrants from Mainland	1,174	827	2,001	343	295	640
Inmigrants from Oahu	413	318	731	1,303	1,136	2,439
Total Inmigrants	1,587	1,145	2,732	1,746	1,431	3,079
1960 Pop. Aged 5 and Over[b]	11,137	9,872	21,009	52,278	44,208	96,486
1955-60 Net Migration (%)	-2,060 (-15.6)	-2,061 (-17.3)	-4,121 (-16.4)	-5,493 (-9.5)	-5,744 (-11.5)	-11,237 (-10.4)

[a]Persons not reporting 1955 residence or who moved abroad in 1960 are not included. No census count exists for the latter group.

[b]Persons abroad in 1955 or not reporting 1955 place of residence are not included in the total. Of the population five years of age and older on Oahu in 1960, 18,301 persons (of whom slightly more than half were military related) lived abroad in 1955. The corresponding figure was 1,101 for the Outer Islands.

Sources: Computed from U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960, Migration Between State Economic Areas and Mobility for Metropolitan Areas.

black outmigrants were from Oahu[12] but excluding the blacks from the Oahu population reduces the proportion of outmigrants in the Oahu nonwhite population to 5.1 percent. Among the nonwhites living on the outer islands in 1955, more than two-thirds who left by 1960 went to Oahu. As nonwhite inmigration from Oahu and the Mainland were negligible, the net loss to the nonwhite population through migration was approximately a tenth in only five years.

If the 1960 census is to be believed, almost a fifth of the Caucasians residing on the outer islands in 1955 were on the Mainland in 1960. Although the author suspects that many of those white outmigrants were actually living on Oahu and replied "Hawaii" when asked 1955 county of residence,[13] it nevertheless appears that the outmigration rate to the Mainland was much higher among whites than nonwhites. White outmigrants to the Mainland outnumbered those going to Oahu by more than two to one. A majority of the whites living on the outer islands in 1960 were of Portuguese or Puerto Rican ancestry. In contrast to the nonwhites, the Hawaii-born Portuguese and Puerto Ricans were characterized by a substantial prewar outmigration to the Mainland.

The proportions by age groups of nonwhites migrating to the Mainland and Oahu are portrayed in Figure 4.5. It shows that not only was there an extensive outmigration of persons aged 20-29 in 1910, but in addition these young adults were the most likely to move to the Mainland in

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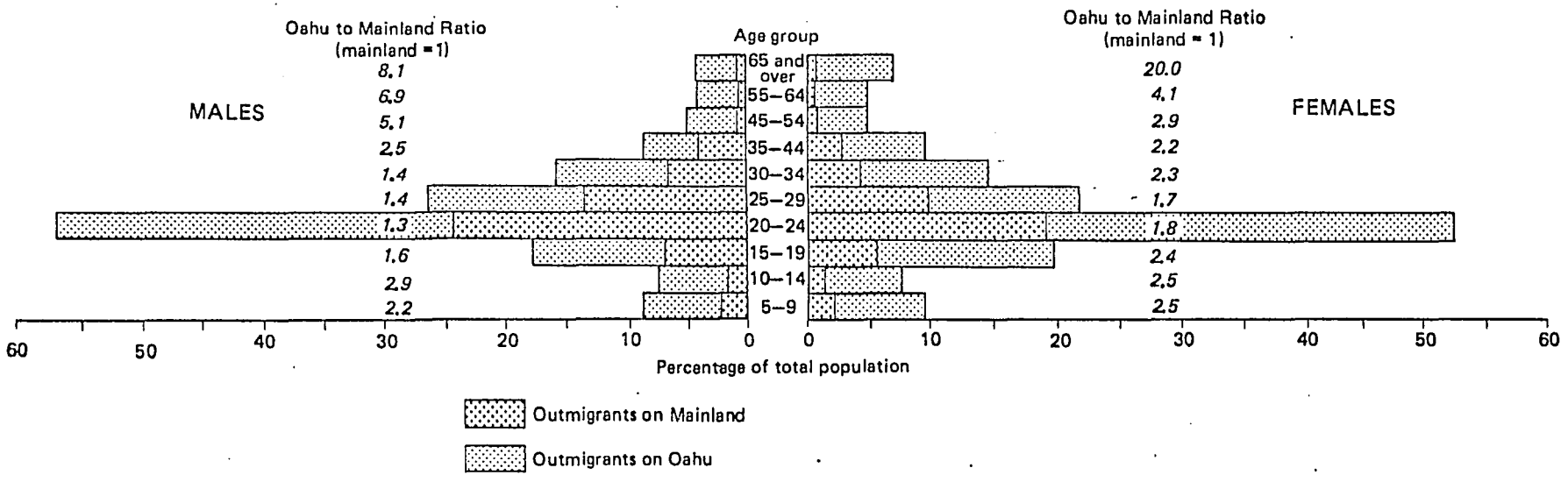
[12]Only 87 blacks were enumerated on the outer islands in 1960.

[13]This suspicion is impossible to verify, but the proportion of whites in the outer island population did increase somewhat between 1950 and 1960 whereas data given in Table 4.7 suggests the proportion declined between 1955 and 1960.

Figure 4.5 Percentage of Nonwhite 1955 Outer Island Population on the Mainland and Oahu, by Age and Sex, 1960



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Migration by Economic Area*, 1960

preference to Oahu. Young adult migrants are the most likely to move for educational or military reasons. They also tend to be less encumbered by social ties in the area of origin than are older adults, especially those with children. A reasonable inference from Figure 4.5 is that those forced out by economic conditions tended to move to Oahu (which is more similar than the Mainland to the outer islands) whereas it was the young and adventuresome who were most likely to choose the Mainland over Oahu.

According to the 1970 census, the number of 1965 outer island residents living on the Mainland in 1970 was 10,942, an increase of 14 percent over the comparable number 10 years earlier. A total of 6,887 outmigrants went to Oahu; this represents a decline of 45 percent compared to the number living on the outer islands in 1955 and Oahu in 1960. In the late 1960s, economic conditions on the outer islands were vastly improved compared to those of a decade earlier. The increased outmigration to the Mainland and sharp decline in outmigration to Oahu as compared to the 1955-60 period reinforces the argument that most of the outer island outmigration to Oahu was economically motivated whereas this was not true for a large share moving to the Mainland.

There is no breakdown of outmigration to the Mainland by race or age for the outer islands in the 1970 census. Therefore, nothing more is to be learned from the 1970 census about outmigration from the outer islands. It is time to turn our attention to what can be learned from census data on the Hawaii-born living on the Mainland.

4.8 Published Census Information on the Hawaii-born Living on the Mainland, 1950, 1960, and 1970

Although the outmigration of Hawaii-born whites to the Mainland was substantial prior to World War II, it was miniscule among Hawaii-born nonwhites in the early twentieth century. However, as Table 4.8 shows, both the white and nonwhite Hawaii-born populations on the Mainland have grown rapidly since World War II.

Table 4.8

Growth in the Number and Percentage of Hawaii-born Living on the Mainland Between 1940 and 1970

	Number on the Mainland							
Year	Whites	(%)	Nonwhites	(%)	Blacks	(%)	Other Nonwhites	(%)
1940	18,610	(27.5)[a]	5,113	(2.2)[a]	250[b]	(?)	4,863	(?)
1950	40,794	(41.0)[a]	11,160	(3.8)[a]	400[b]	(?)	10,760	(?)
1960	73,314	(51.7)	41,756	(10.6)	1,077	(62.1)	40,679	(10.4)
1970	110,146	(53.0)	69,509	(15.7)	2,701	(68.0)	66,808	(15.4)

[a]Estimate. Method used for 1940 described in Section 4.4. Reverse survival technique used to estimate 1950 proportions. See text below for description of technique.

[b]Estimate. Estimate for 1940 based on 1930 and 1920 place of birth data, which show 217 and 191 Hawaii-born blacks, respectively, who were then living on the Mainland. Estimate for 1950 based on the assumption of slow growth in the decade as dependents were allowed to accompany enlisted servicemen only after World War II. According to the 1970 census, 340 Hawaii-born blacks aged 20 and over (i.e., those born before 1950) were living on the Mainland; the comparable number among blacks 30 and over (i.e., those born prior to 1940) is 215. These figures suggest the estimates for the blacks are reasonable.

Sources: U.S. Censuses, 1940, 1950, 1960 and 1970.

The numbers of Hawaii-born whites and nonwhites both increased substantially in relative terms between 1940 and 1950. Among "other

nonwhites" the increase of 30,000 living on the Mainland in the 1950s compared to 26,000 in the 1960s suggests that the net loss to the Mainland peaked in the 1950s and declined in the 1960s. Substantial increases in the numbers of Hawaii-born whites living on the Mainland occurred both in the 1950s and 1960s.

However, the above observations are misleading to the extent the following complications apply:

1) Births occurring in military families in Hawaii prior to the beginning of World War II were not numerous as the military contingent was small and only commissioned officers were permitted to bring their dependents to Hawaii. All military dependents were evacuated in 1942 and were not permitted to return for the duration of World War II. Enlisted men were permitted to bring dependents to Hawaii after World War II, but as of 1950 this policy had not been in force long enough to seriously affect data on Hawaii-born whites. However, the Department of Planning and Economic Development estimates that 81,000 births occurred in the military contingent in Hawaii between 1950 and 1970. In 1967 (the only year in which military births were desegregated by race), 72.1 percent of the military births were classified as white and 67.4 percent of all births classified as white were military related. Almost all persons born in military families in Hawaii leave the state within five years of birth. An undetermined portion move to military bases abroad and are thus temporarily lost in place of birth data. A further complication is that whereas "hapa-Haole" births occurring in military families are classified as nonwhite by the Hawaii Department of Health, some persons so classified are "white" in the place of birth census data.

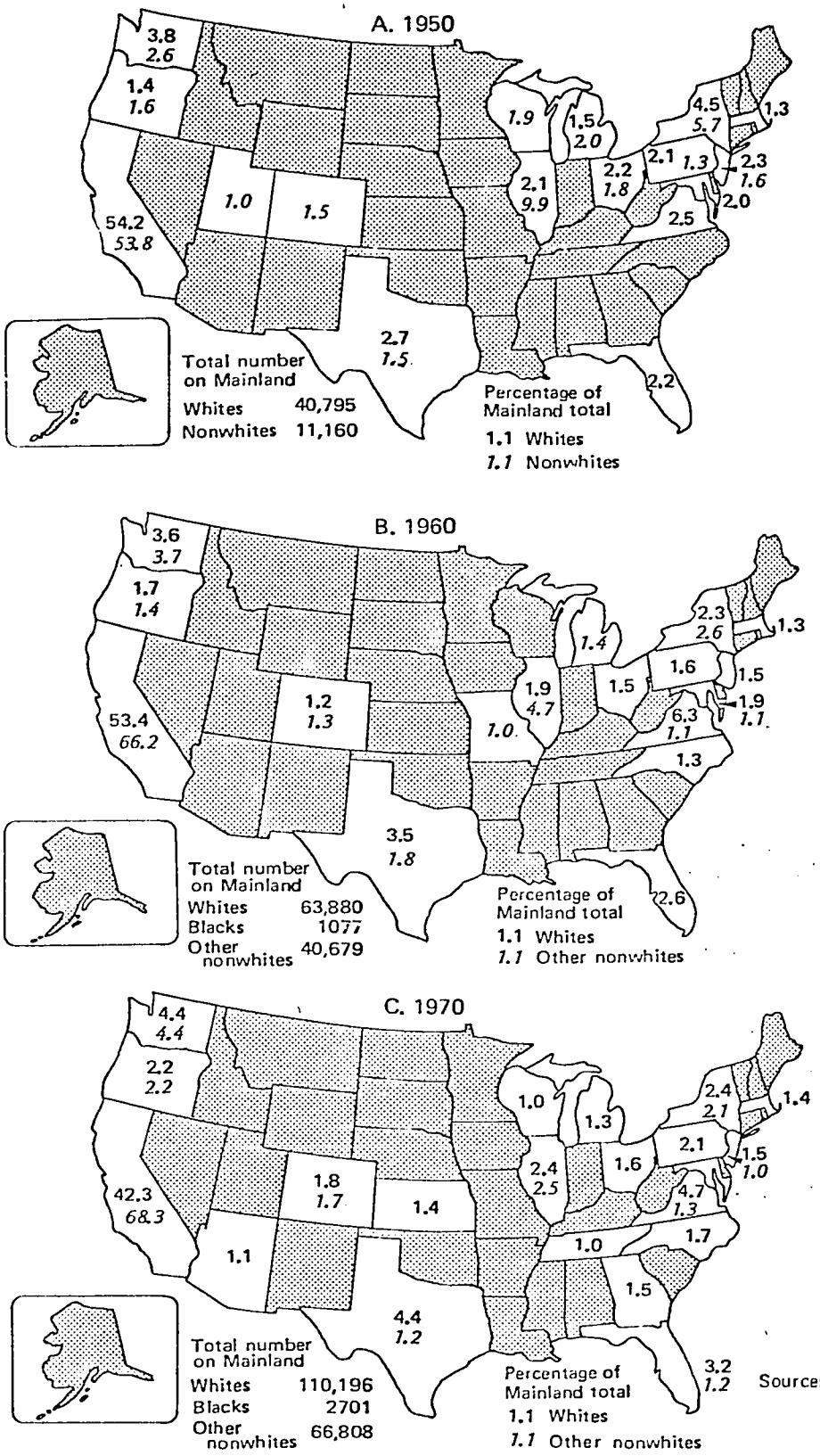
2) Between 1950 and 1960, a substantial number of Hawaii-born were reclassified from nonwhite to white (see Appendix B). However, for reasons discussed in Appendix B, this probably did not affect the classification by race of the Hawaii-born living on the Mainland. Changes in the racial definitions in the 1970 census resulted in the reclassification from nonwhite to white of some 35,000 persons born in Hawaii (Appendix B). If the reclassification of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland proceeded in the same manner as in Hawaii, some 3,400 Hawaii-born persons on the Mainland who would have been classified as nonwhite in 1960 were classified as white in 1970 (Appendix B). Whether the reclassification was actually of this magnitude depends largely on how persons of Caucasian-Hawaiian ancestry tended to classify themselves on the Mainland.

3) Quality of the place of birth data apparently deteriorated between 1960 and 1970. In Hawaii, the proportion not reporting place of birth jumped from 1.3 percent in 1960 to 7.1 percent in 1970; on the national level the comparable increase was from 1.7 to 5.9 percent. What proportion of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland did not report state of birth in 1970 is not known, but the fact that 11.6 percent of self-declared Hawaiians on the Mainland (vs. 6.4 percent in Hawaii) did not declare state of birth is not reassuring.

The geographical distribution of Hawaii-born whites and nonwhites on the Mainland in 1950 is portrayed in Figure 4.6A. Obvious for both groups is a marked shift from the pre-World War II dominance of California (Table 4.3). Although the locations of whites and nonwhites are similar, there are differences that deserve comment. The emergence of the southern states of Maryland, Virginia, Florida and Texas as residences of a substantial proportion of Hawaii-born whites in part is a result of the impact of military dependents born after 1945. In contrast, nonwhites are more concentrated in the midwestern states.

Most intriguing is the sudden popularity of Illinois among Hawaii's nonwhites. Only 390 Japanese resided in Illinois in 1940. During World War II, all Japanese living on the west coast were sent to relocation camps in the interior. Most of those permitted to leave during the war went to Chicago, and approximately 15,000 were there by war's end. Included in this number were certainly a number of Hawaii-born Japanese who had previously moved to California. Most Japanese who moved to Chicago during the war commented on the abundance of job opportunities there and the lack of anti-Japanese prejudice as compared to the west coast (see U.S. Department of the Interior, 1947). It is surmised that most Hawaii-born nonwhites who moved to Illinois after

Figure 4.6 States with More Than One Percent of Hawaii-born



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *State of Birth*, 1950, 1960 and 1970

the war were Japanese who were attracted by reports that Chicago was a "good area" for Japanese.[14]

The 1950 published census gives the age distribution of the white and nonwhite Hawaii-born living on the Mainland, but no information on the total number of Hawaii-born in each age group. The total number in each age group was estimated by applying the reverse survival technique with the 1950 and 1960 national native born populations as basis for the projections. Therefore, Figures 4.7A and 4.7B, which portray the percentages of whites and nonwhites living on the west coast and other Mainland states, and in Hawaii represent estimates. However, the author believes these estimates to be quite accurate.

Figure 4.7A portrays a past nonwhite outmigration dominated by males. A virtual absence of children on the Mainland is evidence of an outmigration comprised largely of young unmarried adults. The fact that only nine percent of males and less than five percent of females aged 20 to 29 were living on the Mainland shows a low rate of outmigration during the 1940s, although it must be kept in mind that with the exception of military personnel, nonwhites were prevented from leaving Hawaii during World War II. That the proportion of persons aged 30 to 39 who lived on the Mainland was much lower than in the 20 to 29 and 40 to 49 cohorts is evidence of the dampening effect of the Great Depression on migration. That only two-fifths in the 20 to 29 cohort were on the west coast (California, for practical purposes) is a testimony to the

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[14]In the nationwide one percent public use census tape used in this study, 19 of the 23 Hawaii-born nonwhites in the Illinois sample were Japanese. Eleven of the Japanese were both over 40 years of age and living in Illinois in 1965. Some of these persons undoubtedly moved to Illinois prior to 1950.

Figure 4.7 Hawaii-born Place of Residence in the United States by Age and Sex, 1950–1970

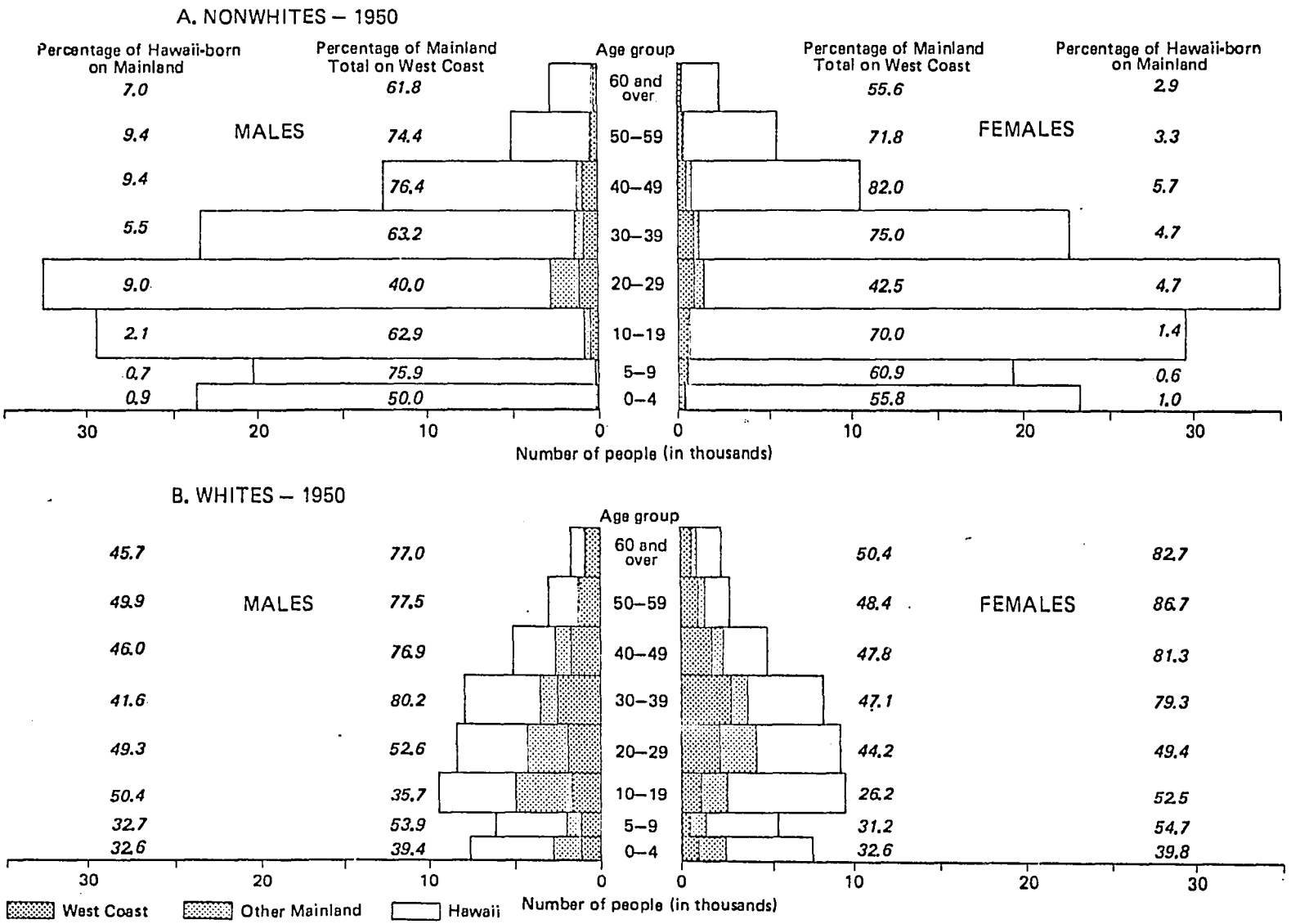
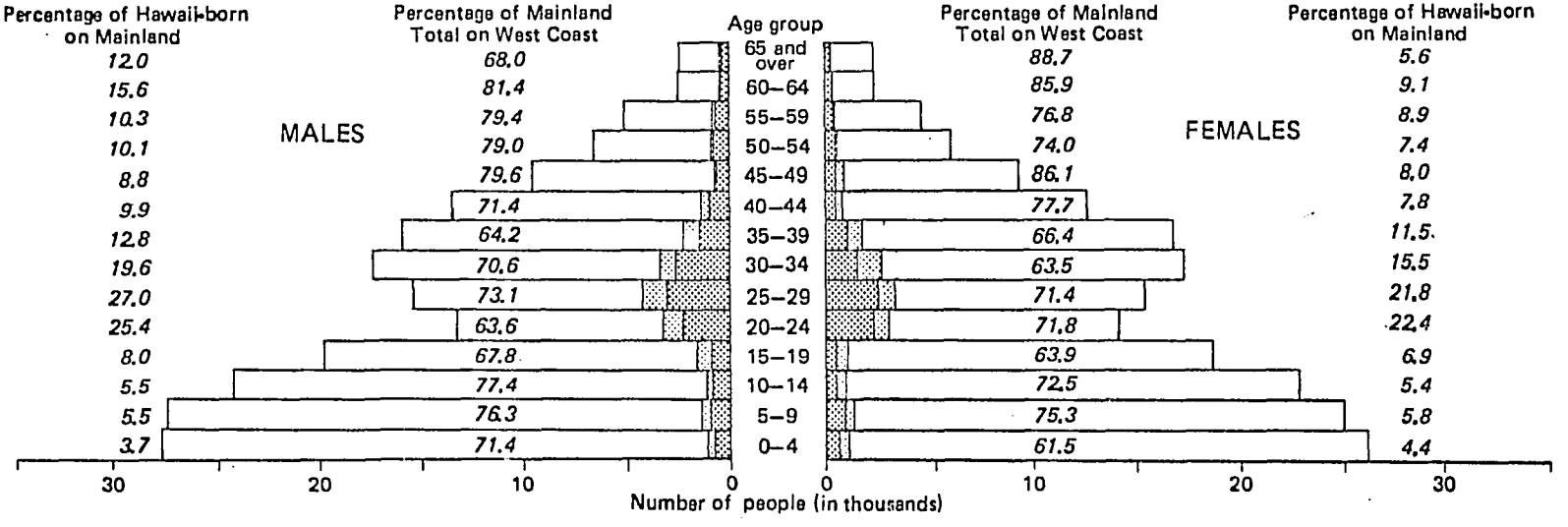


Figure 4.7 *(continued)*

C. NONWHITES — 1960



D. WHITES —1960

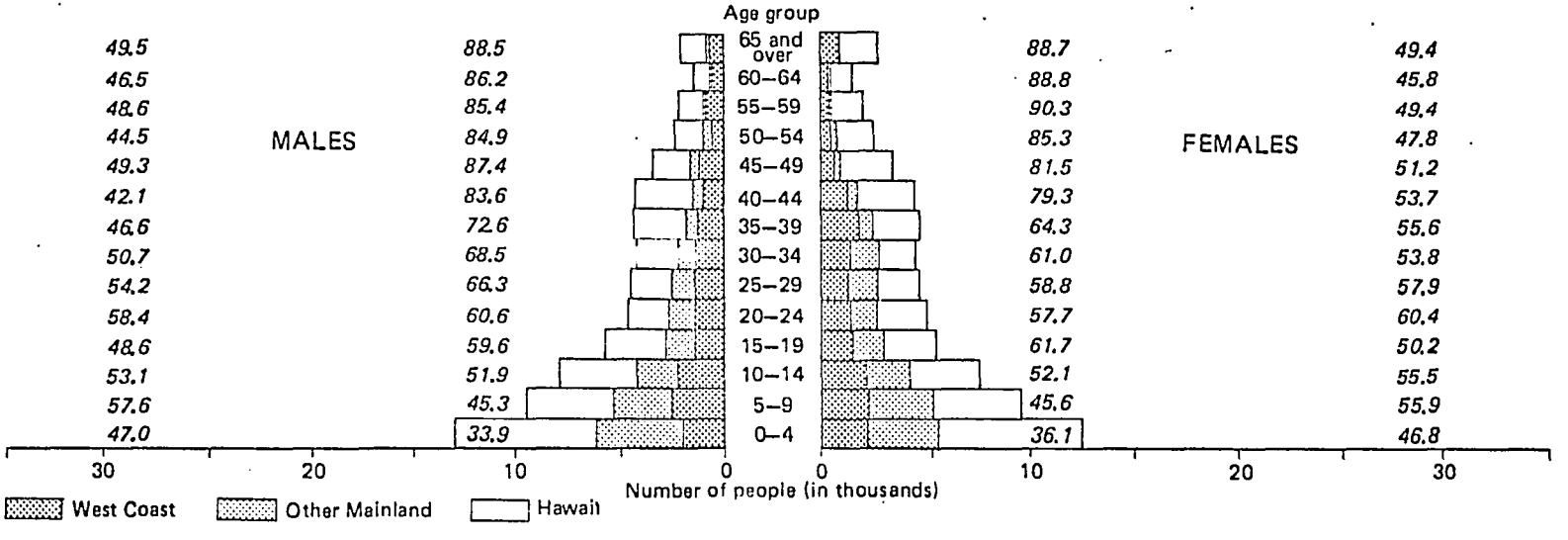
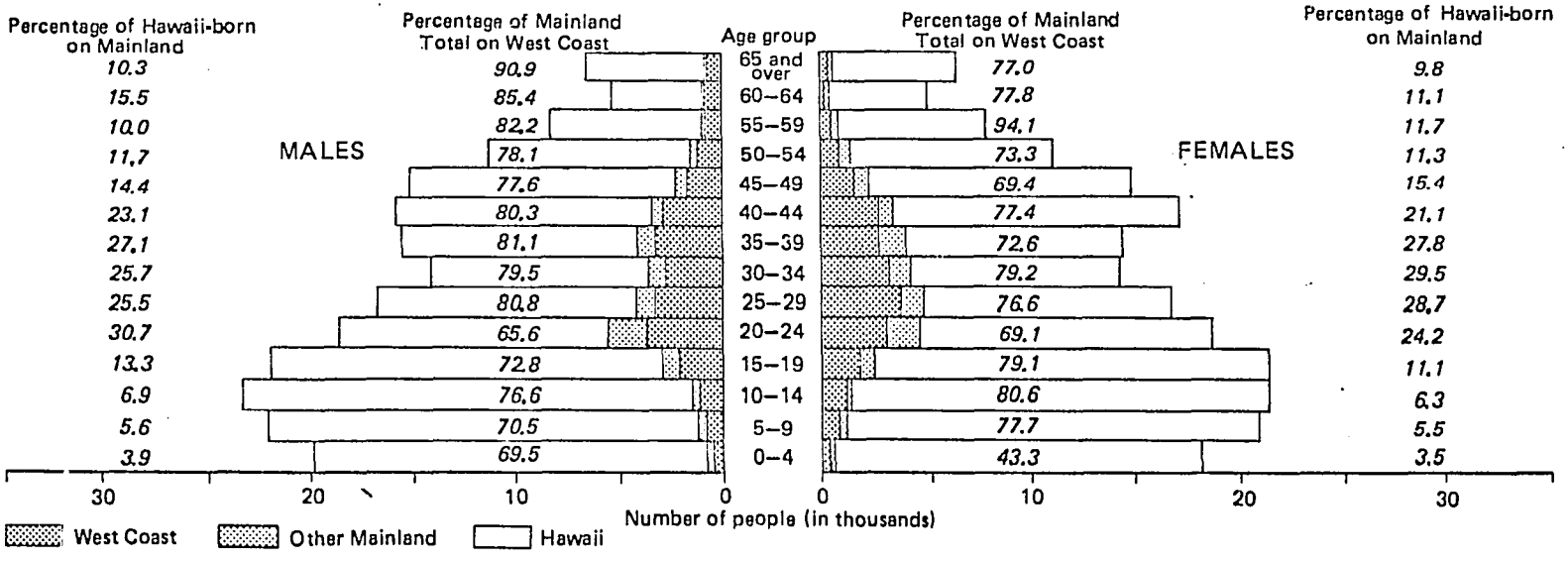


Figure 4.7 *(continued)*

E. OTHER WHITES — 1970



	Number and *Percentage* of Hawaii-born on the Mainland						Percentage of Mainland Total on West Coast
	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL		
1950							
WHITES							
All ages	21,270	*43.3*	19,525	*38.9*	40,795	*41.0*	60.1
10 and over	16,720	*47.5*	15,285	*41.3*	32,005	*44.0*	64.0
NONWHITES							
All ages	6875	*4.7*	4285	*2.9*	11,150	*3.8*	58.5
10 and over	6530	*5.2*	3955	*3.8*	10,485	*4.5*	58.4
1960							
WHITES							
All ages	35,475	*50.6*	37,779	*52.7*	73,254	*51.7*	59.1
15 and over	19,513	*49.6*	22,276	*53.4*	11,789	*51.5*	71.1
NONWHITES							
All ages	22,357	*11.2*	19,399	*9.9*	41,751	*10.6*	70.6
1970							
NONWHITES (excluding Blacks) All ages	33,379	*15.9*	32,725	*15.5*	66,104	*15.7*	75.4

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *State of Birth*, 1950, 1960 and 1970

dispersion which occurred after World War II. Of all persons aged 10 and over, 10,485, or 4.5 percent of the Hawaii-born total were on the Mainland. Both figures represent a doubling from 1940.

The age pyramid of Hawaii-born whites (Figure 4.7B) portrays a population in which males and females are equally represented. Overall, the loss to the Mainland amounted to over 40 percent. Although analysis is somewhat complicated by the large number of military dependents in the under five age group, the large percentage of children on the Mainland suggests an outmigration comprised largely of families. Approximately half of those aged 20 to 29 on the Mainland were on the west coast (again, read California). This is a substantial change from pre-World War II dominance of California although it is less than for nonwhites. Among all persons 10 and older, the increase in the number living on the Mainland was 13,500. This implies a substantial exodus of Hawaii-born whites after the end of the war. Many undoubtedly left during the 1949-50 economic collapse.

The distributions of Hawaii-born whites and nonblack nonwhites living on the Mainland in 1960 are shown in Figure 4.6B. A comparison of Figures 4.6A and 4.6B shows that as compared to 1950, the proportion of nonwhites in California increased by 17 percent with smaller gains for the northwestern states. These gains came at the expense of the rest of the United States, and declines are evident in the proportions living in the midwester and eastern states. Of all states, Illinois had the second highest proportion of nonwhites in 1960, but its share of the total nevertheless declined by more than half between 1950 and 1960. Likewise, the proportion in New York, the third most popular state in

1950, declined by more than half. This relative shift to California suggests the migrants in the 1950s were less adventuresome in the main than those in the late 1940s. Figure 4.4B, discussed earlier, indeed shows that two-thirds of nonwhites migrating in the late 1950s proceeded to California, with New York and Illinois combined attracting less than a twentieth of the total.

That virtually equal proportions of whites on the Mainland resided in California in 1950 and 1960 is noteworthy in itself because of the large numbers of military dependents born in the 1950s. Movements of these military are reflected in the emergence of Virginia in second place and increases in other parts of the south. This lack of change for California suggests that the outmigration of the local whites was also more strongly directed to California in the 1950s than it had been in the late 1940s.

The age pyramid of Hawaii-born nonwhites in 1960 (Figure 4.8A) portrays the large increase in the numbers living on the Mainland during the 1950s. Although the proportion of children under age 10 who lived on the Mainland in 1960 was only five percent, this figure nevertheless represents a substantial increase in the proportion moving in families. The reduction of the sex ratio from 160 in 1950 to 115 in 1960 reflects a net outmigration for both sexes that was similar in the 1950s.

Although the proportion of Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland in 1960 was only 10.6 percent as compared to the national average of 27.3 percent living in a state different from that of birth,[15] more

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[15]The state with the largest percentage of native sons living in the state of birth was California with 11.4 percent living in other

than a quarter of the males and a fifth of the females aged 20 to 29 were on the Mainland. The proportion of Mainland residents on the west coast in the 20-29 cohort was nearly 70 percent, or 28 percentage points above that of the 20-29 cohort in 1950. This shows the reassertion of California dominance of the outmigration flow in the 1950s.

Of the 10,095 Mainland residents in the 30 to 39 nonwhite cohort in 1960, 6,721 resided on the west coast and 3,374 lived elsewhere. In the comparable 20 to 29 cohort in 1950, 1,855 resided on the west coast compared to 3,376 in non-west coast areas. This suggests three possibilities: (1) outmigration in the cohort under consideration was directed disproportionately to the west coast during the 1950s, (2) those migrating to west coast areas were less likely to return to Hawaii than those migrating elsewhere, and (3) many who originally moved to non-west coast areas later moved to the west coast. All three possibilities are in fact true; the first stated possibility is supported by the general shift in migration patterns in the 1950s, the second will be shown to be a fact in the coming section on return migration, and the third will be shown to be true by the analysis of public use census data and through the questionnaire sample of 1964 high school graduates.

Meaningful analysis of the outmigration flow in the under 15 age group of Hawaii-born whites in 1960 (Figure 4.8B) is prevented by the fact that a large, albeit unknown proportion were born as military dependents. However, all age groups 15 and above are relatively free from the influence of military dependents. Of all Hawaii-born whites

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states. However, most California-born were children of recent inmigrants and because of youthful age, would be expected to have low probabilities of being recorded out of the state of birth.

15 and above, more than half were residing on the Mainland. An overall excess of females on the Mainland suggests their predominance among the outmigrants in the 1950s. Almost three-fifths in the 20-29 age group were on the Mainland; this is evidence of a continuing heavy outmigration during the 1950s.

Whereas 63.1 percent of the Hawaii-born whites over five years of age in 1950 resided on the west coast, the comparable share among the same group aged 15 and over in 1960 was 71.1 percent. This shows that the outmigration of local whites also became more concentrated in California in the 1950s as compared to the 1940s. In the 20 to 29 age group in 1950, 4,170 resided in Pacific states as compared to 4,010 in other states, but in the comparable 30 to 39 age group in 1960, 6,151 were in Pacific states as compared to only 3,157 in other Mainland states. This again suggests that areas persons originally move to may be poor predictors of where they eventually permanently live, and that moves after the original one may reduce, rather than further increase geographical dispersion.

Distributions of the Hawaii-born whites and other nonwhites living on the Mainland in 1970 are portrayed in Figure 4.6C. By 1970, the distribution of Hawaii-born whites has become so affected by those born as military dependents that meaningful interpretation is impossible. A comparison of Figures 4.6B and 4.6C for nonwhites shows an increasing concentration in California and the northwestern states. Relative declines occurred almost everywhere else. The continuing decline of Illinois as a magnet for Hawaii's nonwhites is evident; indeed, the number of Hawaii-born nonwhites in Illinois declined between 1960 and 1970.

An age and sex pyramid of the Hawaii-born whites in 1970 is not shown for the following two reasons: (1) military dependents comprise most who are under 25 years of age, and (2) a massive reclassification of Hawaii-born individuals who were "nonwhite" in 1960 to "white" in 1970 (see Appendix C) makes the cohorts not directly compatible. Although the data on the nonwhite Hawaii-born are affected by the above-mentioned reclassification, most of the reclassification occurred in the under 15 age group and migration probabilities of Hawaii-born nonwhite children are low. Furthermore, although the reclassification affected the sizes of the age groups, it probably did not affect the indicated proportions living on the Mainland to any great extent. Therefore, the age, sex, and locational distribution of the Hawaii-born other nonwhites in 1970 is portrayed in Figure 4.7E.

In 1970, the proportion of Hawaii-born other nonwhites on the Mainland was still only half the national average for persons living outside of their state of birth (15.4 vs. 28.2 percent).[16] However, more than a quarter of persons between 20 and 39 years of age were on the Mainland. That 27 percent in the 20-29 age group were on the Mainland suggests an outmigration rate in the 1960s at least equivalent to that in the 1950s. By 1970 there were virtually equal numbers of males and females in the Mainland. A comparison of Hawaii-born nonwhite Mainland residents aged 30 to 49 in 1970 and 20 to 39 in 1960 shows that the number on the west coast increased by 4,000 whereas the number living in other

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[16]California, with 14.7 percent of its native sons residing elsewhere, again had the highest retentive power.

areas declined slightly between 1960 and 1970. This shift helps explain why the proportion of nonwhites on the west coast increased from 71.6 to 75.6 percent between 1960 and 1970.

In summary, the 1950 census data on place of birth show that the loss of Hawaii-born whites to the Mainland was in the neighborhood of 40 percent of the total. By contrast, the net loss among the Hawaii-born nonwhites was miniscule, although it was double that in 1940. As compared to the prewar era, the Hawaii-born in 1950 were much less geographically concentrated in California. In the 1950s net losses were heavy among both whites and nonwhites and a return to California preference was evident. These trends continued in the 1960s.

4.9 Published Census Evidence on Return Migration

The theme of return migration has been relatively neglected in migration studies, but is important both because it influences actual population change and because return migrants can be assumed to have been changed by the experience of having moved away. No data on return migration are available in the 1950 census. For the 1960 and 1970 census purposes, a return migrant is one who is living in the state of birth at the time of the census, but who lived in another state five years previously. As return migration usually takes place within a few years of the initial outmigration, the extent of return migration is grossly understated in census reports.[17]

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[17]Indeed, the author did a projection based on actual duration of Mainland residence of the returnees in the questionnaire sample and estimated that if a six month criterion is used for defining Mainland residence, the 1970 census understated the true volume of 1965-70 return migration to Hawaii by half. See Section 10.5.

According to the 1960 census, 4,050 nonwhites and 2,841 whites, respectively, who lived on the Mainland in 1955 and in Hawaii in 1960 were in fact Hawaii born. For practical purposes, the nonwhites can be regarded as nonblack as well (only 57 blacks were among the return migrants recorded in the 1970 census). Therefore, it appears that almost two-thirds of the "other nonwhite" 1955-60 inmigrants were actually Hawaii-born. Sex ratios of the returnees were 91 and 126, respectively for the whites and nonwhites.

Since most return migration takes place within five years of the initial migration it is not surprising that the largest number of return migrants were in the 25 to 29 age group. However, 35.2 percent of the white returnees were under 20 years of age whereas the comparable proportion among nonwhites was only 17.5 percent. This disparity results from the greater proportion of whites who originally moved away as families with children.

The 1955 residences of the returnees are of particular interest because the place of birth data suggest that the proportion of Hawaii-born on the Mainland who are residing on the west coast increases with duration of residence on the Mainland. Whether those moving to non-west coast areas in the 1950s were more likely to return to Hawaii than others moving to the west coast is addressed in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9 does indeed show that the proportion of returnees from the west coast in all groups was far lower than the proportions residing there in either 1950 or 1960. This helps explain the shift towards greater concentration on the west coast. Return rates in terms of the proportion residing there are especially high for the south. This

Table 4.9

Distribution by Region of Hawaii-born on Mainland in 1950 and 1960, and the 1955 Residences of 1955-60 Return Migrants to Hawaii

	Percent in U.S. Regions				
	W.C.	Mtn.	South	N.C.	N.E.
White Male[a]					
On Mainland, 1950[b]	64.8	3.5	12.3	8.7	10.9
On Mainland, 1960	72.7	3.6	10.5	5.9	6.9
1955-60 Returnees	50.6	9.6	20.6	10.2	9.1
Nonwhite Male[c]					
On Mainland, 1950	56.2	4.3	7.9	22.2	9.4
On Mainland, 1960	70.7	3.7	8.2	11.9	5.6
1955-60 Returnees	42.8	5.4	17.3	21.6	12.9
White Female[a]					
On Mainland, 1950	66.5	3.5	13.4	8.0	8.6
On Mainland, 1960	69.5	3.7	12.7	7.3	6.8
1955-60 Returnees	43.1	4.6	25.5	12.8	12.7
Nonwhite Female[c]					
On Mainland, 1950	60.6	4.3	5.8	17.7	11.4
On Mainland, 1960	70.6	3.9	7.6	12.2	5.7
1955-60 Returnees	41.0	7.9	14.8	23.4	12.8

[a]Aged 5+ in 1950, 15+ in 1960. Age 0-4 cohort excluded from analysis because many were born as military dependents.

[b]Adjusted for error in reporting males on Mainland in 10-19 age group.

[c]All ages, 1950, Aged 10+ in 1960.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1950 and 1960. State of Birth.

suggests that most of those going to the south are military related and that the return rate of those serving in the military is high.

The 11,322 returnees (including 57 blacks) enumerated in the 1970 census represent a 64 percent increase over the number counted in the 1960 census. As the 1970 census pertaining to the 1965-70 nonwhite

outmigration does not indicate that the volume of outmigration during the 1960s was greatly different from the level during the late 1950s, this suggests a greatly increased rate of return migration, at least among nonwhites. This is confirmed by the public use sample, which will be discussed in Chapter V. The biggest difference in 1965-70 as compared to ten years earlier is that economic conditions in Hawaii were much more propitious for return.

4.10 Published Census Information on Hawaiians Residing on the Mainland in 1970

No data on specific nonwhite ethnic stock or demographic information beyond that of age and sex are presented in the place of birth census reports. However, Hawaiians were enumerated as a separate racial group on the Mainland in the 1970 census and a very brief summary of their social and economic characteristics on the Mainland are given in the census report Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States. As Hawaiians by definition have antecedents in Hawaii, a look at available census information on the Mainland Hawaiians is instructive.

According to the complete census count, a total of 100,171 Hawaiians lived in all states excluding Alaska;[18] 28,804 of this number were enumerated on the Mainland. Their distribution on the Mainland is portrayed in Figure 4.8. A comparison of Figure 4.8 with that of Figure 4.6C shows that Hawaiians are much more geographically dispersed than

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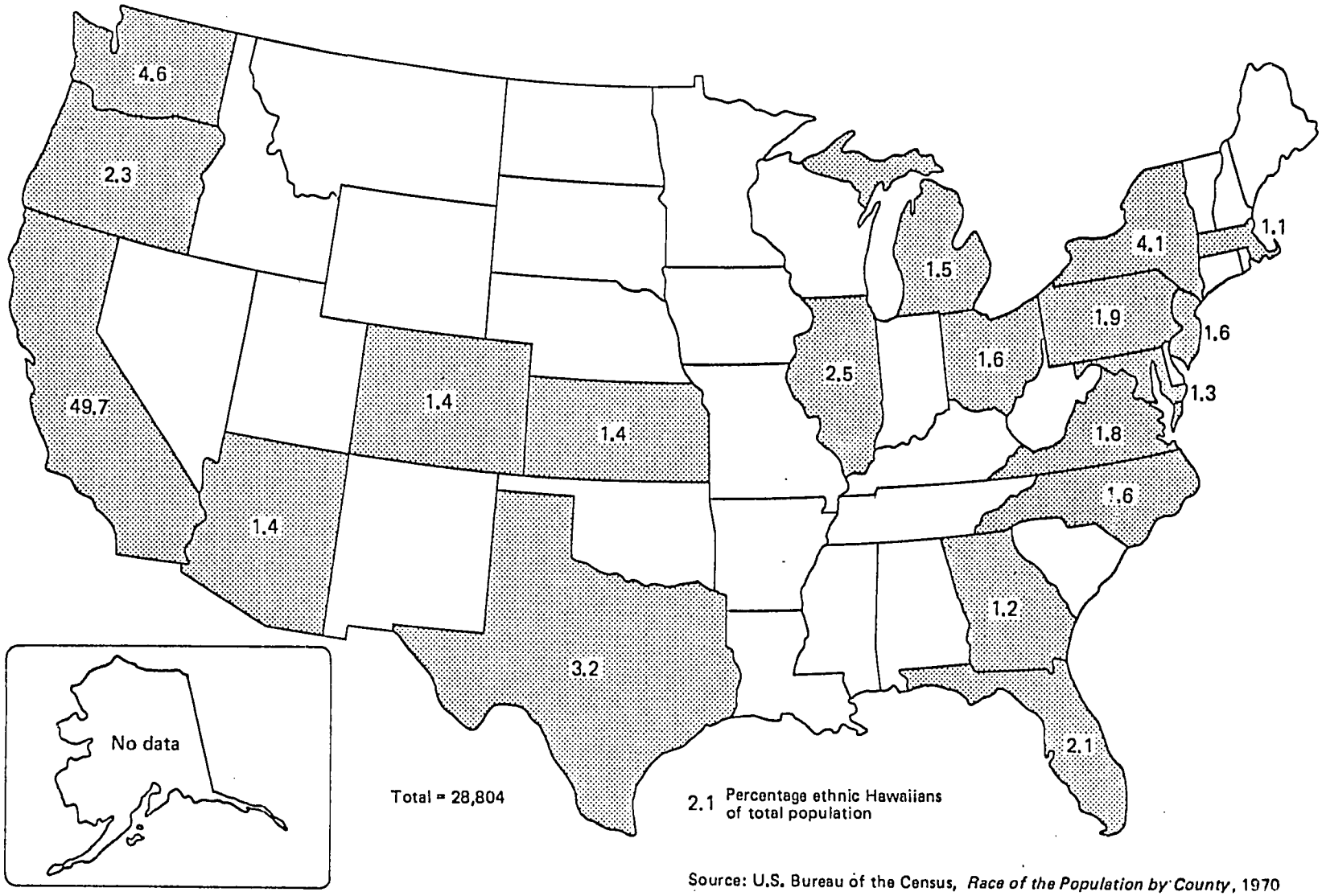
[18]For Alaska, the categories "Aluet" and "Eskimo" were substituted for "Korean" and "Hawaiian." It is unlikely, however, that more than 200 Hawaiians resided in Alaska.

Figure 4.8 States with More Than One Percent of Ethnic Hawaiians Living on the Mainland, 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Race of the Population by County*, 1970

Hawaii-born nonwhites in general. Whereas more than two-thirds of all Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland were in California, the corresponding proportion for Hawaiians was just under half. Notable is the fact that the southern states contained 17 percent of all Hawaiians but only seven percent of Hawaii-born nonwhites. More than 10 percent of all Hawaiians but less than five percent of all Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland were in the northeast.

Table 4.10 contains comparisons of Hawaiians in Hawaii, California, and other parts of the United States.

That a large proportion of Mainland Hawaiian males not residing in California were in the armed forces in 1970 is shown in Table 4.10. This is probably the main reason why a large proportion were in southern states. Overall, nine percent of all Hawaiian males in the labor force, compared with under five percent nationwide, were in the armed forces.[19] Apparently, many Hawaiians first live on the Mainland as a result of being in the military. Approximately 60 percent of all Hawaiians attending college were doing so on the Mainland. The proportion 25 years of age and over who had completed at least one year of college was twice as high on the Mainland as in Hawaii.

Notwithstanding the generally superior educational levels of the Hawaiians on the Mainland, the median income of males in California was somewhat below the Hawaii median and the median in other Mainland states is well below the California median.

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[19]This does not include overseas military personnel, but the Hawaiians were undoubtedly overrepresented in this group as well.

Table 4.10 Selected Characteristics of Hawaiians in Hawaii, California and Other Areas of the Mainland, 1970

	Hawaiians in Hawaii	Hawaiians in Mainland	California	Other Mainland
Population[a]	72,395	27,563	14,454	13,109
# of Males in Armed Forces	494	1,637	627	1,010
% of Male Labor Force in Armed Forces	3.1	21.0	14.4	29.3
Sex Ratio	96.1	100.0	NA	NA
% of Pop. Aged 20-29	15.2	24.8	NA	NA
% of Pop. Aged 30-39	12.2	15.3	NA	NA
# (%) in College	1,125 (1.6)	1,705 (6.2)	733 (5.4)	962 (7.3)
# (%) aged 25 and over with 1 or more years of college	3,664 (11.5)	3,085 (23.8)	1,614 (23.7)	1,471 (24.0)
% of Males unemployed	4.3	7.1	8.3	5.2
% of Females unemployed	5.2	6.3	6.1	6.5
Median income--Male	$6,835	$5,861	$6,474	$3,667
Median income--Female	$3,003	$2,785	$3,293	$2,435
# Born in State of Residence	64,606	6,307	3,480	2,827
Not born in State of Residence but born in "west"	835	15,536	8,852	6,684
State of Birth not reported	4,580	3,204	1,091	2,113

[a]Population count is from 15 percent sample and is thus somewhat different than the full count. According to the full count there were 71,376 Hawaiians in Hawaii, 14,388 in California, and 14,470 elsewhere in the conterminous U.S.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.

Although the median income of females in California was above the Hawaii median, it can be described as "dismal" in other states. At first glance, the above statistics suggest that Hawaiians on the Mainland are faring worse economically than those left behind. However, a large proportion of males on the Mainland are in the armed forces, in which wages tend to be low but benefits numerous. In addition, many of the numerous college students on the Mainland were undoubtedly employed part-time and their average earnings would be expected to be low. Many of the Hawaiians on the Mainland were in their twenties, and wages are higher and unemployment is lower at later ages. Part of the unemployment on the Mainland may be due to recent migration. When an average 15 percent cost of living differential between Honolulu and the large cities of California is taken into account, the incomes of Hawaiians in California are considerably better than in Hawaii. More information is needed in order to evaluate whether Hawaiians who move to the Mainland benefit financially as a result. This subject will be addressed in Chapter VIII.

4.11 Why Did the Postwar Outmigration Trends Occur?

Evidence from Noncensus Sources

Unfortunately, evidence from noncensus sources on postwar outmigration is scanty. Indeed, virtually none exists for the period from 1945 to 1952, a crucial transition period in the migration patterns of nonwhites. There is a single observation from one source (Hawaiian Economic Foundation, 1950) which noted that the large majority of persons who left during the 1949-50 economic slump were Caucasian (this was

confirmed by the 1950 census) because nonwhites believed that opportunities for them on the Mainland would be limited because of their minority status.

However, a reasonable interpretation is that most of the nonwhite outmigrants in the immediate postwar period were Nisei veterans, many of whom attended Mainland colleges with G.I. benefits. For practical purposes, these Nisei soldiers were the first Hawaii-born nonwhites to see non-west coast areas in large numbers. Furthermore, they were beneficiaries of the expansion of the Hawaii public high school system in the late 1930s. Their service in the war did much to reduce whatever inferiority feelings they had vis-à-vis the whites. At the same time, anti-Japanese sentiment on the Mainland abated considerably, in large part because of the valor of the Nisei troops. A number of authors (e.g., Caudill, 1950) noted that those Japanese moving from internment camps to Chicago and staying there after the war tended to be contemptuous of their California counterparts as "unacculturated." A similar attitude among Hawaii Japanese undoubtedly encouraged many to choose non-west coast areas in migration decisions. These pioneer migrants in the postwar period were valuable sources of information for others wishing to attend Mainland schools or otherwise "experience" the Mainland.

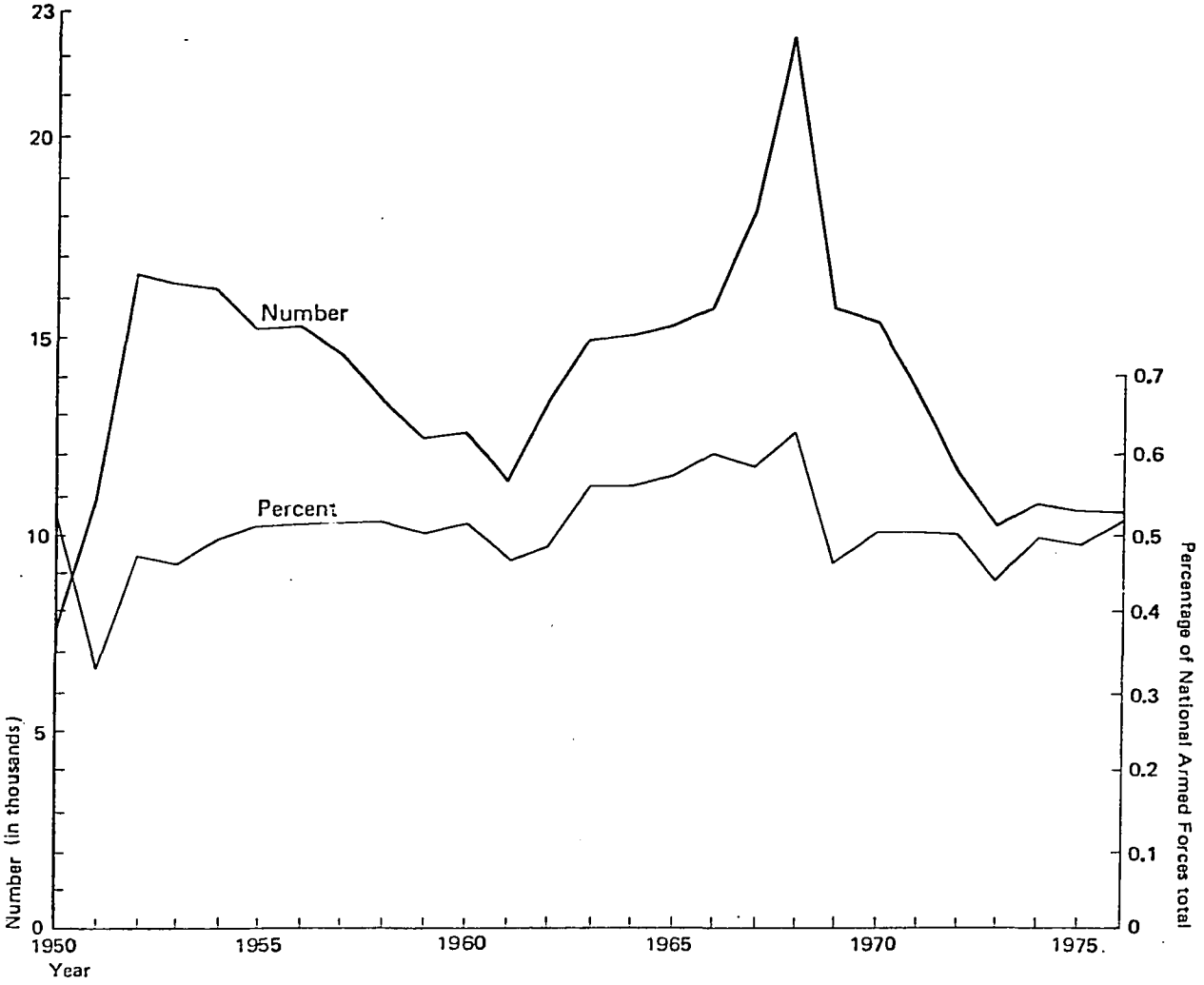
That the loss of Hawaii-born whites was substantial between 1940 and 1950 is evident from the 1950 census. Unknown is what share of this loss was contributed by the local Portuguese and Puerto Rican populations. Virtually all of the 10,000 civilians evacuated during the war had Mainland antecedents and some did not return although this

number is unknown. Many local whites left during the 1949-50 economic crisis but their number is undocumented. The fact that only half of the Hawaii-born whites aged 20-29 who were living on the Mainland in 1950 were on the west coast does suggest that many were attending college or connected with the armed forces.

Fortunately, there are a number of sources that give insight into outmigration after 1950. One source is the U.S. Bureau of the Census, which has yearly estimated the number of Hawaii residents in the armed forces since 1950. Prior to World War II, Hawaii was not noted as a fertile recruiting ground for the armed forces. However, the glory accruing to those serving in the 100th Division and 442nd Battalion, the demonstrable benefits to be gained from the G.I. and veterans bills, a chance to "see the world" and to learn marketable skills all undoubtedly served to popularize the armed forces as a vocation among Hawaii residents. Fluctuations in the number of Hawaii residents in the armed forces since 1950 are portrayed in Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.9 shows that approximately 7,500 were serving in 1950, but this number jumped to more than 16,000 during the Korean War. In the late 1950s there was a slow decline, but the estimated number in the armed forces increased from 11,000 in 1960 to 15,000 in 1965 and then jumped to more than 22,000 in 1968, which represented the peak of the Vietnam War. The decline since 1968 is of course associated with the decline of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and the reduction that has occurred with the introduction of the all volunteer army. At present, the number of Hawaii residents in the armed forces is at its lowest level since 1950, notwithstanding the fact that the Hawaii

Figure 4.9 Number of Hawaii Residents in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1950 – 1976



Source: HDPED Report 120, (September 9, 1977: Table 5)

resident population almost doubled between 1950 and 1976. As Figure 4.9 shows, the share of the Hawaii contribution to the armed forces has fluctuated around a half of one percent. However, in proportion to the Hawaii population, Hawaii residents in the armed forces were over-represented by 64 percent in 1950, 48 percent in 1960 and 33 percent in 1970. Obviously, one reason the outmigration of local nonwhites began to approach national levels of first-time interstate migration in the 1950s was because of the large numbers going into the military. Earlier, it was noted that the 1970 census data show that Hawaiians in 1970 had twice the numbers in the armed forces as one would expect if they contributed the same proportion as the national population.

Between 1960 and 1970 some 31,174 Hawaii residents joined or were inducted into the armed forces (HDPED Report 87, 1972). This represents approximately 45 percent of all males in Hawaii who reached the age of 18 during the decade.[20] Although a large proportion undoubtedly served in Vietnam, virtually all recruits and draftees from Hawaii completed three months of basic training in California, and then received assignments in the south, midwest, or abroad. Although census data do not tell us where the Hawaii residents in the military are counted, approximately 30 percent of all 1955-60 outmigrants in the armed forces in 1960 were in California compared with over 40 percent in the south. Approximately a quarter and half of the 1965-70 outmigrants in the armed forces in 1970 were in California and the south, respectively. Presumably, the Hawaii

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[20]There were approximately 106,000 graduates of Hawaii high schools in the 1960s and approximately 82 percent of those in the 9th grade eventually graduated. This suggests 130,000 reaching the age of 18, and half (or 65,000) were assumed to be males.

residents in the armed forces were characterized by a similar geographical distribution in both census years.

The drop in the number of Hawaii residents in the armed forces during the early 1970s is significant in that the military has been an important vehicle in getting local Hawaii males to the Mainland. How the net loss of local males is affected depends on the return rate of those entering the military, but the gross outmigration rate, especially of males, has certainly been depressed as a result of the decline in the numbers entering the military.

On the national level, many persons first leave their state of birth when they attend college. Prior to World War II, most attending college on the Mainland were undoubtedly Punahou graduates as a rudimentary system of public secondary education and the relative poverty of most nonhaoles precluded Mainland college attendance for most.[21] However, a greatly increased number were able to attend college on the Mainland after World War II and by 1950 some 2,000 (compared to 5,000 attending the University of Hawaii) were attending Mainland colleges.

In 1958 the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers cross-tabulated college enrollment statistics by state of resident and state of attendance. This study revealed that 4,405, out of a total of 11,431 Hawaii residents attending college, were attending Mainland schools (WICHE, 1966). The outmigration rate of 39

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[21]The number of nonwhites attending Mainland colleges just prior to World War II is unknown, but some 206 Japanese returned from the west coast at the beginning of World War II. Allen notes that many were attending college at the time the war started. See Allen (1950, p. 141). Between 1910 and 1920, 286 Hawaii residents attended Mainland colleges. Five-eighths of this number were Punahou graduates. See U.S. Department

percent was more than double the national average (18 percent) and second only to that of New Jersey, which was characterized by a notoriously inadequate system of higher education.

By 1963, the number attending college on the Mainland increased to 6,041 but the proportion declined slightly to 35 percent (WICHE, 1966). The 1968 survey revealed that 7,899 Hawaii residents were attending college on the Mainland, but that the proportion had further dropped to 29 percent (U.S. Office of Education, 1970). This proportion was nevertheless much higher than the national average of 17 percent who were then attending out of state colleges. No surveys have been taken since 1968, but the local community college system which started in 1965 and the completion of the law and medical schools in the early 1970s have presumably encouraged a higher percentage to attend Hawaii colleges.[22]

A comparison of the 1958 and 1968 locations of Hawaii residents attending college on the Mainland (Figure 4.10) reveals interesting similarities and differences. Slightly under three-tenths were in California in both years, with another tenth in Oregon colleges. However, whereas less than a twentieth were in Washington in 1958, the proportion rose to an eighth a decade later. As a result, the proportion in the northwest rose from 13.4 percent in 1958 to 22.6 percent in 1968. The popularity of Colorado (especially) and Utah

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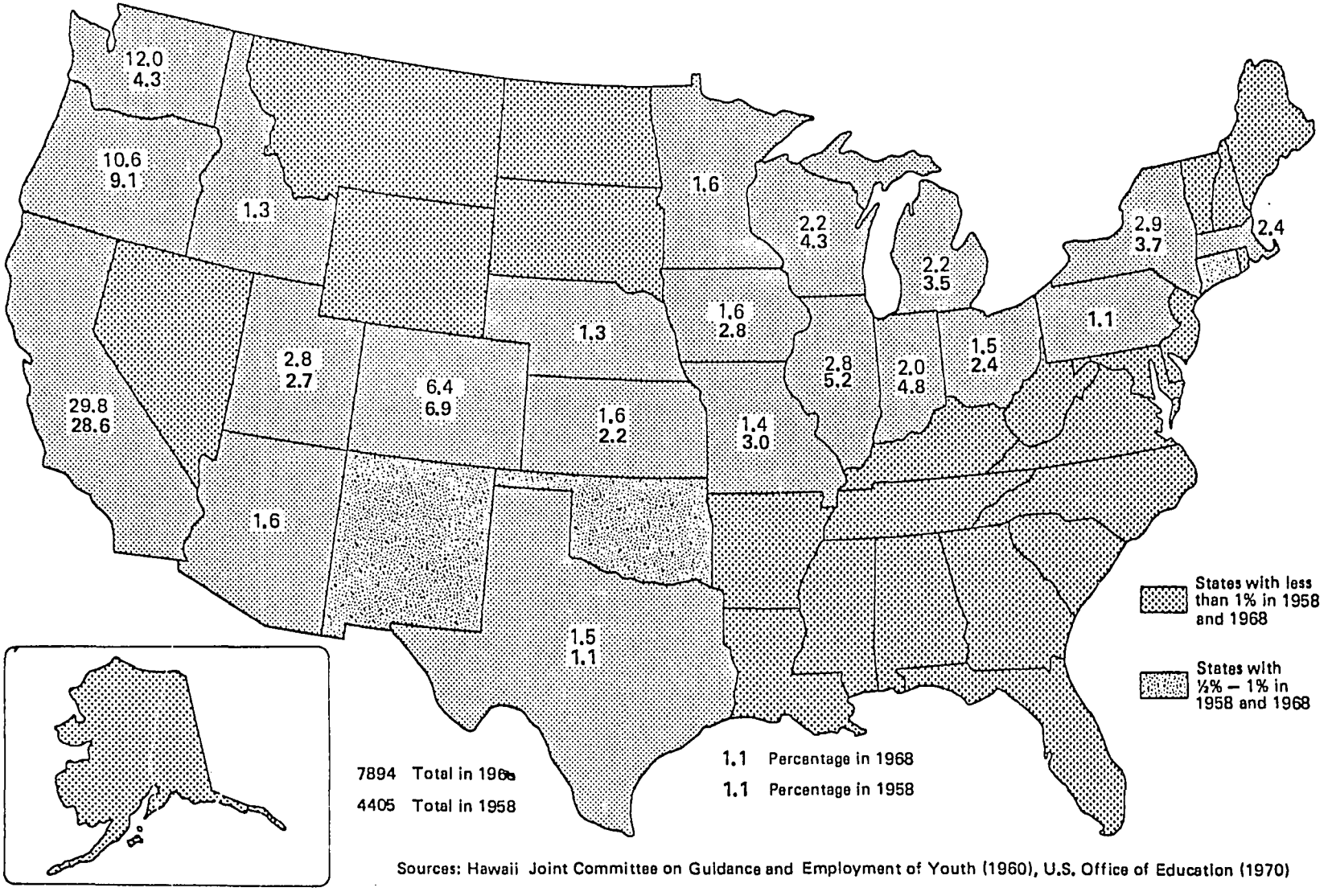
of the Interior (1920, pp. 264-265) for a listing of colleges attended cross-tabulated by high school attended.

[22]In 1965, 2,010 were enrolled in the local community colleges. By fall 1967, this number had increased to 3,606. Enrollment was 16,107 in September, 1973.

Figure 4.10 Distribution of Hawaii Residents Attending College on the Mainland, 1968 and 1958



Sources: Hawaii Joint Committee on Guidance and Employment of Youth (1960), U.S. Office of Education (1970)

persisted and Arizona and Idaho colleges gained in relative popularity during the decade. As a result, the absolute number in the mountain states more than doubled, with the overall share rising from 12.1 to 13.9 percent. In both years the unpopularity of southern states is evident. Florida's sun and beaches did not attract many scholars from Hawaii (eight in 1958 and 29 in 1968) and Virginia's attractions were also minimal. Only six percent of the scholars on the Mainland in both years were in southern states.

Perhaps the most notable change between 1958 and 1968 was the absolute as well as relative decline of Hawaii residents attending college in the midwest. A comparison of the 1950 and 1960 distributions of Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland suggests that the midwestern colleges were already losing their allure in the 1950s, but nevertheless 27.6 percent of Hawaii residents attending college on the Mainland in 1958 were in midwestern states. By 1968 this proportion declined to 14.7 percent and absolute declines occurred in Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana.

Two local studies undertaken in the 1950s are of particular value in acertaining how the prolonged economic recession during the early 1950s affected local outmigration. Two studies, one undertaken by the Joint Committee on Guidance and Employment of Youth (JCGEY) and the other by the Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations (HDLIR), are discussed below.

The JCGEY survey of the 1952 high school graduates began in June of 1952 when all 6,218 graduating seniors were queried about their future plans. Of the 5,530 answering the questionnaire, 709 planned to

attend college on the Mainland, 3,123 expected to attend college in Hawaii and 347 (almost all males) planned to join the military (JCGEY, October, 1952). All 1952 graduates were resurveyed in January, 1953. Of the 5,123 responding to the questionnaire, 36 percent were attending Hawaii schools, 11 percent each were attending college on the Mainland and in the armed forces, 27.2 percent were gainfully employed and 7.4 percent (18 percent of these in the labor force) were unemployed. Only 17 of those employed were living on the Mainland. Another follow-up survey in January of 1954 indicated that 14 percent were now in the military and that the unemployment rate remained at 18 percent (JCGEY, February, 1954).

According to the 1956 follow-up survey of the 1952 graduates, 16 percent were residing on the Mainland and an additional 10 percent were residing at military stations either on the Mainland or abroad (JCGEY, February, 1957). Approximately 26 percent of the class were attending college and of this group, 42 percent were residing on the Mainland. In general, those who were attending college in Hawaii expected to seek employment in Hawaii whereas those attending Mainland colleges expected to seek employment on the Mainland. For example, of the 125 persons completing education programs in Hawaii, fewer than 10 expected to seek employment on the Mainland. In contrast, only 16 of the 53 persons completing education programs on the Mainland expected to seek employment in Hawaii. Most of the graduates expecting to stay on the Mainland believed that employment opportunities were better there, although many expressed a wish to return to Hawaii if economic conditions there improved (ibid.).

Of those in the military, a sixth expected to reenlist. Of the remainder, approximately one-third had no formulated plans, two-fifths expected to enroll in college, and the remaining quarter planned to seek employment after leaving the armed forces. Two-thirds of those planning to continue their education and three-quarters of those planning to seek employment expected to do so on the Mainland (ibid.).

Approximately half of the 1952 class were in the civilian labor force in 1956. Approximately one-eighth of those employed were living on the Mainland. More than two-thirds in the Mainland labor force were female; the author of the report surmised that this was undoubtedly due to the fact that there was then a surplus of qualified clerical workers in the territory. Eighteen percent of those employed on the Mainland were in professional occupations as contrasted to eleven percent among persons employed in Hawaii. The unemployment rate of those in Hawaii (8.9 percent) was more than double that for persons on the Mainland. Concerning those employed on the Mainland, the author noted (p. 11) that, "while many of those young people would like to return to the islands, according to the comments on their schedule, they remain on the Mainland because they feel opportunities are better there."

In summary, the surveys of the 1952 graduating class illuminate the outmigration patterns of high school graduates during the early 1950s. They suggest that outmigration among the local population became widespread in the early 1950s, notwithstanding gradually improving economic conditions. Although most of the 1952 graduates originally left Hawaii either to attend college or fulfill military obligations, a large proportion of those who left for those reasons chose to remain on

the Mainland because of perceived superior economic opportunities there. Significant is the fact that so few of the graduates were employed on the Mainland in 1953, notwithstanding the high unemployment rates then existing among the 1952 graduates.

The previously mentioned study undertaken by the Hawaii Department of Labor and Industrial Relations focused on the characteristics of persons from Hawaii filing interstate unemployment claims on the Mainland and vice versa (see Stevens, 1957). Noted was the fact that whereas 3,300 from Hawaii filed interstate claims between 1953 and 1956, the corresponding number of former Mainland residents filing claims in Hawaii was 7,600 during the same period. However, the author noted that the impression that the newcomers were adding substantially to the labor force was probably erroneous because

> [The interstate claimants from the Mainland] include large numbers of persons who are unable to find jobs, and because of a lack of finances for living purposes, return to their mainland homes. They are unsuccessful, primarily because the job opportunities in the Territory are limited and the majority of employers prefers to hire Island residents of which there is a sufficient supply (p. 2).

Also noted was the fact that the number of interstate claimants from Hawaii doubled between 1952 and 1956 (whereas economic conditions improved after 1952 and especially after 1954) and that a third of the claimants were of Oriental ancestry,[23] "a relatively new movement and not a common practice prior to World War II" (p. 2).

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[23]"Oriental," however, is not defined. It is not known whether Filipinos or Hawaiians were included in this category.

An in-depth study of those filing claims in July, 1957 indicated that the two groups of claimants were different in a number of respects.

> A typical mainland person who arrives in Honolulu to look for a job is a single woman from California--age 27 with clerical work and a desire to live in the Hawaiian Islands. On the other hand, the average Islander looking for employment on the mainland is a man. He is older--34 years of age--either skilled or unskilled and is seeking employment in a large California industrial plant or factory (p. 3).

Approximately 44 percent of the inmigrants came from California. About two-thirds of the outmigrants went to California, an additional eight percent went either to Washington or Oregon, and the remainder were scattered across the rest of the United States.

It should be noted that the Hawaii claimants covered in the study differed markedly from the 1952 high school graduates employed on the Mainland in 1956. The large majority of the latter were female, 78 percent were in either professional or clerical positions, and only 17 percent (compared to a third of the graduates employed in the territory) were in the skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled categories (JCGEY, 1957). The 1952 high school graduates tended to be much younger as well. In short, those 1952 high school graduates working on the Mainland in 1956 were, at least in terms of sex and occupational distribution, much more similar to the interstate claimants from the Mainland than to the claimants from Hawaii. Census data on the 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants show that those in their twenties far outnumbered those aged 30 and above (see Figure 4.4B). This is evidence that most of the outmigrants were much more similar to those in the JCGEY survey than in the HDLIR survey. It is significant, however, that in spite of economic improvements during the mid-1950s, the outmigration of both claimants and high

school graduates seeking employment appear to have increased appreciably between 1952 and 1956. This suggests that the increase was not due to deteriorating economic conditions, but, rather, an increased willingness to seek employment on the Mainland.

The JCGEY also took yearly surveys of all persons graduating between 1953 and the end of the 1950s. These surveys show an increasing percentage of graduates planning to attend college on the Mainland (11 percent of the entire class in 1954, rising to 17 percent in 1959), and a rise in the proportion planning to join the military from 10 percent in 1952 to 27 percent in 1957, followed by a decline to 20 percent in 1959. Concerning the fluctuations in the proportion intending to join the armed forces, the 1960 report (JCGEY, August, 1960) mentions a heavy recruiting drive in the mid-1950s, followed by the cessation of active recruiting and the imposition of higher enlistment standards. The report on the plans of the 1957 graduates (August, 1957) mentions that one-third of the graduates planning to seek immediate employment expected to do so on the Mainland. This percentage is many times that shown by the 1953 follow-up survey of the 1952 high school graduates, notwithstanding the fact that 1957 was characterized by much improved economic conditions compared to 1952. The anonymous author of the 1957 report concluded (p. 10) that "the Hawaii high school graduates are broadening their horizons."

The anonymous author of the report (October, 1956) comparing plans of the graduates between 1952 and 1956 noted the rise in the numbers attending college on the Mainland and speculated (p. 24), "Probably the most basic factor in this trend is that better economic conditions

enable more parents to send their children to Mainland schools." He further notes (p. 24), "In some instances young men who were stationed as G.I.s in college towns on the Mainland bring back favorable reports of a school or college and later return as students there, accompanied by one or two friends." Throughout the 1950s, approximately equal proportions of the Oahu and outer island graduates planned to attend college on the Mainland, but higher proportions of outer island graduates indicated plans to join the military. Among the Oahu private school graduates, the large majority planned to pursue higher education and about half in this group planned to do so on the Mainland.

From the standpoint of detail, the quality of the high school surveys has dropped considerably since 1960 and especially since 1970.[24] However, from the evidence presented in these surveys, it appears that the number attending Mainland schools a year after graduation rose from approximately 1,300 in the 1960 class to a high of 2,400 in the 1967 class. This number leveled off in the late 1960s and began to decline after 1970. The 1973, 1974, and 1975 follow-up surveys suggest an annual number of 1,800 high school graduates leaving yearly to Mainland colleges. The numbers in military service within a year after graduation averaged about 1,000 a year during the early 1960s but rose to a high of 1,500 among the 1967 and 1968 graduates. A considerable drop has since taken place and less than 500 graduates of the 1975 class joined the military within a year of graduation.

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[24] Beginning in 1962, the Hawaii Department of Education undertook the authorship and publication of the high school reports. Since 1969 these responsibilities have been taken over by the Survey Research Office. A complete listing of all high school surveys is given in the Bibliography under the authorship of JCGEY, HDOE, and SRO.

In terms of the proportion of all seniors who were in Mainland schools or the military in the year after graduation, the proportion rose from three-tenths in 1960 to three-eighths in the late 1960s. There has been a drop in the 1970s and the admittedly inadequate 1973, 1974, and 1975 follow-up surveys suggest this share was approximately two-ninths for these years. Although no data are available on the number who immediately after graduation go to the Mainland for reasons not related to military or educational considerations, it does appear that the proportion of high school seniors who presently leave for the Mainland within a year after graduation is much lower than it was during the 1960s.

Reasons for the recent decline in the numbers going into the military have earlier been discussed. The decline in the present proportion and numbers attending Mainland colleges immediately after graduation is attributable to a number of causes. The share of graduates enrolled in school in the year following graduation rose from 45 percent in the 1952 graduating class to approximately 70 percent in the mid-1960s but has since remained relatively constant. Approximately a quarter of the 1952 high school graduates were attending a four year college within a year of graduation. By 1962 this share increased to two-fifths. In the mid-1960s a peak of approximately four-ninths of all graduates was reached, but the share attending a four year college a year after graduation thereafter dropped and the proportion of 1975 high school graduates enrolled in a four year college in the fall of 1975 was less than three-eighths. In comparison, less than a tenth of those pursuing higher education in the early 1960s chose a two-year transfer program;

those who did so had to go to the Mainland. This proportion rose to more than a quarter in the 1975 graduating class. Considering the lack of prestige involved in attending a two year community college and the expense of attending one on the Mainland, there is little incentive for parents to finance a Mainland community college education for their children.[25]

Another potent factor in the decline in the proportion attending college on the Mainland has been the rapid rise since 1970 in tuition both at private and state colleges on the Mainland. The University of Hawaii at Manoa expanded rapidly in the late 1960s and the improvement in its academic reputation may have encouraged more parents to send their children there rather than to a Mainland college.[26]

It should be noted that some graduates delay college entrance for a year or more and others transfer from Hawaii to Mainland colleges. Likewise, not all who enlist in the military do so immediately after graduation from high school. Hence, the portion of high school graduates who serve in the military or attend Mainland colleges is higher than indicated by the high school surveys. In addition, some move to the Mainland to take immediate employment and others marry servicemen

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[25]Unfortunately, the proportion of recent high school graduates who attend a Mainland community college is unknown, but is certainly low for reasons discussed above. However, certain community colleges in the northwest (e.g., Linfield Community College in Oregon) continue to be popular among Hawaii high school graduates.

[26]This improvement was not maintained in the 1970s although a law and medical school have been added.

and move to the Mainland with them. Taking these considerations into account, the proportion of high school graduates in the late 1960s who went to the Mainland for six months or more within a few years of graduation may have exceeded 50 percent. This is supported by the questionnaire survey of the 1964 high school graduates (see Section 9.6).

There is no other noncensus information that is informative concerning the outmigration of local residents since World War II. Those sources that have been reviewed portray a growth in the number of local residents leaving during the early 1950s. In the early 1950s the majority appear to have gone to the Mainland as students or military personnel. Judging from the 1956 survey of the 1952 high school graduates, most who went to the Mainland in the early 1950s did not return. It appears that the outflow of high school graduates for immediate employment on the Mainland first reached significant proportions during the late 1950s.

The absolute number of Hawaii residents who were in college or in the military on the Mainland apparently peaked in the late 1960s. For reasons mentioned in the text, both the number and proportion of high school graduates either in college on the Mainland or in the military has since declined. Although information is lacking on the number of others going to the Mainland, it appears that the volume of local outmigrants has declined significantly since 1970.

In terms of characteristics of the outmigrants, the sources cited are uninformative. For instance, we do not know about their racial characteristics. That large numbers of persons attended college on the Mainland suggest that many who are lost to the Mainland are well educated, but unknown is the proportion attending college (or in the armed forces

or going to the Mainland for any other purpose) on the Mainland who eventually return to Hawaii. The 1952 high school graduates on the Mainland in 1956 were characterized by higher occupational status and lower unemployment than their classmates still in Hawaii but it must be kept in mind that economic conditions in Hawaii were still poor at this time. The 1957 study on unemployment claimants showed that the average claimant from Hawaii was male, in his thirties, and seeking a blue collar job, but perhaps most significant was the relatively low number of islanders unemployed in Hawaii and seeking employment on the Mainland.

In terms of destination, neither the high school surveys or census estimates of the numbers in the military give any indication of Mainland locations. The 1958 and 1968 national college surveys do give the states of residence of Hawaii residents attending school on the Mainland. They portray a distribution in which approximately three-tenths are in California with an increasing share in the northwest and a decreasing share in the midwest during the 10 year period. By contrast, the 1957 claimant study showed that more than two-thirds of claimants were in California. No other studies are informative concerning the locations of local outmigrants.

As nothing further is to be learned from the above mentioned studies, it is time to assess exactly what the traditional approach focusing on census and other secondary sources of information has told us concerning the nature of outmigration from Hawaii.

4.12 Summary

In summarizing material presented in this chapter it is most useful to frame the findings in terms of research questions posed in the first chapter. Such an approach makes apparent what has been accomplished and what questions remain unanswered.

In terms of the volume of outmigration and how it has been changing over time, it is evident that the outmigration rate of those coming over as plantation laborers was substantial. In the case of the white plantation laborers the loss was large even among the Hawaii-born. However, prior to World War II the losses of Hawaiians and second generation Orientals were small. In terms of yearly outflow of the Hawaii-born, there was an increase from the beginning of the twentieth century to 1929, and an ensuing slowdown in the 1930s that was related to the Great Depression. After World War II the outflow of whites was substantial; the yearly volume of nonwhite outmigrants started at a low level but picked up rapidly and by the late 1950s the yearly rate of outmigration among Hawaii's local nonwhites apparently approached national levels for first-time interstate movers. The 1970 census suggests little change in the relative rate of outmigration from levels prevailing in the late 1950s. Evidence pertaining to Hawaii residents joining the military and attending Mainland colleges suggests that the yearly number of local residents migrating to the Mainland may have declined since 1970.

In terms of the demographic characteristics of the outmigrants, the nonwhite plantation laborers who went to the Mainland prior to World War II were predominantly young unmarried adults; this also describes

the characteristics of those nonwhites recruited for plantation labor. In contrast, most whites recruited as plantation laborers left in family groups; indeed, most were recruited as families. Whereas the descendants of the white plantation laborers also tended to leave in family groups prior to World War II, most second generation nonwhite outmigrants continued to be young single males. Since World War II, however, the proportion of females among the Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland has continually increased and by 1970 there were nearly equal numbers of males and females on the Mainland. In terms of the educational, occupational and economic characteristics of the postwar outmigrants, both the census and other secondary sources are completely uninformative. The large majority of nonwhites leaving since World War II has continued to be young adults without children. Because of complications in interpreting census data for whites, nothing can be ascertained concerning the age characteristics of recent local white outmigrants.

On the question pertaining to why outmigrants leave Hawaii, the evidence is overwhelming that most departees prior to World War II were dissatisfied with both economic and social conditions of plantation labor. Excepting the Hawaiians for whom Hawaii was home, reasons why others did not leave prior to World War II are complex. Dissatisfied as whites tended to be with plantation labor, for the Puerto Ricans and Portuguese it represented an advancement over previous conditions, and it is significant that these are the only two predominately Caucasian groups recruited for plantation labor that stayed in large numbers. Anti-Oriental feelings on the west coast increased during the early

twentieth century. This and the lack of communications between the earlier migrants and Hawaii-born nonwhites explain the low outmigration of Hawaii-born nonwhites prior to World War II. After World War II, rising aspirations, increased information available about the Mainland and the decline of anti-Oriental prejudice on the Mainland all resulted in a marked increase in nonwhite outmigration.

The literature is unenlightening as to why the post-World War II outmigrants left Hawaii. What can be said with certainty is that proportions joining the military and attending out of state colleges are high by national standards. The yearly volume of outmigration, at least among nonwhites, does not appear to be correlated with existing economic conditions in Hawaii. Evidence for this observation are plentiful; few nonwhites left during the 1949-50 economic collapse, the yearly proportion leaving apparently reached a peak during the late 1950s when economic conditions in Hawaii were improving, remained constant during the 1960s although economic conditions were excellent by Hawaii standards and apparently declined during the 1970s when economic conditions in Hawaii were not good. Such information as exists in published form is inadequate to address why most local persons stay in Hawaii whereas others leave.

As to whether there is a differential rate of outmigration among Hawaii's major ethnic groups, information pertaining to post-World War II outmigration is unhelpful. Each year a far greater proportion of whites than nonwhites leave Hawaii, but since the large majority of inmigrants from the Mainland are white, this observation is trivial. Place of birth census data are not helpful concerning recent outmigration

of "local" whites because of the confounding influence of persons born as military dependents and leaving the state at an early age. The 1970 census data on Hawaiians suggest that a higher proportion of Hawaiians may have migrated to the Mainland than Hawaii-born nonwhites in general, but due to ambiguities involved in the self-classification of part-Hawaiians, this conclusion is open to doubt. As to cultural influences affecting present-day migration, the literature is completely uninformative.

Prior to World War II, the overwhelming majority of local outmigrants went to California. The fact that almost all passenger routes connecting Hawaii with the Mainland involved California and the obvious economic opportunities in a rapidly growing California explain the concentration there. Immediately after World War II, the outmigrants were much more geographically dispersed. Factors associated with this are the greatly increased information available about non-west coast areas, broadened horizons among the outmigrants themselves, and the increasing proportions attending Mainland colleges or in the armed forces. There was a partial return to California dominance in the outmigration flows of the late 1950s. The fact that migration among the local nonwhites had become so common that the outmigrants were less selected in terms of adventuresomeness than had been true a few years previously undoubtedly had much to do with the increasing proportions going to California. Another factor appears to have been the fact that outmigration of nonwhites seeking immediate employment became substantial in the late 1950s, and it is a reasonable surmise that those seeking immediate employment migrated mainly to California because

immediate assistance was available from friends and relatives already there. The 1970 census is completely uninformative concerning the destinations of local outmigrants during the late 1960s, but the place of birth statistics suggest a continuing increase in the proportion of Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland who were residing in California.

There is evidence in the place of birth data that where persons originally migrate may be a poor predictor of where they will be a few years later. It appears that many who migrate originally to states other than California later move to California whereas the flow from California to other states is much less. Whether this is so and reasons for residential shifts of Hawaii residents already on the Mainland will be investigated through both the public use census sample and the questionnaire sample of 1964 high school graduates. These two sources will also yield much more detailed information on destinations on the substate level and why particular destinations are picked.

Prior to World War II, relatively few of the outmigrants, at least among those in plantation groups, returned to Hawaii. Although it is undeniable that the length and expense of the voyage to the Mainland were considerable, the main reason for the low rate of return is simply that most were fleeing conditions of plantation labor and thus had little reason to return. After World War II, the proportion of outmigrants who later returned increased greatly; indeed, the returnees have had a considerable impact in local postwar politics. This increased return rate is related to the improvement of economic and social opportunities for non-Haoles as well as the increasing number going to the Mainland in order to learn skills that can be applied in Hawaii. The 1960 census does not

suggest a return rate of local nonwhites that was high by national standards, but the annual number of returnees increased by more than 50 percent between the late 1950s and late 1960s whereas the volume of annual nonwhite outmigration remained relatively constant during the period. Furthermore, as compared to the 1950s, the loss of Hawaii-born nonwhites to the Mainland slowed somewhat. These facts suggest that the rate of return is sensitive to economic conditions in Hawaii. The 1956 survey of 1952 high school graduates suggests that the rate of return from the Mainland would have been much higher had economic conditions been good in Hawaii at the time the survey was taken. Beyond the seeming influence of economic conditions, the question of why some outmigrants return to Hawaii whereas others stay on the Mainland is not illuminated by evidence evaluated in this chapter.

On the question of the consequences of outmigration for Hawaii there is not enough evidence with which even to make a gross value judgment. At this point we simply know little beyond the gross numbers moving to the Mainland. Before any judgment can be made, we need to know more about the migrants themselves.

Demographic characteristics and geographical locations of 1965-70 outmigrants, the Hawaii-born living on the Mainland in 1970, and 1965-70 returnees to Hawaii as revealed by 1970 public use census tapes will be examined in the next four chapters.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS OF HAWAII-BORN OUTMIGRANTS AND RETURNEES AS REVEALED BY THE PUBLIC USE CENSUS SAMPLE

5.1 Introduction

Inadequacies of published census data in terms of offering enlightenment concerning the postwar outmigration of Hawaii's local inhabitants have been made apparent in the preceding chapter. The 1970 published census is particularly poor in this regard. Limitations in the published census can be overcome with the use of public use census tapes, however, as these tapes allow the organization of census data in any manner chosen.

In order to understand the 1970 public use census tapes it is important to know how the 1970 census was taken. All households received a census form containing a number of basic questions. In addition, respondents in 15 percent of all households were asked a series of questions contained in the "15 percent questionnaire." Another five percent of households were covered in a "five percent questionnaire." Many of the questions contained in the "five percent" questionnaire were identical to those asked on the "fifteen percent questionnaire." For example, state of birth was obtained for all persons covered by both forms. However, some of the questions differed. Of most relevance to this study is the fact that on the "five percent" form previous place of residence was asked only of persons aged 14 and older whereas on the "fifteen percent" form this question was asked of all persons aged five and older.

Public use census tapes, based on the 1970 census, are available for individual states and "economic areas,"[1] which are generally sub-areas of states. Each tape contains a one in 100 household sample of all households included in the census. Two tapes are available for a given state and economic area; one for persons responding to the "15 percent" long census form (i.e., containing the extended census questions asked of residents in 15 percent of all households covered by the census), and the other for persons responding to the "five percent" long form. To the extent that questions asked in the five and fifteen percent sample forms are identical and boundaries of "economic areas" conform to state boundaries, a four percent sample can be obtained for each state. To date, few researchers not employed by the U.S. Census Bureau have used public use census data in migration studies.[2]

As the public use census records include all census data collected for given individuals, information not available in published reports can be processed and analyzed. Disadvantages of using public use census records include a small sample size (a four percent sample is the maximum possible) and limitations inherent in census data. In addition,

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[1]An "economic area" as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau must fulfill the following criteria: (1) contain an entire county or a contiguous grouping of whole counties, (2) have a population of at least 150,000, and (3) be relatively self-contained economically. In Hawaii's case, criteria one and three were waived whereas criterion two was adhered to. The result was a division into Honolulu and "other Hawaii" instead of the logical division of Oahu and the other islands.

[2]Marckwardt (1968) is a notable exception. However, he used the one in 1,000 sample 1960 census tape for the U.S. as a whole. Public use census data from the 1960 census are not available for individual states.

processing costs for migration studies can be prohibitive in terms of information retrieved, especially for areas in which the outmigrants from a given state (Hawaii in this case) comprise only a miniscule share of the entire population.

For the purpose of this study, a four percent sample was obtained for the states of Hawaii, California, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska. The four mentioned west coast states received nearly half of all 1965-70 outmigrants from Hawaii. A one percent sample for all states on the Mainland, based on the five percent questionnaire, was also used in the study. From the tapes used, data were compiled for the following types of individuals:

1. Persons born in Hawaii and living in west coast states in 1970; four percent sample.

2. Persons living in Hawaii in 1965 and in west coast states in 1970; four percent sample for persons aged 14 and above and a two percent sample for persons aged 13 and under.

3. Persons born on the Mainland and living on the Mainland in 1965 but living in Hawaii in 1970; four percent sample for persons aged 14 and above and a two percent sample for persons aged 13 and under.

4. Persons born in Hawaii and living in Hawaii in 1970, but residing on the Mainland in 1965; four percent sample for persons aged 14 and above and a two percent sample for persons aged 13 and under.

5. Persons aged 14 and over who lived in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970; one percent sample.

6. Persons born in Hawaii and living on the Mainland in 1970; one percent sample.

Findings from the analysis of public use tapes provide the basis of Chapters V through VIII. In this chapter, age, sex and racial characteristics and the geographical distribution of the 1965-70 outmigrants and Hawaii-born returnees will be examined.

5.2 Numbers and Geographical Distributions of the 1965-70 Outmigrants

When the public use census tapes were first analyzed, the one percent sample tapes for the non-west coast areas were not available. The two "fifteen percent sample" tapes of the west coast yielded estimates of 1965-70 outmigrants that were close to published census results (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Public Use Census Tape Estimate of 1965-70 Outmigrants to West Coast States Compared to Published Census Results

State	Number of 1965-70 Outmigrants to Public Use Tapes[a]	Census[b]	% Difference
California	40,450	40,885	-1.1
Oregon	3,400	2,784	+22.1
Washington	7,000	6,674	+4.9
Alaska	650	730	-11.0
All West Coast States	51,500	51,043	+.9

[a]2 percent sample based on the 15 percent questionnaire

[b]15 percent sample based on the 15 percent questionnaire

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census, and public use census tapes.

When the one percent national tape based on the five percent questionnaire was run, it generated an estimated 88,900 outmigrants aged 15 and over. This is more than 10 percent under the 100,811 outmigrants of comparable ages reported in the published census.[3] This is

[3]Why this is so is unknown. Estimates of the numbers of Hawaii-born living on the west coast were somewhat higher with the tapes based on the five percent questionnaire. On the tapes based on the five percent questionnaire only 2.2 percent of the Hawaii-born on the west

an indication that had the five percent questionnaire been used for reporting purposes, the published census would have shown a lower volume of interstate migration on the national level. Of greatest relevance here is the fact that of the 138 other nonwhites (representing 13,800 persons) in the sample, 48 percent were in California, 17 percent were in northwestern states, and the balance were in non-west coast areas.[4] Based on the evidence so far presented, it seems apparent that under half of the other nonwhite outmigrants were in California with an additional 10 to 15 percent in the northwestern states. As the 1960 census showed 65.9 percent of all 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants in California with an additional 5.7 percent in the northwestern states, there was obviously a shift during the 1960s in the direction of greater dispersion from California.

The estimated number of 1965-70 outmigrants by region and race are presented in Table 5.2.

Although the data presented in Table 5.2 for California and the northwest by nonwhite racial groups are believed to be fairly accurate, the estimates given for non-west coast areas are conjectural as they are based on a one percent sample. Nonetheless, a number of observations concerning Table 5.2 are in order.

That two-thirds of whites and three quarters of the blacks were in areas away from the west coast is hardly a surprise, especially as

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coast did not report 1965 residence. The comparable rate yielded by the tapes based on the 15 percent questionnaire was 2.6 percent.

[4]Percentages in non-west coast areas are as follows: two percent in the Mountain states, 15 percent in the South, 12 percent in the Midwest and seven percent in the Northeast.

Table 5.2

Estimated Numbers of Persons Living in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970 by Race and 1970 Region of Residence

	Numbers and Percentage in			
Race	California[a]	Northwest[a]	Other U.S.[b]	Total
White	30,425 (27.6)	8,800 (8.0)	71,000 (64.5)	110,225
Black[c]	1,100 (23.4)	0	3,600 (76.6)	4,700
Other Nonwhite	8,925 (43.6)	2,250 (11.0)	9,300 (45.4)	20,475
Indian	75	0	0	75
Japanese	3,500 (43.6)	925 (11.5)	3,600 (44.9)	8,025
Chinese	1,100 (48.9)	250 (11.1)	900 (40.0)	2,250
Filipino	1,575 (46.7)	300 (8.9)	1,500 (44.4)	3,375
Hawaiian	1,475 (30.3)	600 (12.3)	2,800 (57.4)	4,875
Korean	150 (50.0)	50 (16.7)	100 (33.3)	300
Other	1,050 (66.7)	125 (7.9)	400 (25.4)	1,575
Total	40,450 (29.9)	11,050 (8.1)	83,900 (62.0)	135,400
Published Census	40,855 (30.2)	10,188 (7.5)	84,391 (62.3)	135,435

[a]Based on four percent sample. Of the 2,250 other nonwhites counted in the northwestern states, 1,125 were in Washington, 975 in Oregon and 150 in Alaska.

[b]Based on one percent national sample.

[c]According to the published census there were 1,112 blacks in California, 131 in the northwest and 3,514 in non-west coast states.

Source: See text.

most were military related while in Hawaii and the published 1970 census shows that only 21.2 and 6.3 percent of the outmigrants in the military in 1965 were residing in California and the northwestern states, respectively. With the exception of Hawaiians and "others," the distributions by region of Hawaii's various nonwhite groups are similar. Concerning the "others," only 17 percent of the adults in the west coast

sample were born in Hawaii; most of the remainder were born in American Samoa. On the Mainland, most Samoans live in California. Most of the "others" among the outmigrants are immigrants or children of immigrants from Samoa and their migration from Hawaii to the Mainland appears to be of the "chain" variety, much like the pre-World War II outmigration of plantation workers from Hawaii. The Hawaiians appear to be much more dispersed than the other groups; this is supported by the 1970 census count showing less than half of all Hawaiians, but more than two-thirds of all "other nonwhites" born in Hawaii but living on the Mainland to be in California. Why the Hawaiians should be more dispersed than the other nonwhite groups is not obvious although large numbers in 1970 were attending college or serving in the military on the Mainland (see Table 4.10).

Estimated 1965-70 outflows by race represented the following proportions of their counterparts residing in Hawaii in 1970: white, 37.0 percent; black, 62.1 percent; Japanese, 3.7 percent; Chinese, 4.3 percent; Filipino, 3.6 percent; Korean, 3.5 percent; Hawaiian, 6.8 percent; and "others," 8.7 percent.[5] That whites and blacks are characterized by a high population turnover is expected. Excepting the Hawaiians and "others," outmigration rates among Hawaii's major nonwhite groups appear to be similar. Results of the survey of 1964 graduates suggest that Hawaiians are characterized by outmigration rates

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[5]These estimates are based on the complete census count of Hawaii. Had the 15 percent sample count been used, the proportion indicated for "others" would have been 13.0 percent, but the proportions for all other groups would have been similar.

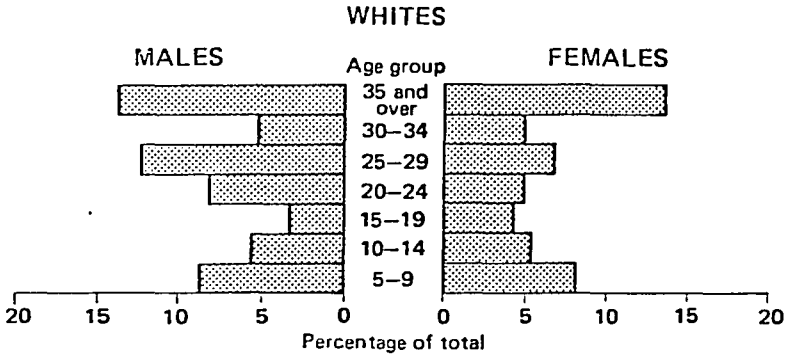
similar to those of other local nonwhites. Apparently, persons with a given proportion of Hawaiian ancestry were more likely to declare themselves "Hawaiian" on the Mainland than Hawaii. The high rate of outmigration among "others" suggests that Hawaii is an intermediate destination for many Samoans who eventually move to the Mainland.

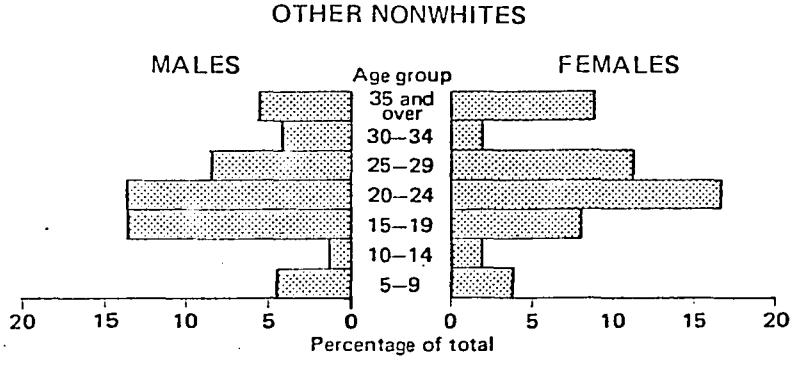
In summary, although the white and black outmigrants were shown by the public use census tapes to be more dispersed than other nonwhites, the 1965-70 other nonwhite outmigrants were much less concentrated in California than their counterparts ten years earlier. Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans were characterized by similar rates of outmigration and proportions going to California and the northwestern states. Hawaiians were more dispersed than the above mentioned groups. "Others," most of whom are Samoan, were the most concentrated in California.

5.3 Age Distribution of the Outmigrants

A count of the entire age distribution of the 1965-70 outmigrants was available only for a two percent sample of migrants to the west coast. The age-sex distributions of white and other nonwhite outmigrants are portrayed in Figure 5.1. A comparison of the two groups shows marked differences. Two-thirds of the nonwhites but only a third of the whites are adults aged 18 to 29. Among the whites the highest proportion is in the 25-29 age group; this is evidence that most are previous inmigrants to Hawaii. By contrast, the largest number of nonwhite outmigrants are between 18 and 23 years of age. Only a fifth of nonwhites but nearly two-fifths of whites are over 30 years of age. Three-tenths of whites

Figure 5.1 Age and Sex Distribution of Persons Living in Hawaii in 1965 then on the West Coast in 1970





	WHITES	OTHER NONWHITES
SAMPLE SIZE	842	219
SEX RATIO	118.1	99.0
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL		
Age group		
0–17	29.7	13.7
18–29	33.9	66.1
30 and over	36.4	20.2

Source: See text

but only a seventh of nonwhites are under 18 years of age.[6] Even this low proportion for nonwhites conceals considerable differences by race. Half of "others" were under 18 years of age; most were in large families and apparently of Samoan ancestry. More than half of the nonwhite children were contributed by the relatively small "others" group. At the other extreme, only four percent of the Oriental (i.e., Japanese, Chinese, and Korean) outmigrants were under 18 years of age. Proportions of children among the Filipinos (16 percent) and Hawaiians (14 percent) approximated the nonwhite average. Whereas there were virtually equal numbers of males and females among the nonwhites, males outnumbered females by nearly 20 percent among the whites.

Age distributions portrayed in Figure 5.1 can be compared with those shown for the 1955-60 outmigrants residing in the "west" in 1960.[7] The age distributions of the whites are similar for both periods and will not be further discussed. Among the 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants in the "west" in 1960, 30.2 percent were over 30 years of age and 18.3 percent were under fifteen years of age; the comparable estimates among nonwhites on the west coast in 1970 were 20.2 and 11.0 percent, respectively.[8] This shows that the 1965-70 nonwhite outmigrants leaving

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[6]Two-fifths of the black outmigrants (not shown in Figure 5.1) were under 18 years of age. Most were military dependents in 1965.

[7]The "west" includes the mountain states. However, more than 85 percent of all outmigrants and nearly 95 percent of other nonwhite outmigrants to the west in both 1960 and 1970 were in Pacific states.

[8]The 1960 data include blacks, who comprised perhaps a fifteenth of the total. The black share was not large enough to significantly affect the 1960 age distribution.

to the west coast were much more concentrated among young adults than ten years previously. Assuming that the adults over 30 years of age are the most likely to migrate because of perceived economic necessity, the fact that they are much less prominent among the 1965-70 outmigrants than was the case a decade earlier can be explained by greatly improved economic conditions in Hawaii during the late 1960s. However, since most nonwhite outmigrants in the late 1950s were young adults, the total impact on the volume of migration resulting from the decrease in the numbers of middle-aged adults was not substantial.

Among the 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants, more than 80 percent of persons aged under 14 or over 30 went to the "west" (with probably nine-tenths of this number going to California) whereas 72 percent of persons aged 15 to 29 did so. Thus, the young adults who were likely to be in college or the armed forces, were the most geographically dispersed. According to the two percent west coast public use sample, more than three fourths of the nonwhite outmigrants to the northwestern states (compared to three-fifths to California) were between 18 and 29 years of age. Therefore, it appears that the outmigration of adults aged 30 and older is specifically directed to California, rather than the "west" in general.

Unfortunately, children under 14 years of age are not included in the national sample, but among other nonwhite outmigrants in the national sample who were between the ages of 18 and 24, 39 percent (24 of 61 in the sample) were enumerated in California, compared with 63 percent (40 of 64) of their counterparts aged 25 and older. The major implications of this finding are that nationwide the concentration of young

adults among the nonwhite outmigrants is probably greater than that suggested by Figure 5.1B, and that one reason the proportion of nonwhite outmigrants going to California declined in the late 1960s is that the outflow among older adults with children was much less than that in the 1960s.

The major reason the age distribution of the other nonwhite outmigrants has been discussed in detail is that they are assumed to be overwhelmingly Hawaii-born and furthermore can be compared with their counterparts 10 years earlier. In Section 5.4 the extent to which the nonwhite (and white) outmigrants are Hawaii-born will be investigated.

5.4 Number and General Characteristics of Hawaii-born Outmigrants

According to the two percent public use sample of the west coast that was based on the 15 percent questionnaire, approximately four-fifths of other nonwhite outmigrants and a fifth of both black and white outmigrants were born in Hawaii. More than half of the Hawaii-born whites and seven-eighths of Hawaii-born blacks were children under the age of 18. According to the estimates generated by the public use census tapes, 3,700 of the white outmigrants and only 50 of the black outmigrants over 17 years of age on the west coast in 1970 were born in Hawaii. In comparison, 7,500 other nonwhites (of a total of 9,450) over 17 years of age were born in Hawaii. However, the proportions varied considerably by nonwhite group. Proportions of adult outmigrants who were Hawaii-born were estimated to be as follows: Hawaiian, 91 percent; Japanese, 88 percent; Chinese 69 percent; Filipino, 65 percent; Korean, 50 percent; and "other," only 16 percent. On the national tape the proportions who were Hawaii-born by major nonwhite groups are as

follows: Hawaiian, 97 percent; Japanese, 90 percent; Chinese, 76 percent; and Filipino, 62 percent.

Based on evidence from both the west coast and national public use census tapes, it appears that at least 80 percent, or perhaps 16,500 of the "other nonwhite" outmigrants aged five and above were Hawaii-born. If the persons under five years of age who were born in Hawaii but living on the Mainland in 1970 are included, this outflow rises to approximately 17,900. The number of other nonwhite outmigrants aged 18 and over in 1970 was probably in the vicinity of 18,000.[9] Perhaps 14,500 of this number were Hawaii-born.

Based on the national tape, which shows 60 percent of adult Hawaii-born white outmigrants living on the west coast, perhaps 6,000 Hawaii-born white adults migrated to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970. As the west coast tapes indicate 3,800 Hawaii-born white outmigrants between the ages of five and seventeen, and the published census shows approximately a third of all Hawaii-born whites aged five to fourteen to be living in Pacific coast states, it is estimated here that there were at least 10,000 Hawaii-born whites aged five to seventeen among the outmigrants. As the published census shows 10,400 Hawaii-born whites under five years of age to be living on the Mainland in 1970, perhaps 26,500 Hawaii-born whites moved to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970. More than four-fifths of this number were under the age of 18 in 1970.

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[9]This represents about 88 percent of the total aged five and above. Children under 18 comprised 13.7 percent of the total going to west coast states. However, this proportion is lower on the national level, both because "others" who are characterized by a large percentage of children are concentrated on the west coast, and local adults with children appear to go to California in disproportionate numbers.

The estimated distribution of the adult Hawaii-born 1965-70 outmigrants by race is given in Table 5.3.

The estimated 14,550 Hawaii-born other nonwhite outmigrants aged 18 and over (Table 5.3) represented approximately seven percent of their Hawaii-born counterparts living in Hawaii in 1970. In comparison, the

Table 5.3

Estimated Number of Hawaii-born 1965-70 Outmigrants Aged 18 and Over by Race

Race	Total	# Hawaii-born	Approximate % Hawaii-born
White	75,000	6,000	8
Black	2,750	150	5
Other Nonwhite	18,100	14,550	80
Indian	150	0	0
Japanese	7,700	6,950	90
Chinese	2,150	1,500	70
Filipino	2,800	1,800	63
Hawaiian	4,200	4,000	95
Korean	300	150	50
Other	800	150	16
Total	95,850	20,700	22

Source: See text.

6,000 adult Hawaii-born white outmigrants represented 12 percent of their counterparts in Hawaii in 1970. This suggests that the rate of local outmigration was much higher among whites than nonwhites. This difference is in large part due to a substantial outflow of Hawaii-born whites aged 30 and over to California. The two percent sample of California shows that half of the Hawaii-born adult white outmigrants (1,600 of 3,200) were 30 years of age and over; among the other nonwhites by contrast, only an eighth of the Hawaii-born adults were over 30 years of

age. Less than a tenth of the Hawaii-born white adults migrating to areas other than California were over 30 years of age. The substantial number of older adults migrating to California may include a large percentage of Portuguese and Puerto Ricans; they comprise most of the whites born in Hawaii before World War II. Among the local-born nonwhite males the rates of outmigration among all groups were similar.

Among the adult white outmigrants not born in Hawaii, more than nine-tenths were born on the Mainland. In contrast, four-fifths of other nonwhites not born in Hawaii were foreign-born. Most of the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean outmigrants born in their respective countries were females married to persons serving in the military in 1965. Males and females were equally numerous among foreign-born Filipino outmigrants; most of the males were serving in the military[10] and half of the females were married to whites who had been in the armed forces in 1965. Of the estimated 2,550 adult other nonwhite outmigrants who were not born in Hawaii, approximately 1,600 were female. Among the adult Hawaii-born other nonwhite outmigrants, males are estimated to have outnumbered females by approximately 8,100 to 7,450. The estimated sex ratio of 109 does not suggest an overwhelming dominance of males among the outmigrants. Both the west coast and national samples indicate that males and females were equally represented among the adult Hawaii-born white outmigrants.

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[10] In the past, a favorite method of acquiring U.S. citizenship was to join the Navy as a steward. Until recently, most stewards in the Navy were recruited from the Philippines.

In summary, it was estimated from the public use census tapes that approximately 20,700 adults enumerated in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970 were born in Hawaii. Among Hawaii-born adults, the outmigration rates were greatest among whites. Four-fifths of the adult other nonwhite outmigrants were Hawaii-born; a large percentage of the remainder were foreign-born females who apparently married American servicemen stationed in their home countries. Males outnumbered females by nearly 10 percent among the adult Hawaii-born nonwhite outmigrants, but both sexes were equally represented among their Hawaii-born white counterparts.

5.5 Location of the Hawaii-born Outmigrants by Type of Activity

In Chapter IV it was argued that Hawaii-born outmigrants who move to the Mainland to attend college or serve in the armed forces are much more dispersed than those moving for employment. The national public use sample allows us to directly test this argument (Tables 5.4A and 5.4B).

Table 5.4 confirms that those in college or the armed forces are much more dispersed than others in the civilian labor force. More than half in the northwestern states (Table 5.4A) were attending college there. The college surveys mentioned in Chapter IV showed an increase of 80 percent in the numbers of Hawaii residents attending all Mainland colleges between 1958 and 1968. During this period the number attending colleges in the northwest tripled. This increase explains the overall increase in the proportion of Hawaii-born outmigrants going to the northwestern states during the 1960s. As the volume of local outmigration apparently did not change substantially between the late 1950s and the

Table 5.4

1970 Location and Activity of the 1965-70 Hawaii-born Outmigrants Aged 18 and Over

A. Location by Activity

Activity	% in Activity	Percentage Engaged in Activity Living In California	Northwest	Other U.S.
College	27[a]	32	27	39
Armed Forces	16[b]	35	17	48
Civilian L.F.[c]	41[d]	62	8	28
All Persons Geographical Distribution		49	15	36

B. Activity by Location

Location	Percentage at Location in College	Armed Forces	Civilian L.F.[c]
California	17	11	53
Northwest	55	18	23
Other U.S.	30	20	32
All Persons Distribution by Activity	27	16	41

N=148

[a]Including 32% of males and 19% of females.

[b]Including 30% of males. None were also in college.

[c]Excluding those in college

[d]Including 32 percent of males and 51 percent of females.

Source: See text.

late 1960s and both the 1958 and 1968 surveys revealed that three-tenths of Hawaii residents attending college on the Mainland were in California, the increase in the numbers attending college certainly contributed to the greater dispersion of outmigrants.

Concerning the numbers and geographical distribution of outmigrants in the military, a direct comparison between the late 1950s and 1960s is not possible as there is no information available on the numbers and geographical distribution of Hawaii-born outmigrants in the armed forces in the late 1950s. However, the Census Bureau estimates of an average of 14,000 Hawaii residents on active duty between 1955 and 1960 compared to 17,100 between 1965 and 1970 (see Figure 4.3) suggest that the number going to the Mainland for military purposes was greater in the late 1960s than the late 1950s. If true, this increase in itself would also result in a greater dispersion in the late 1960s as compared to the late 1950s.

In summary, the geographical distribution of the Hawaii-born outmigrants on the Mainland is related to the activity undertaken after the move is made. The decreased proportion migrating to California in the 1960s as compared to the 1950s is in part due to the decreased proportion in the late 1960s who went to the Mainland solely for employment. Much more enlightenment concerning the destination of Hawaii-born outmigrants according to purpose will be offered in Chapter X when the high school sample is discussed.

5.6 Hawaii-born Returnees to Hawaii: 1965-70

A four percent sample (two percent with the "fifteen percent" questionnaire and two percent with the "five percent" questionnaire) was

available for estimating 1965-70 Hawaii-born returnees aged 14 and over and a two percent sample was available for those aged 13 and under. The five and fifteen percent samples yielded almost identical numbers aged 14 and over. Therefore, in estimating the total number of returnees, the total number aged 14 and over in the sample was multiplied by 25 and the number aged 13 and under was multiplied by fifty. The resulting estimates by sex and race are presented in Table 5.5.

The total obtained from the sample (Table 5.5) is approximately eight percent below the census count. As is shown in Table 5.5, the undercount is concentrated in the under 15 age group. For purposes here, totals given in Table 16 are assumed to be accurate. Although 57 black return migrants were reported in the published census, an estimate of 250 was obtained from the public use tapes.[11]

The estimated 3,975 white returnees represent a 40 percent increase over the number reported in the 1960 census. By comparison, the estimated 6,175 other nonwhite returnees represent an increase of more than 50 percent over the nonwhite (including black) total of the preceding census. In Chapter IV, evidence was presented that the volume of nonwhite out-migrants was similar to both periods. Therefore, the increased volume of nonwhite return migration is indicative of an increased rate as well. Unfortunately, no definitive answer can be given in regard to whether the rate of white return migration increased as well.

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[11]The census estimate of 57 was obtained from nine actual records (remember, a 15 percent sample was used!). On the two tapes based on the 15 percent questionnaire were the records of four of the individuals, including three of the four children under 14 years of age. Such are the vagrancies involved in using a small sample.

Table 5.5

Estimated Number of Persons Born in Hawaii
Who Lived on the Mainland in 1965
and in Hawaii in 1970

Race	Male	Female	Total	Age 13 and Under[a]	Age 23 and Above
White	2,150	1,825	3,975	1,400	2,175
Black	125	125	250	150	75
Other Nonwhites	3,475	2,700	6,175	450	5,250
Japanese	1,725	1,475	3,200	300	2,825
Chinese	525	225	750	0	625
Filipino	550	400	950	100	775
Hawaiian	450	425	875	50	750
Korean	50	75	125	0	125
Other	175	100	275	0	150
Total Estimated	5,750	4,625	10,400	1,850	7,500
Published Census	6,080	5,242	11,322	2,473[b]	6,642[c]

[a]Based on a two percent sample. Count of persons 14 and over based on four percent sample.

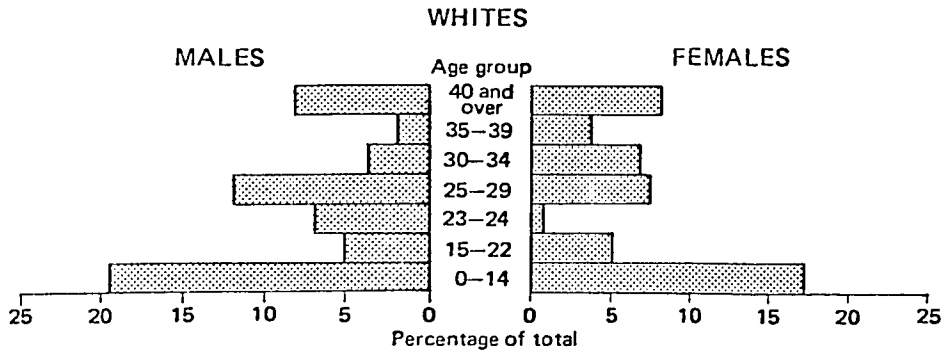
[b]Persons aged under 15.

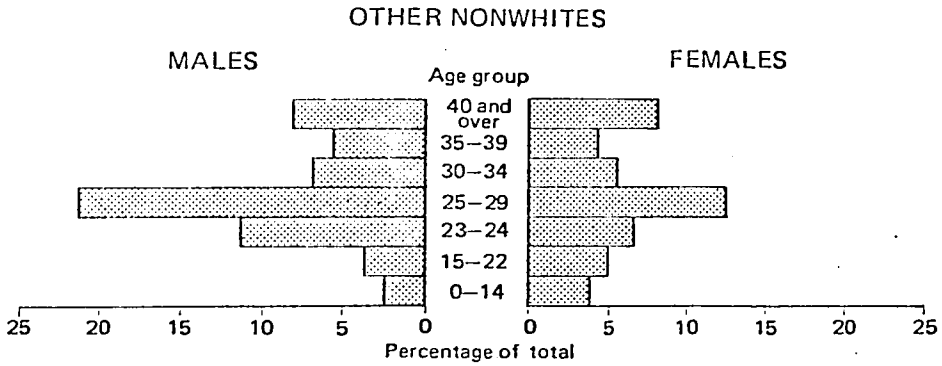
[c]Persons aged 25 and over.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 and public use census tapes of Hawaii.

In terms of age distribution, the white returnees differ considerably from their "other nonwhite" counterparts (Figures 5.2A and 5.2B). More than 40 percent of the whites but only 10 percent of nonwhites were under 18 years of age. Almost all of the nonwhites but few of the whites under 18 years of age were in families with Hawaii-born parents. An examination of the public use records showed that half of the white children were in military families; presumably, the military parent in these cases drew a second tour of duty in Hawaii. In this dissertation the main interest is on those returnees aged 23 and

Figure 5.2 Hawaii-born Individuals Living on the Mainland in 1965 then Living in Hawaii in 1970 by Age and Sex





Source: See text

	WHITES	OTHER NONWHITES
SAMPLE SIZE	131	230
SEX RATIO		
All persons	118	129
Ages 25–29	235	173
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL		
Age group		
0–22	45.3	14.0
23–34	34.5	60.4
35 and over	20.1	25.6

over in 1970 as they were aged 18 and over in 1965 and are presumed here to have originally migrated to the Mainland on their own initiative. Only 55 percent of the whites but 86 percent of the nonwhites were 23 years of age and older. Approximately a quarter of the whites and half of the nonwhites were between the ages 23 and 29. This concentration, especially among nonwhites, is an indication that if the outmigration stream is comprised largely of young adults, the same is true of the returnees. There is a dominance of males among both white and nonwhite returnees aged 23 to 29. This male dominance helps explain why the number of Hawaii-born nonwhite females on the Mainland increased more rapidly than that of the males during the 1960s.

The estimated 5,250 nonwhite return migrants aged 23 and over (Table 5.5) represents 37 percent of the estimated number of Hawaii-born nonwhite 1965-70 outmigrants aged 18 and over in 1970 (Table 5.3). The identical share also holds for the white counterparts. This suggests similar rates of return migration among both whites and nonwhites who leave Hawaii as adults. By major nonwhite group the estimated ratios of return migration to outmigration are as follows: Japanese, .41; Chinese, .42; Filipino, .43; and Hawaiian, .19. The Hawaiian rate is biased downward because of the earlier mentioned greater propensity of part-Hawaiians to declare themselves "Hawaiian" on the Mainland. This also has the effect of upwardly biasing the number of white returnees.

What does the number of returnees compared to the number of Hawaii-born outmigrants suggest concerning the percentage of outmigrants who return to Hawaii? This question is addressed with evidence from the

questionnaire survey sample in Chapter X. Evidence given in Section 10.5 will suggest that the return rate of young local adults migrating in the mid-1960s was more than 50 percent.

In terms of residence five years prior to the census the distribution is as follows: 47 percent in California, 11 percent in northwestern states, 6 percent in mountain states, 16 percent in the south, 11 percent in the midwest and 9 percent in the northeastern states. These percentages by region are close to those in the published census.[12] By race, the percentages who resided in California and the northwest in 1965 were similar for whites and other nonwhites. Proportions in California and the northwest in 1965 are similar to those of the 1965-70 other nonwhite outmigrants in 1970.

The above suggest that those migrating to a given area on the Mainland had similar probabilities of returning to Hawaii. However, it was shown in the previous chapter that those migrating to the Pacific states (data for the 1955-60 returnees were not presented for individual states) in the early 1950s were less likely to return than those migrating to other areas. The author believes this was also true for persons migrating in the early 1960s. It should be recalled that according to the 1960 census, 65.2 percent of the 1955-60 nonwhite outmigrants were in California and an additional six percent were in the northwestern states. There is no direct way to determine the destinations of the 1960-64 outmigrants (who comprised most of the 1965-70 returnees), but

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[12]By regions, the proportions as given in the published census are as follows: Pacific, 57.8; Mountain, 4.3; South, 19.1; Midwest, 11.1; and Northeast, 6.7 percent.

considering the fact that the number of Hawaii residents attending college on the Mainland in 1963 (6,041) was intermediate between the number in 1958 (4,405) and 1968 (7,899) and the number of Hawaii residents in the armed forces in the early 1960s was similar to that in the late 1950s but less than that in the late 1960s,[13] it is surmised here that perhaps 55 percent of the Hawaii-born adult outmigrants went to California with another eight percent to the northwest. Admittedly, these estimates may be in considerable error, but if accurate they show that persons migrating to states other than California were disproportionately likely to return to Hawaii. This statement is supported by the survey of the 1964 high school graduates (see Chapters X and XI).

Of the male returnees aged 23 and over, approximately a third were in the armed forces in 1965. An additional third were attending college in 1965. In contrast, only a seventh of the females were attending college in 1965. This disparity must be taken in the context of a two to one surplus of males in college among the 1965-70 Hawaii-born outmigrants. In all, 44 percent of all returnees (including two-thirds of males) were either in college or in the military in 1965. Including the spouses of these persons raises the total to half. More than 40 percent of Japanese and Chinese male returnees were attending college in 1965 whereas nearly two-thirds of the Filipino males (11 of 18 in the sample) were in the armed forces in 1965. In short, the proportion who were in

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[13] There were an estimated 14,000 Hawaii residents on active duty between 1955 and 1960 compared to 13,800 between 1960 and 1965, and 17,100 between 1965 to 1970. See Figure 4.3 for yearly averages.

the armed forces or college in 1965 (44 percent) was similar to that of Hawaii-born 1965-70 outmigrants in 1970 (43 percent).

In summary, returnees appear to be a representative cross section of the outmigrants, at least in terms of the characteristics discussed above. Whether the returnees tend to be "failures" cannot be determined by the information presented above. More evidence on the characteristics of returnees in terms of educational, occupational and income characteristics will be presented in Chapter VIII.

5.7 Summary

The public use tapes have allowed a glimpse at the number and age and sex distributions and Mainland activities of the Hawaii-born 1965-70 outmigrants and returnees. In terms of the research questions posed in Chapter I the major findings are as follows:

1) The 1965-70 nonwhite outmigrants were much more concentrated in the young adult age groups than ten years previously. This suggests that the age distribution of first-time outmigrants is tied to economic conditions, with older adults being more prominent among outmigrants when economic conditions in the place of origin are poor.

2) Males were slightly more numerous than females among the adult nonwhite Hawaii-born 1965-70 outmigrants. However, this difference was more than compensated for by the marked surplus of males among the return migrants. Thus, the number of Hawaii-born females on the Mainland grew faster than that of males.

3) Among the Hawaii-born adults, whites were characterized by the highest outmigration rates. Outmigration rates of the major nonwhite groups were similar.

4) There was a substantial rate of return migration in the late 1960s. That it was much higher than in the 1950s suggests the importance of economic conditions on return rates.

5) Among the Hawaii-born adult outmigrants, return rates among the major racial groups appeared to be similar.

6) Compared to the late 1950s, the local outmigrants in the late 1960s were much less likely to move to California and more likely to move to northwestern and non-west coast states.

7) Nearly half of all adult outmigrants in 1970 and returnees in 1965 were either in the armed forces or attending college.

8) The 1965 geographical distribution of the returnees was similar to the 1970 geographical distribution of outmigrants. Nonetheless, the author argues that outmigrants to California were less likely to return than outmigrants to other areas.

9) Hawaii-born adult white and nonwhite outmigrants and returnees were characterized by similar proportions in California and the northwestern states. Hawaiian outmigrants were more geographically dispersed than all others.

10) Those Hawaii-born outmigrants in the armed forces, college, and the civilian labor force were shown to have markedly different geographical distributions. Increases in the proportion of outmigrants in college and the military explain at least a substantial proportion of the shift away from California and substantial increases in the numbers migrating to northwestern states.

In the following chapter, attention will be directed to the age, sex, and racial characteristics of persons born in Hawaii and living on the Mainland in 1970. Occupational, educational, and income characteristics of the outmigrants and returnees will be compared with those of long-time outmigrants and the local population in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VI

THE HAWAII-BORN LIVING ON THE MAINLAND IN 1970: AN INTRODUCTION

6.1 Introduction

The 1970 published census gives considerably more information on the characteristics of the Hawaii-born living on the Mainland than of 1965-70 outmigrants from Hawaii. Information on the numbers, age distribution and location by state on the Mainland are given by sex and broad racial groups (i.e., white, black and other nonwhite)[1] are available from the state of birth report. On the other hand, no data are available on specific nonwhite groups, no distinction is made between those moving to the Mainland within five years of the census and those on the Mainland more than five years, nothing on socio-economic characteristics is given, and nothing can be ascertained concerning residence on the substate level.[2]

These limitations, however, can be surmounted with the public use census tapes. In this chapter attention will be given to the numbers and distribution of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland by race, and the interstate movement of the Hawaii-born between 1965 and 1970.

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[1] Actually, the categories given are "total," "white," and "negro." Totals for "other nonwhite" are computed by subtracting "white" and "Negro" from "Total."

[2] Of course, the limitations of the census in addressing "why" also apply. They hardly need to be elaborated here.

6.2 Numbers and Distribution by Race

State of birth was asked of all persons covered by the five and fifteen percent census questionnaires. Therefore, a four percent sample from the public use tapes is available for estimating the number of Hawaii-born living in the Pacific states. As the published census data on the Hawaii-born are based on a five percent sample, the sample size for the west coast is almost as large as that of the published census. For non-west coast areas, a one percent coverage is given with the national tape.

Estimates of the numbers and geographical distribution of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland by race are presented in Table 6.1.

As can be seen in Table 6.1, the estimated white national total is virtually identical to the published census total. However, the whites on the Pacific Coast are somewhat overrepresented in the sample. The estimated black total is also quite close to the published census total. However, the estimated other nonwhite total is approximately six percent below the census total. This differential is not serious and the non-white count is treated as accurate here for analytical purposes.

Of major interest here are the numbers and distribution of specific nonwhite racial groups. Table 6.1 shows that half of the other nonwhites living on the Mainland are Japanese. An additional two-ninths of the other nonwhites are Hawaiians, and Filipinos and Chinese comprise about a tenth each. The relative geographic dispersion of Hawaiians as compared to other local nonwhite groups is confirmed in Table 6.1. Japanese and Chinese appear to be especially concentrated in California, and Hawaiians and Filipinos are the most likely to be in northwestern states.

Table 6.1

Estimated Geographical Distribution of the Hawaii-born by Race Compared to the Published Census Reports

Race	Number and Percent in California	Northwest	Other U.S.[a]	Total
White--P.U.C.	48,325 (44.0)	7,975 (7.3)	53,600 (48.8)	109,900
Published Census	47,306 (43.0)	7,583 (6.9)	55,257 (50.2)	110,146
Black--P.U.C.	700 (27.2)	75 (2.9)	1,800 (69.9)	2,575
Published Census	943 (33.9)	85 (3.1)	1,753 (63.0)	2,781
Other Nonwhite--P.U.C.	42,575 (67.8)	4,525 (7.2)	15,700 (25.0)	62,800
Published Census	45,615 (68.2)	4,760 (7.3)	16,373 (24.5)	66,848
Japanese[b]	22,500 (71.5)	1,775 (5.6)	7,200 (22.9)	31,475
Chinese	4,425 (72.8)	450 (7.4)	1,200 (19.8)	6,075
Filipino	5,275 (68.3)	750 (9.7)	1,700 (22.0)	7,725
Hawaiian	7,975 (56.8)	1,275 (9.1)	4,800 (34.2)	14,050
Korean	1,100 (62.9)	150 (8.6)	500 (28.6)	1,750
Indian	150 (60.0)	0	100 (40.0)	250
Others	1,150 (78.0)	125 (8.5)	200 (13.6)	1,475
Total--P.U.C.	91,600 (52.2)	12,550 (7.2)	71,200 (40.6)	175,350
Published Census	93,864 (52.2)	12,443 (7.0)	73,383 (40.8)	179,690

[a]Public use sample is one percent. Public use sample for west coast is four percent.

[b]Data for Japanese and other nonwhite groups based on public use sample.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Place of Birth, and public use census tapes.

With one exception, there appears to be no marked concentration of nonwhites in any non-west coast state. Nearly six percent of all Japanese but less than two percent of other nonwhites in the national sample were located in Illinois. Most of the Japanese in the Illinois sample are over 40 years of age; they appear to be the remnants of a large migration to Illinois in the late 1940s and early 1950s (see Chapter IV).

Hawaiians (with 14 percent living in the south) were relatively more numerous in the south than the other nonwhites (six percent of the sample). This concentration at least partly results from the large numbers of Hawaiians serving in the military.

Of course, the numbers of Hawaii-born living on the Mainland must be taken in the context of the total numbers born in Hawaii. Proportions of Hawaii-born whites and blacks living on the Mainland in 1970 as given in the published census are 53.0 and 68.0 percent, respectively. Table 6.2 shows the estimated percent of Hawaii-born other nonwhites living on the Mainland by race.

Table 6.2

Estimated Percentages of Hawaii-born Other Nonwhites Living on the Mainland in 1970 by Race

	Total # In Hawaii	Total # On Mainland	% Living On Mainland
Other Nonwhites	358,916	62,800	14.9
Japanese	180,641	31,475	14.8
Hawaiians	64,606	14,050	17.9
Filipinos	54,120	7,700	12.5
Chinese	41,550	6,075	12.8
Koreans	6,542	1,750	21.1
Others	11,457	1,475	11.4
Census Total	358,916	66,848	15.7

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Place of Birth and Japanese Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States. Public Use Census tapes.

Table 6.2 shows that Filipinos and Chinese are characterized by low relative losses. However, a high proportion of the Hawaii-born

Filipinos are children of immigrants[3] and children in general have low probabilities of interstate migration; in addition, as persons of mixed ancestry on the Mainland are more likely to declare themselves "Hawaiians" than they are in Hawaii, the Mainland estimate for the Chinese is biased downward. All in all, it is the similarities, rather than the differences in the proportions on the Mainland that are striking. Factors motivating Hawaii-born young adults to leave Hawaii appear to affect the different nonwhite groups in a similar fashion. With the possible exception of the Hawaiians, it is difficult to argue from Table 6.2 that the different nonwhite groups have been characterized by a differential rate of outmigration since World War II.

Age and sex distributions of whites and other nonwhites in the sample are similar to those given in the published census (see Section 4.8). Among the major nonwhite racial groups there is a slight surplus of males over females among all but the Filipinos. According to the four percent sample, 2,575 Filipino males and 3,425 Filipino females resided on the west coast in 1970. The one percent national sample shows 1,100 of the 1,700 Filipinos in non-west coast areas to be female. Differences of this magnitude are highly unlikely to result from sampling error. Why there should be a marked surplus of females among the local Filipinos living on the Mainland and a slight predominance of males in the other nonwhite groups living on the Mainland is not resolved in this dissertation.[4]

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[3]The exact proportion of Hawaii-born Filipinos in Hawaii who are children, however, cannot be obtained from the published census.

[4]The author suspects this may be due to a large number of local

In summary, the estimated numbers, age and sex distribution, and geographical distribution of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland correspond closely with published census totals. Approximately half of the other nonwhite Hawaii-born living on the Mainland are Japanese. Excluding the Hawaiians, the various nonwhite groups are characterized by similar proportions on the Mainland and a similar geographical distribution on the Mainland, at least on the state level. Hawaiians were characterized by a wider dispersion on the Mainland than any of the other local nonwhite groups. With the exception of the Filipinos, males slightly outnumber females in all major nonwhite groups.

6.3 Past Outmigration of the Hawaii-born Nonwhites as Suggested by Age Distributions

One of the inadequacies of the place of birth data is that there is no direct information on when a person left Hawaii unless it was between 1965 and 1970. However, since most nonwhites first move to the Mainland as young adults, a rough idea of past migration trends can be obtained by comparing the age distributions of the various Hawaii-born nonwhite groups living on the Mainland. The proportions of Japanese and Hawaiians by age among the adult Hawaii-born other nonwhites living on the west coast are presented in Table 6.3.

Although only the west coast is considered in Table 6.3, it should be kept in mind that more than three-quarters of other nonwhite Hawaii-born adults on the Mainland in 1970 were in the Pacific states.

Filipino females marrying servicemen and leaving Hawaii with them, but this cannot be proved with evidence presented in the dissertation.

Table 6.3

Proportions of Japanese, Hawaiians and Others Among Hawaii-born "Other Nonwhites" Living on the West Coast in 1970

Age	Probable Period of Heaviest Outmigration	% of Hawaii-born Other Nonwhites Japanese	Hawaiian	Other	N
18-19	1968-70	39.7	27.2	33.1	162
20-24	1963-70	47.5	22.7	29.8	237
25-29	1958-68	53.2	19.8	27.0	261
30-34	1953-63	54.8	17.2	28.0	249
35-39	1948-58	59.9	16.7	23.4	263
40-44	1946-53	62.9	13.2	23.1	196
45-49	1938-41, 1946	54.3	19.5	26.2	117
50+	Before W.W. II	57.0	19.9	23.1	251
Total--All Ages		51.5	19.6	28.9	1884

Source: Four percent public use census sample of the Pacific Coast

Therefore, the percentages shown in Table 6.3 essentially reflect those of Hawaii-born other nonwhites living on the Mainland.[5]

Table 6.3 suggests that prior to World War II, the Japanese provided about 60 percent of the Hawaii-born nonwhite outmigrants to the Mainland. This suggests that approximately 3,000 of the 5,000 Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland in 1940 were Japanese. Table 6.3 confirms the observation earlier made that most of the nonwhite outmigrants immediately after World War II were Japanese. The

[5]Indeed, the national tape shows similar proportions by age group on the national level. Because of the much smaller sample size, however (the sample size is 646, including 158 in non-west coast states), the four percent west coast sample is believed to be a more reliable indicator of past migration trends by age.

estimated proportion of Japanese among the Hawaii-born nonwhites on the west coast declines consistently from five-eighths in the 40-44 age group to less than two-fifths in the 18-19 age group. In contrast, the proportion of Hawaiians increases from an eighth of the 40 to 44 age group to more than a quarter among those aged 18 and 19. This suggests that the rate of outmigration among Hawaiians has increased recently. A similar increase for other groups (Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans and others) is also evident. The Japanese were dominant among the immediate post-World War II nonwhite outmigrants because as veterans they were able to attend Mainland colleges with G.I. benefits and, in addition, Japanese were the most impacted by the liberating effects of World War II and its aftermath (see Chapter II). That the Japanese no longer comprise the majority of local nonwhite outmigrants probably results both from the diffusion of attitudes favorable to migration throughout the nonwhite population and information concerning opportunities on the Mainland.

6.4 Interstate Movement of the Hawaii-born: 1965 to 1970

At first glance, the increase in the proportion of Hawaii-born other nonwhites on the Mainland who lived in California from 66.2 to 67.8 percent between 1960 and 1970 is puzzling as the national public use census tape suggests that slightly under half of other nonwhites migrating to the Mainland in the late 1960s went to California. Although the national tape shows more than a third migrating to non-west coast states between 1965 and 1970, the proportion of Hawaii-born other nonwhites on the Mainland who did not reside on the west coast

declined from 28.2 percent in 1960 to 24.4 percent in 1970. Hence, a comparison of the 1955-60 and 1965-70 migration data show a substantial shift from California in the latter period whereas the state of birth data show increasing concentrations in both California and the northwestern states.

The above paradox can be addressed with the national one percent public use census tape as state of residence in 1965 can be determined for the Hawaii-born aged 14 and over in 1970. A four percent sample from the tapes is also available for the Hawaii-born who returned from Hawaii to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970. Those Hawaii-born on the Mainland in 1970 who were abroad in 1965 or for whom the 1965 place of residence is unknown are excluded from the analysis of the 1965-70 migration flows, which are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4 indeed confirms an increasing concentration of Hawaii-born nonwhites on the west coast between 1965 and 1970, although the increase was concentrated in the northwestern states. In the case of the whites, the bulk of the relative regional shift appears to have been from California to the northwestern states. However, it must be considered that with the exception of the returnee data, we are dealing with a one percent sample and this sample is based on the five percent questionnaire, which yields lower interstate migration rates than the 15 percent questionnaire; therefore, the possibility of random error affecting the indicated trends cannot be discounted. A rough check of the plausibility of the data contained in Table 6.4 is presented in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 supports the plausibility of the patterns shown in Table 6.4. That the whites aged 15 and over in 1970 were less concentrated on

Table 6.4. 1965-70 Interregional Migration of the Hawaii-born Aged 14 and Over in 1970, by Race.

Race	Total (%) in California in 1965	# Moving to Northwest	Other U.S.	Hawaii	# Moving to California from N.W.	Other U.S.	Hawaii	Total (%) in Ca. in 1970
White	31,775 (53.3)	900	1,600	1,175	100	1,600	2,600	32,400 (52.5)
Other Nonwhite	34,400 (69.5)	0	800	2,900	400	1,600	5,200	37,900 (69.5)

Race	Total (%) in Northwest in 1965	# Moving to California	Other U.S.	Hawaii	# Moving to Northwest from Ca.	Other U.S.	Hawaii	Total (%) in N.W. in 1970
White	4,650 (7.8)	100	400	250	900	300	300	5,400 (8.8)
Other Nonwhite	3,000 (6.1)	400	0	700	100	300	2,300	4,600 (7.2)

Race	Total (%) in Other U.S. in 1965	# Moving to California	N.W.	Hawaii	# Moving to Other U.S. from Ca.	N.W.	Hawaii	Total (%) in Other in 1970
White	23,250 (39.0)	1,600	300	1,150	1,600	400	1,700	23,900 (38.7)
Other Nonwhite	12,075 (24.4)	1,600	300	2,275	800	0	3,900	12,600 (23.3)

Sources: National one percent Mainland sample and four percent sample of 1965-70 returnees to Hawaii, public use census tapes.

Table 6.5

Percentages of Hawaii-born Whites and Other Nonwhites on the Mainland Who Lived on the West Coast According to the Published Census and Public Use Census Tapes

	White			Other Nonwhite		
	% Living In			% Living In		
Age, Date, Sample	Ca.	N.W.	Pac.	Ca.	N.W.	Pac.
5+ 1960, P.C.	NA	NA	63.8	NA	NA	71.0*
9+ 1965, PUC	53.3	7.8	61.1	69.5	6.1	75.6
15+ 1970, P.C.	NA	NA	61.4	NA	NA	75.8
14+ 1970, PUC	52.5	8.8	61.3	69.5	7.2	76.7

*Including blacks.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1960 and 1970, Place of Birth and Table 6.4 in text.

the west coast than their counterparts aged five and over in 1960 can be explained by military dependents aged five to nine in 1970 who moved to the Mainland in the early 1960s; the large majority of these dependents undoubtedly went to non-west coast areas. On the other hand, the 1960 and 1970 state of birth data for all Hawaii-born whites on the Mainland show an increase (from 5.7 to 6.9 percent) in the proportion living in the northwestern states. That the northwest in the late 1960s was attractive to California residents is attested to by the 1965-70 census migration statistics, which show 239,320 moving from California to the northwest compared to 151,710 moving in the opposite direction. Thus, a substantial net outmigration from California to the northwest among the Hawaii-born whites is plausible.

On the other hand, the 1960-70 growth in the Hawaii-born other nonwhite population in the northwest (from 5.4 percent of the total

on the Mainland in 1960 to 7.3 percent in 1970) was much slower than the volume of 1965-70 outmigration from Hawaii would suggest. For the average Hawaii-born college student attending college outside the Seattle and Portland metropolitan areas job opportunities after graduation were much more promising in California or Hawaii than in the immediate area. This interpretation is strongly supported by the discussion of findings from the questionnaire sample in Chapters X and XI. A large proportion who moved to the non-west coast states were likewise motivated by educational or military considerations and apparently did not regard them as desirable to live in. Again, Chapters X and XI provide verification for this surmise.

The possibility that Hawaii-born residing in different regions on the Mainland in 1965 had different probabilities of making an interregional move between 1965 and 1970 is explored in Table 6.6.

From Table 6.6 it appears that both whites and other nonwhites had approximately 10 percent probabilities of moving out of California (according to the 1970 published census, about eight percent in the nation changed state of residence between 1965 and 1970). By contrast, more than a third of nonwhites and about a seventh of the whites moved away from either the northwestern or non-west coast states. Two-thirds of the nonwhite migrants returned to Hawaii but only a third of the white migrants did so. The interstate Mainland migration of the Hawaii-born overwhelmingly favored California (Table 6.4). This was true of the questionnaire sample as well (see Chapter XI).

This section provides graphic evidence that where migrants originally move to and where they may be a few years hence can be quite

Table 6.6

Estimated Percentages of Hawaii-born Whites and Other Nonwhites Living in Given Mainland Regions in 1965 who Moved to Another Region Between 1965 and 1970

Region	% of 1965 residents moving to another region	% of outmigrants moving to Other Mainland	Hawaii
	A. Whites		
California	11.6	68.0	32.0
Northwest	16.1	66.7	33.3
Other U.S.	13.1	62.3	37.7
Total	12.5	65.6	34.3
	B. Other Nonwhites		
California	10.8	21.6	78.4
Northwest	36.7	36.4	63.6
Other U.S.	34.6	45.5	54.5
Total	18.1	34.4	65.6

Sources: See Table 6.4.

different. In the case of Hawaii's local nonwhites, migration in the late 1960s was much less directed to California in the late 1960s than in the late 1950s, at least in part because a much larger percentage in the latter period left to attend college on the Mainland. Yet, the proportion of Hawaii-born other nonwhites on the Mainland who were in California did not decline between 1965 and 1970, whereas the proportion in non-west coast states did drop. This is related to a much lower return rate from California and the attraction of California to the Hawaii-born living in other areas on the Mainland.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter the racial, age and geographical distributions of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland as revealed by the public use census tapes have been briefly discussed. Japanese comprise half of the other nonwhites on the Mainland with Hawaiians comprising an additional two-ninths. With the exception of the Hawaiians, the nonwhite groups are characterized by similar proportions of Hawaii-born on the Mainland and a similar distribution on the Mainland at the state level. With the exception of the Filipinos, males slightly outnumber females in all the Hawaii-born nonwhite groups on the Mainland. The age distributions of the various nonwhite groups suggest a dominance of Japanese among local nonwhite outmigrants who departed in the late 1940s and early 1950s. However, this dominance no longer exists and the other nonwhite groups presently appear to be characterized by at least equal probabilities of leaving Hawaii as the Japanese (see Chapter V). Finally, it was demonstrated that because of population shifts taking place on the Mainland it was possible to have a shift in initial nonwhite outmigration towards greater geographic dispersal at the same time the proportion of Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland who lived in California increased.

In the next chapter, the 1970 geographical distribution of the Hawaii-born residents in California will be discussed. Comparisons of the occupational, educational, income and labor force characteristics of the Hawaii-born living on the Mainland and in Hawaii will be made in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VII

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUP OF THE HAWAII-BORN PERSONS LIVING IN CALIFORNIA IN 1970

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was reported that approximately 70 percent of Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Chinese, 55 percent of Hawaiians, and 45 percent of Caucasians born in Hawaii and living on the Mainland in 1970 resided in California. The overwhelming attraction of California for the Hawaii-born outmigrants is thus obvious. With the use of the two one-percent sample public use tapes of the economic areas of California it is possible to estimate the distribution of the Hawaii-born in the populous counties.

Table 7.1 contains the economic areas (all but one of which are individual counties) that contained the largest shares of the California population in 1970.

Table 7.1

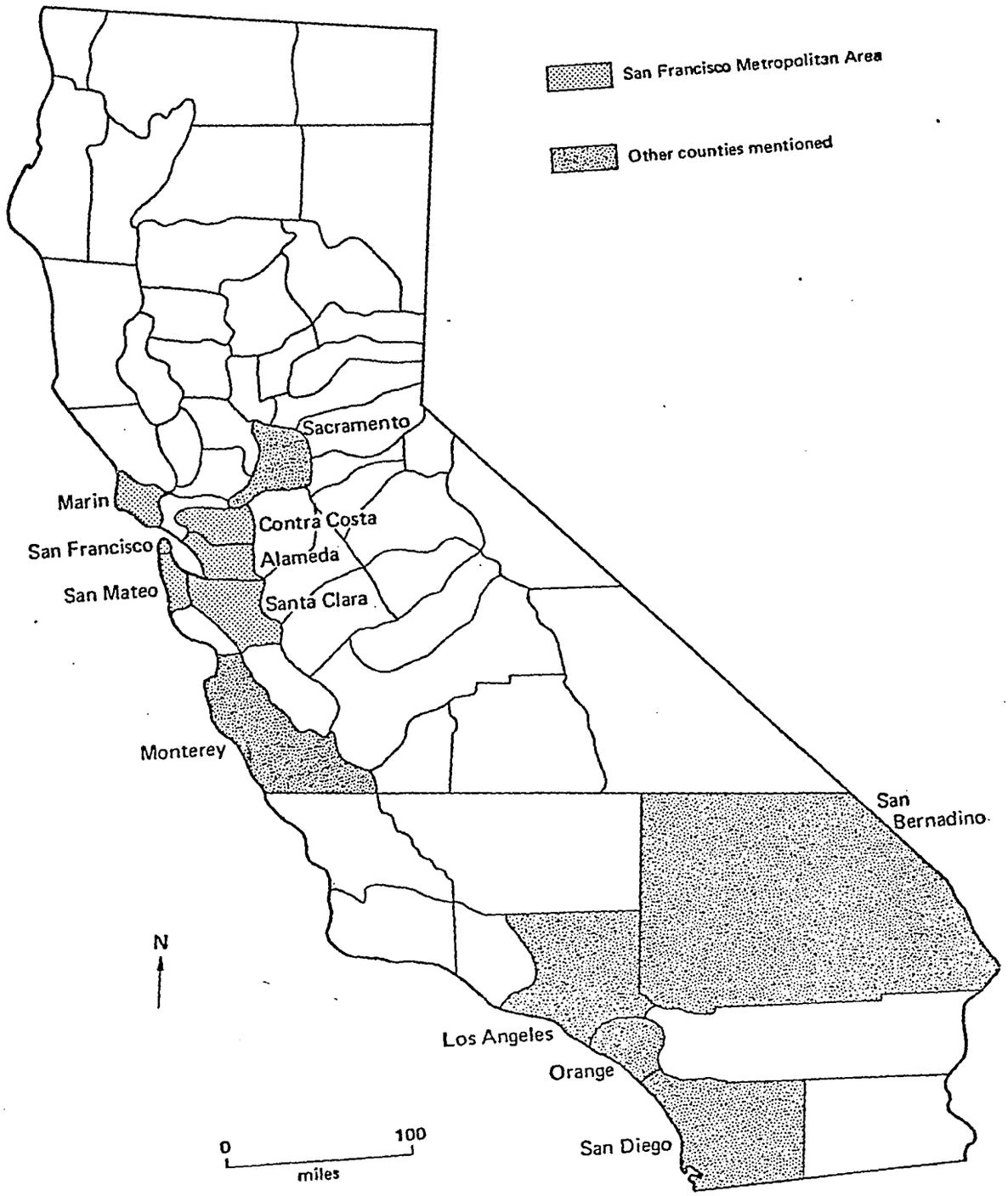
The Ten Economic Areas (as defined by the census) in California with the Largest Population in 1970

County in Eco. Area	% of Cal. Pop.	County in Eco. Area	% of Cal. Pop
Los Angeles	35.2	Contra Costa & Marin (SF)	3.8
Orange	7.0	San Francisco (SF)	3.6
San Diego	6.8	San Bernardino	3.4
Alameda (SF)*	5.4	Sacramento	3.2
Santa Clara (SF)	5.3	San Mateo (SF)	2.8

*In San Francisco-Oakland Metropolitan Area

Source: 1970 Bureau of the Census.

Figure 7.1 California Counties Mentioned in Chapter Seven



If the various ethnic groups among the Hawaii-born are distributed in California according to population there, their distributions should approximate those in Table 7.1. The remainder of the chapter will be devoted to ascertaining to what extent this is true of the Hawaii-born living in California.

7.2 Distribution of Hawaii-born Whites

Whites comprised slightly over half of the Hawaii-born in California in 1970. It is useful to divide the whites into "over age 30" and "under age 30" categories. In the former group are a large proportion of Portuguese and substantial numbers of Puerto Ricans and Spanish. More than two-thirds in this group who were on the Mainland in 1970 were in California. By contrast, the majority of Hawaii-born whites born after World War II were military dependents at birth and a substantial proportion were also born to nonmilitary related parents who moved to Hawaii after World War II. Approximately a third of the Hawaii-born Caucasians under age 30 who were on the Mainland in 1970 were in California.

Table 7.2 does indeed confirm that the two groups of whites have divergent patterns of residence from each other as well as from the California population as a whole.

Notable in both age groups is a marked underrepresentation in Los Angeles County. Beyond this similarity, however, the two groups diverge sharply in distribution. Nearly a fifth in the older group is in Alameda County, which is known to have attracted many of Hawaii's Portuguese. Another seventh in the older group is in Santa Clara County, which attracted the bulk of Spanish leaving Hawaii (see Appendix A).

Table 7.2

Geographical Distribution of the White Hawaii-born Population in California in 1976

Leading Counties	Est. Pop.	% of H.B.	% Dif. All CA	Over Age 30 Est. Pop.	Over Age 30 %	Under Age 30 Est. Pop.	Under Age 30 %
Los Angeles	7,950	16.5	-18.3	3,250	14.6	4,700	18.1
Alameda (SF)	6,900	14.3	+8.9	4,200	18.9	2,700	10.4
Santa Clara (SF)	5,450	11.3	+6.0	3,050	13.7	2,400	9.2
San Diego	5,450	11.3	+4.5	1,550	7.0	3,900	15.0
Orange	4,100	8.5	+1.5	1,200	5.4	2,900	11.2
San Mateo (SF)	3,300	6.9	+4.1	1,600	7.2	1,700	6.6
C.C. & M (SF)[a]	2,800	5.8	+2.0	1,900	8.5	900	3.5
San Francisco	2,100	4.4	+.8	1,550	7.0	550	2.1
Est. Total	48,200			22,250		25,950	
N	964			445		519	

[a]Contra Costa plus Marin County

Source: see Text.

Altogether, approximately three-fifths (vs. a fifth of the total California population) of the whites over age 30 were in the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area in 1970.

More than a seventh in the under 30 age group was in San Diego. San Diego is a Navy town (both for active duty and retired military) par excellence and Navy servicemen comprise approximately half of the military personnel stationed in Hawaii. Another ninth was in Orange County, playground of many of California's wealthiest citizens. A substantial proportion were to be found in the San Francisco metropolitan area, although the core city appears to have been avoided. The large relative proportion in Alameda and adjacent counties reflects the continued outmigration of Hawaii's traditional local white groups, but nevertheless only about a third is in the San Francisco metropolitan

area. In general, the differences in the distribution of the two white groups considered here reflect real differences in the types of migrants that have typified the pre- and post-World War II migration streams.

7.3 Distribution of the Hawaii-born Japanese

Among the Hawaii-born nonwhites living in California in 1970, the Japanese comprised slightly over half of the total. Although there was a large outmigration of Japanese to California between 1900 and 1907, the overwhelming majority of the Hawaii-born Japanese (as well as other nonwhite groups) in California left Hawaii after World War II.

Table 7.3 shows the Japanese having a markedly different geographical distribution from those of the general California population and Hawaii-born whites.

Table 7.3

Distribution of Hawaii-born Japanese in California in 1970

Leading Counties	Est. Pop.	% of Total	% Dif. from general California population
Los Angeles	13,900	63.0	+27.8
Santa Clara (SF)	1,300	5.4	+.1
San Francisco (SF)	1,150	5.2	+1.6
Orange	1,050	4.8	-2.2
San Mateo (SF)	950	4.3	-1.1
Alameda (SF)	950	4.3	+1.5
Estimated Total	22,100		
N	442		

Source: See text.

More than two-fifths of all Hawaii-born Japanese living on the Mainland in 1970 were in Los Angeles County. In the Bay Area, the Japanese are more or less numerically distributed as one would expect,

given the overall population distribution in California. More than four-fifths of the Hawaii-born Japanese are to be found either in the Los Angeles or San Francisco metropolitan areas. Relatively few as of 1970 were to be found either in the rapidly growing Orange and San Diego counties.

7.4 Distribution of the Hawaiians

Of the nonwhite Hawaii-born in California, the ethnic Hawaiians are the second most numerous. They were enumerated as a separate group on the Mainland; thus their distribution can be compared with the estimated distribution of the Hawaii-born Hawaiians.

Table 7.4

Estimated Distribution of the Hawaii-born Hawaiians Compared to the Distribution of "Hawaiians" Enumerated in California in 1970

Leading Counties	Hawaii-born Hawaiians Est. Pop	%	Diff. from CA Pop.	All Hawaiians Population	%
Los Angeles	2,100	26.9	-8.3	4,634	32.3
San Diego	1,050	13.5	+6.7	1,452	10.1
Alameda (SF)	900	11.5	+6.1	1,375	9.6
San Francisco	750	9.6	+6.0	1,078	7.5
Orange	750	9.6	+2.6	1,071	7.5
Santa Clara (SF)	550	7.1	+1.8	748	5.2
San Mateo (SF)	350	4.5	+1.7	711	5.0
Total	7,800 (est)			14,332	
N	156				

Sources: Public Use Census Tapes of Economic Areas of California (two percent sample) and U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Comparisons: State of California by Counties, Los Angeles: By the Author, 1975.

The order of the population by county in both categories in Table 7.4 coincides, although the estimated number of Hawaii-born Hawaiians in Los Angeles is probably too low. A marked concentration in the San Francisco area is evident. Indeed, the highest proportion of Hawaiians in the general California population is in San Francisco, and Alameda and San Mateo counties rank third and fourth in this regard. In the past, Hawaiians have intermarried extensively with the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans. This has probably facilitated communication across these ethnic lines and encouraged Hawaiians to settle in the San Francisco metropolitan area. San Diego ranks fifth in terms of the proportion of Hawaiians in the general population; this is certainly related to the large Navy population there. Monterey County, which does not appear in Table 7.4, nevertheless had the second heaviest relative concentration of Hawaiians; this is a result of the presence of the Army base of Fort Ord, where most Army inductees from Hawaii complete basic training.

7.5 Distribution of Other Hawaii-born Groups

The California Chinese have traditionally been concentrated in San Francisco. Table 7.5 shows to what degree this is also true of the Hawaii-born Chinese living in California.

Table 7.5 shows that Los Angeles County has attracted the largest number of Hawaii-born Chinese, but almost a quarter are in San Francisco and more than half are in the San Francisco metropolitan area. Although the concentration in Alameda County is consistent with the large number of Chinese living there (20,000 in 1970), it is likely that the large Hawaii-born population of other races in Alameda County played a

Table 7.5

Estimated Geographical Distribution of the Hawaii-born Chinese in California in 1970

Leading Counties	Est. Pop.	% of Total	% Dif. from General California Population
Los Angeles	1,250	28.4	-6.8
San Francisco	1,050	23.9	+20.3
Alameda (SF)	550	12.5	+7.1
Santa Clara (SF)	350	8.0	+2.7
San Mateo (SF)	300	6.8	+4.0
Estimated Total	4,400		
N	88		

Source: See text.

significant role in attracting the Hawaii-born Chinese. Chinese and Hawaiians did intermarry extensively in the past in Hawaii; this may have provided a communications linkage with the Hawaii-born of other races in Alameda County. The sample size (88) is too small to allow for any definitive conclusion but it does appear that Chinese born before World War II were especially attracted to San Francisco and Alameda Counties whereas the younger Chinese are more likely to migrate to Los Angeles County.

What is most notable about the distribution of the Hawaii-born Filipinos in California is their relative concentration in San Diego (Table 7.6).

Filipinos have traditionally joined the U.S. Navy in large numbers, especially as stewards, and large numbers of Hawaii-born

Table 7.6

Estimated Geographical Distribution of the Hawaii-born Filipinos in California in 1970

Leading Counties	Est. Pop.	% of Total	% Dif. from General California Population
Los Angeles	1,700	31.5	-3.7
San Diego	900	16.7	+9.9
Alameda (SF)	400	7.4	+2.0
San Mateo (SF)	350	6.5	+3.7
Santa Clara (SF)	350	6.5	+1.2
Total	5,400		
N	108		

Source: See text.

Filipinos join the Navy as well.[1] With the exception of San Diego, the distribution of Hawaii-born Filipino population has a high correlation with that of the general California population although it appears to be somewhat overrepresented in the San Francisco metropolitan area.

There are only 23 Koreans (representing an estimated 1,150 persons) in the Hawaii-born sample in California, but the fact that 15, or 65 percent in the sample, are located in Los Angeles County is evidence of an overwhelming concentration in that county. Of the 29 "other nonwhites" (representing an estimated 1,450 in the sample), 11 are in Los Angeles County with an additional seven in San Diego County. Based on the fact that most of the "other" 1965-70 outmigrants were Samoan (Section 5.2), it is believed by the author that most of the "other nonwhites" are of Samoan ancestry.

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[1]This is obvious from the large number of Filipino males in the questionnaire sample who served in the Navy on the Mainland.

7.6 Are the Distributional Differences of the Hawaii-born Ethnic Groups Related to the General Distributional Differences of Ethnic Groups in California?

Table 7.7 summarizes the 1970 distributional differences between the Hawaii-born and the general California population.

It is evident from Table 7.7 that all Hawaii-born ethnic groups are underrepresented outside the major metropolitan areas. Most of the population in areas not listed separately in Table 7.7 live in the interior of California. It does appear, especially among the nonwhite groups, that there is a reluctance to move away from the major population centers. Also of note is the strong attraction of San Francisco for all ethnic groups except the Japanese; even among the Japanese, however, more than half of those not in Los Angeles County vs. less than a third of the general population are in the Bay Area. With the exception of the Japanese, Los Angeles County does not have the Hawaii-born representation one would expect, given both its large absolute population and phenomenal population growth after World War II.

Does the distribution of the Hawaii-born by race reflect the general distribution of the different races without Hawaii antecedants in California? In the case of whites the answer is obviously "no" as the geographical distribution of the white population is similar to that of the total population. In the case of the Hawaiians the question is irrelevant in that by definition the Hawaiians have a Hawaii origin. For the other groups the answer to the question posed is obscured by the fact that a sizable proportion in each group in California is comprised of the Hawaii-born and offspring.

Table 7.7. Differences in 1970 Distribution of the Total California Population and the Hawaii-born Living in California

Area	% of Cal. Pop.	Deviation Between Ca. Pop. and H.B. Pop. White	Jap.	Chi.	Fil.	Haw.	All H.B.
L.A. County	35.2	-18.3	+27.8	-6.8	-3.7	-8.3	-3.6
San Francisco M.A.[a]	20.9	+21.7	-.4	+33.7	+7.8	+16.3	+14.6
Orange County	7.0	+1.5	-2.2	-4.7	-1.4	+2.6	0
San Diego County	6.8	+4.5	-3.2	-5.4	+9.9	+ .7	+3.1
Balance of California	30.1	-9.4	-22.0	-16.8	-12.6	-17.3	-14.1
Index of Dissimilarity[b]		27.7	27.8	33.7	17.7	25.6	17.7

[a]Including San Francisco, Marin, Contra Costa, Alameda, Santa Clara, and San Mateo Counties.

[b]The Index of Dissimilarity is percentage who would have to move to different areas if the proportion in each area is to be the same as that of the general population in California.

Source: see Text

From the public use census tapes, it was estimated that there were 13,375 Hawaiians in California of whom 7,975 were Hawaii-born. This suggests .7 persons born outside of Hawaii but with Hawaii antecedents for every Hawaiian born in Hawaii. This ratio is reasonable for the Filipinos but is probably too high for the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans as they are characterized by low birth rates relative to the Hawaiians and Filipinos. It is assumed that there are .5 persons with Hawaii antecedents for every Hawaii-born person in these groups.

With the above assumption the geographical distributions of Hawaii-born Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos can be compared to those of their counterparts of non-Hawaii origin (Table 7.8).

Table 7.8

Estimated Difference Between the Distribution of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos with Hawaii Antecedents and Their Counterparts Without Hawaii Antecedents, California, 1970 (+ = difference in favor of those with Hawaii Antecedents)

Area	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Los Angeles County	+16.6	+5.1	+7.5
San Francisco Metropolitan Area	-3.5	-.5	-7.8
Orange County	-.3	+.6	+3.4
San Diego County	-2.4	-.7	+6.3
Balance of California	-10.4	-4.5	-9.4
Index of Dissimilarity[a]	16.6	5.7	17.2

[a]For the definition of "index of dissimilarity" see note to Table 7.7.

Source: See text.

Both Chinese groups are similar, but those with and without Hawaii antecedents are less concentrated in San Francisco itself (23.9 vs. 34.5 percent)

than the Chinese in general. Japanese with Hawaii antecedents are much more concentrated in Los Angeles County than the overall California Japanese population; by contrast, they are conspicuously absent from the San Joaquin Valley counties (most notably Sacramento and Fresno counties) containing large numbers of Japanese. The distribution of Hawaii-born Filipinos with Hawaii antecedents is no better explained with the use of the total Filipino than the general population.

The survey of the 1964 high school graduates shows conclusively that the destination choices of local nonwhite outmigrants have not been greatly influenced by considerations of the numerical sizes of comparable ethnic groups at potential destinations. In contrast, the locations of friends and relatives and other Hawaii-born individuals of the same ethnic group were important considerations (see especially Chapters X and XIV and Appendix E). This explains the difference between the geographical distribution in California of the Hawaii-born and others in comparable ethnic groups but without Hawaii antecedents.

7.7 Summary

In this chapter it has been shown that the Hawaii-born have, on the county level, a distribution in California that is markedly different from that of the California population at large. Japanese and Koreans are concentrated in Los Angeles County; in contrast, Chinese, Hawaiians, and Caucasians from before World War II are over-represented in the Bay Area. Historical factors that explain at least part of the variations have been mentioned. Only the Hawaii-born Chinese appear to be geographically distributed in a manner somewhat similar to

that of their counterparts without Hawaii antecedents. More information on reasons for destination choices is provided in Chapters X, XI, and XIV.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS COMPARED TO THE LOCAL POPULATION: EVIDENCE FROM THE PUBLIC USE CENSUS TAPES

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter questions pertaining to whether persons who have left Hawaii differ from the nonmigrants in terms of education, occupation and income will be addressed. Major attention is given to the Hawaii-born residing on the west coast. The reason for this is simple; a four percent sample for the states of California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska is available for the study, but the remainder of the Mainland is covered by a single one percent sample tape. Among the Hawaii-born aged 25 and older who lived on the Mainland in both 1965 and 1970, approximately 80 percent of nonwhites and 75 percent of whites resided on the west coast; among their counterparts moving to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970, the comparable proportions were in the neighborhood of 60 percent. A four percent sample of the Hawaii-born who were on the Mainland in 1965 but back in Hawaii in 1970 was taken from the four available Hawaii tapes. A one percent sample is used for persons born in Hawaii and living in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970.

In the comparisons of the educational, occupational and income levels of the groups mentioned above, only persons 25 years of age and over are included. Many persons aged 20 to 24 are still in school or the military, and incomes received by persons in this age group often have little relation to future earning power. In addition, income

comparisons are done only for persons in the civilian labor force. Incomes received by persons in the military tend to be low by civilian standards, but because of numerous benefits offered in the military are not directly comparable to civilian incomes.

8.2 Educational Levels Among the Hawaii-born

Mean years of education controlled for migration status, ethnicity, sex, and age of Hawaii-born adults aged 25 and older are given in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 shows that even when ethnicity and age are controlled for, it is evident that those who have migrated to the Mainland have a clear educational advantage over persons living in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970. Differentials between persons with experience living on the Mainland and those who have never left Hawaii are greater than those shown in Table 8.1 for the following two reasons: some in the "local" group are well-educated pre-1965 returnees, and the one percent national sample shows that both short and long-term outmigrants living in non-west coast areas tend to have completed more years of schooling than their counterparts on the west coast.[1]

Several observations can be made from Table 8.1. One is the low general educational level of the local whites; a large portion are of Portuguese ancestry, a not inconsiderable number are of Puerto Rican

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[1]According to the one percent national sample, the mean years of schooling completed by 1965-70 outmigrants living in California (N=43), the northwest (N=6), and other areas (N=19) were 12.5, 10.5, and 14.3 years, respectively. Among Hawaii-born persons residing on the Mainland in both 1965 and 1970 the comparable means by area were 12.1 (N=513), 12.3 (N=52), and 12.8 (N=179).

Table 8.1. Mean Years of Schooling Completed by the Hawaii-born Aged 25 and Over by Migration Status, 1970

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70
A. All Persons								
Mean Years	10.8	12.2**	12.5**	13.7**	10.6	11.7**	12.4**	12.6**
N	955	1143	81	136	994	1168	101	111
B. By Years of Age								
25-29	12.3	13.7**	13.5**	14.5**	12.4	13.3**	14.3**	13.4**
30-34	12.1	14.0**	(12.6)	14.0**	12.1	13.2**	(13.2)	12.6*
35-39	12.1	13.1**	(13.2)	(13.6)	11.6	12.7**	+	(12.8)
40-44	11.6	12.7**	+	(13.3)	11.4	12.1**	+	(12.1)
45-49	10.9	11.6**	+	+	10.8	11.5**	+	+
50-54	10.7	11.4**	+	+	9.2	10.1**	+	+
55-59	9.3	9.9*	+	+	8.9	9.8**	+	+
60-64	8.7	9.0	+	+	8.8	9.0	+	+
65 and over	6.9	8.6*	+	+	7.4	7.5	+	+
C. By Race								
White	10.0	11.6**	10.7*	12.2**	9.6	11.1**	11.0**	11.7**
Japanese	11.4	13.2**	13.9**	14.9**	10.9	12.5**	14.1**	14.2**
Chinese	11.3	13.0**	+	(15.1)	11.1	12.4**	+	+
Filipino	10.8	12.2**	+	(12.3)	10.8	11.8**	(13.1)	+
Hawaiian	10.0	11.3**	(11.7)	(14.0)	10.3	11.1**	(10.5)	(12.4)
Korean	11.0	(12.4)	+	+	(11.6)	12.9	+	+

Ha Hawaii M Mainland W.C. West Coast
( ) Between 10 and 19 persons in category. + Fewer than 10 in Category
*Different from mean of "Hawaii 1965-Hawaii 1970" at significance level between .01 and .05 as measured by T-Test
**Different from mean of "Hawaii 1965-Hawaii 1970" at significance level less than .01

Source: See text.

ancestry, and many have Hawaiian ancestry and would have been classified as part-Hawaiian in previous eensuses. Because 25 was used as the cut-off age, the large post-World War II cohort born of military parents and post-World War II inmigrants has been effectively excluded.[2] Another is that the ethnic groups are characterized by the same relative educational levels whatever their migration status. In all migration categories there is the same characteristic decline of educational levels with age. This and the ethnic differentials suggest that it is not so much educational level per se that is the major cause of outmigration, but, rather, attitudes that are correlated with the desire for higher education. This observation is supported by the survey of 1964 high school graduates (Chapters X to XIV). Notable is the fact that the highest educational levels belong to the returnees. This certainly belies the common image of the returnee as "unsuccessful," but supports data earlier given that show a large share of 1965-70 returnees to have been attending college in 1965.[3]

Had median rather than mean education been used, the relative differences shown in Table 8.1 would have looked much the same. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a bimodal distribution by education

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[2]Of course, there was a huge influx of military personnel and civilian military employees during World War II, but their dependents were not allowed to come to Hawaii during the war.

[3]However, it should be noted that whereas most persons who attend college on the Mainland do so for four years, inductees into the military generally spend two years in the military and, for many, most of the time is spent abroad. Thus, the college students are more likely to be counted among the returnees.

among the outmigrants; among the long-term outmigrant (i.e., those on the Mainland more than five years) males on the west coast, for instance, 22.4 percent completed college and 19.9 percent did not complete high school. However, only 10.0 percent of their local counterparts completed at least four years of college as contrasted with 41.1 percent who did not complete high school.

In summary, the Hawaii-born migrants are characterized by much higher educational levels than those residing in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970. From the standpoint of educational levels, the Mainland has definitely received the "cream of the crop," but Hawaii has gained a large number of well-educated individuals among the return migrants.

8.3 Labor Force Participation and Occupational Status Among the Hawaii-born

As has been discussed in Chapter II, Hawaii's labor force participation rate is high in general and, in relative terms, extremely high among females. In casual conversations, most persons in Hawaii attribute the high female labor force participation rate to the need to have both spouses working to meet the high costs of living. However, the fact that the labor force participation rate among Portuguese females is low whereas it is high among Oriental females (see Chapter II) suggests that this is a simplistic explanation at best.

If the high female labor force participation rate was mostly a function of economic necessity, it is reasonable to expect that it would be much lower among the long-term migrants on the west coast as wages are higher there and the cost of living averages about 15 percent below that of Hawaii. Comparable proportions are married and living with the

spouse among both the locals and long-term outmigrants on the west coast; therefore the rates can be directly compared.

Table 8.2 compares that the female labor force participation rate is higher among the "locals" than the Hawaii-born in California. However, there are interesting ethnic variations. Whites comprise only 17 percent of the Hawaii but nearly 50 percent of the California sample; their labor force participation rate in both places is the lowest of the major ethnic groups.[4] However, the white labor force participation rate is 10 percent higher in California. In contrast, the labor force

Table 8.2

Labor Force Participation Rate by Migration Status
Among Hawaii-born Females Aged 25-64

	Hawaii, 65 Hawaii, 70	Mainland, 65 California, 70	Difference	% of all Females in California
All Persons	60.5	53.0	+7.5**	48.3
N	907	983		
		By Race		
White	35.9	45.8	-9.9**	47.5
Japanese	73.8	59.9	+13.9**	53.5
Chinese	62.7	53.6	+9.1**	57.0
Filipino	54.0	62.9	-8.9**	59.1
Hawaiian	47.7	57.3	-9.6**	51.8

**Difference from local group significant at the .01 level.

Sources: Public use census tapes described in text and U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970. Detailed Characteristics of California, Table 170.

[4]The extremely low rate in Hawaii supports the assertion made earlier that a large proportion of the adult Hawaii-born whites living in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970 were of Portuguese ancestry.

participation rates of the Hawaii-born Chinese and Japanese females in California are far below those of the Hawaii counterparts. Labor force participation rates of the Hawaii-born Filipino and Hawaiian females are nearly 10 percent higher in California than in Hawaii. In general, the labor force participation rates of the Hawaii-born females in different ethnic groups in California show a marked tendency to converge and are more similar to those of comparable ethnic groups in California than Hawaii.

The most ready explanation the author can offer for the above findings is that cultural forces which influence the labor force participation rate in Hawaii are weakened in California. However, this is hardly a complete explanation for the variations found. Why, for instance, the labor force participation rate of both Hawaii-born and non-Hawaii-born Filipinos in California is much higher than that of Hawaii-born Filipinos in Hawaii is not obvious.[5]

The higher labor force participation rate of the Hawaii-born Caucasians in California may in part reflect a disproportionate percentage of non-Portuguese in the California population. At any rate, the female labor force participation rate among all Hawaii-born females in California is well above both the California and U.S. averages (48.3 and 47.6 percent, respectively) in 1970.

From the one percent national sample it appears that the labor force participation rates of Hawaii-born females in California and other parts of the United States are almost identical.

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[5]One possible explanation is that Filipinos in Hawaii are disproportionately found on plantations and plantations are characterized by a low female labor force participation rate.

The civilian occupational structure of the Hawaii-born migrants differs markedly from that of the locals (Table 8.3). Among all classes of migrants the proportion in professional occupations is much higher than that of persons in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970. Conversely, the proportions in managerial occupations are lower than that of the locals, although the combined proportions in the professional and managerial occupations are higher for all classes of migrants. Differences are especially marked in the case of Japanese males; the shares engaged in professional and managerial occupations among the long-term outmigrants were 33.8 and 5.8 percent, respectively whereas the comparable proportions among the local Japanese males were 11.1 and 15.2 percent, respectively. Among Hawaiian and white males, however, higher proportions of long-term residents on the west coast held managerial jobs although in the case of the Hawaiians the difference was not statistically significant at the five percent level.[6]

Relationships observed in the above paragraph deserve comment. Professional occupations generally require considerable formal education above the high school level and a high proportion of Orientals travel to the Mainland to attend college. Many managerial occupations also require a large amount of formal education, but ownership of business establishments are sometimes passed from father to son, and some managers are poorly educated individuals who "worked up through

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[6]Among the white males, the shares in managerial occupations were 6.7 percent in Hawaii and 10.9 percent on the west coast. Among Hawaiian males the comparable proportions were 10.9 and 13.0 percent, respectively.

Table 8.3. Occupational Distribution by Migration Status of the Hawaii-born Aged 25 and Over and in the Civilian Labor Force, 1970

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70
A. All Persons (% in each occupation)								
Professional	11.4	22.2	27.3	38.6	14.3	20.2	26.5	28.6
Managerial	13.0	9.2	5.5	9.8	6.1	3.0	6.1	0
Sales	5.3	5.1	5.5	4.9	7.8	3.7	10.2	8.9
Clerical	6.4	9.5	7.3	9.8	31.6	38.2	26.5	46.4
Blue Collar[a]	51.6	40.8	41.8	30.4	11.4	15.8	10.2	5.4
Farm[b]	2.6	2.3	0	0	.4	.2	0	0
Service[c]	8.6	6.8	9.1	6.7	26.0	11.9	20.4	8.9
Unemployed	1.1	4.1	3.6	0	2.5	4.7	0	1.8
N	825	963	55	102	561	574	49	56
B. % Professional or Managerial by Race								
White	18.8	28.9**	(29.4)	38.5**	16.4	25.0**	(0)	18.8
Japanese	26.3	39.6**	25.0	57.1**	20.8	25.5**	52.4**	41.7**
Chinese	44.2	38.0	+	(61.5)	23.4	30.0	+	+
Filipino	11.3	17.7*	+	(30.0)	17.5	10.5	+	+
Hawaiian	18.8	19.5	(30.0)	+	13.1	15.7	+	(20.0)
C. % Professional or Managerial by Age								
25-29	19.5	26.3**	34.6*	47.6**	17.8	33.3**	51.9**	22.9
30-34	28.0	49.0**	(14.3)	(60.0)	28.8	29.0	+	(31.2)
35-39	30.5	36.0**	(50.0)	+	22.1	27.3**	+	(16.7)
40-44	26.6	31.1**	+	+	16.0	12.5	+	(18.1)
45-49	22.8	27.1**	+	+	22.5	18.6*	+	+
50-54	23.8	22.9	+	+	17.5	14.8*	+	+
55-59	17.1	16.1	+	+	11.9	22.9*	+	+

[a]Including craftsmen, operatives, laborers and transportation workers; [b]Including farm laborers and farm operators; [c]Including service workers and domestics.

For explanation of symbols and sources see Table 8.1.

the ranks."[7] A large proportion of the small businesses in Hawaii are owned by local Orientals and Oriental societal values are conducive to success in business (see Chapter II). Many of the managerial jobs in Hawaii are found in the state and local governments and the Orientals are relatively overrepresented there (again see Chapter II). These reasons are sufficient in themselves to account for the lower proportion of managers among the Orientals on the west coast.[8]

Local Hawaiian cultural values, in contrast to those of the Orientals, are not supportive of entrepreneurship (Chapter II) and the often expressed view that entrepreneural success for Hawaiians is easier on the Mainland than Hawaii is plausible. Most of the local whites in the sample appear to be Portuguese, Puerto Ricans or part-Hawaiians, all of whom are characterized by low educational and occupational levels; two possible explanations for the greater proportion of males in managerial occupations on the Mainland are that the males on the west coast are disproportionately from the pre-World War II Haole elite or that the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans who left were disproportionately from the more ambitious ranks. Furthermore,

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[7]Among the locals in the sample the mean educational levels of males and females in professional occupations are 14.2 and 14.6 years, respectively, whereas the comparable levels for managers are 12.5 and 11.5 years, respectively. Among the long-term migrants on the west coast, the educational means are 15.4 and 15.5 among the male and female professional as compared to 13.4 and 11.5 among their managerial counterparts.

[8]However, they are less convincing in accounting for the low proportion of Hawaii-born Filipinos on the west coast who are in managerial occupations as Filipino owned businesses in Hawaii are few and, in addition, Filipinos are grossly underrepresented in the Hawaii state and local governments.

evidence will be presented in Chapter IX that suggests part-Hawaiians were more likely to classify themselves as "Hawaiian" on the Mainland than in Hawaii. This in itself would tend to upgrade the occupational structure of Hawaii-born self-classified "whites" on the Mainland as compared to their counterparts in Hawaii.

Another occupational characteristic of the migrants is the greater proportion in the clerical ranks. Although most clerical jobs are not prestigious, almost all require at least a high school education and many require some college training as well. In contrast, a much higher proportion of the local females are in service occupations. The fact that among the female migrants the proportion holding service jobs is highest among the short-term (i.e., those on the Mainland less than five years) migrants undoubtedly results from the fact that service jobs are often temporary jobs that recent migrants hold before finding employment in more lucrative and challenging jobs.

Among the ethnic groups, the structural differences between locals and the various classes of migrants appear to be greatest among the Japanese and Caucasians. In terms of general occupational prestige, the differences found among the local ethnic groups is duplicated among their counterparts in the ranks of the migrants.

Table 8.3 also demonstrates that differences in occupational distribution between the locals and migrants cannot be attributed to differences in age distribution. Among the long-term migrant males aged 25 to 49 and females aged 25 to 39, the proportions holding professional or managerial jobs are much higher than their local counterparts. Especially notable is the high proportion of returnees holding

professional or managerial jobs. This is more evidence that the common notion of returnees as being "failures" is grossly inaccurate. Hawaii returnees, by virtue of high educational and job skills seem in general to be well-equipped to compete in the Hawaii job market.

In terms of unemployment both the local and returnee population in 1970 were clearly better off than the migrants on the west coast. It must be kept in mind that the late 1960s through 1970 represented a period of exceptionally low unemployment in Hawaii. Among all persons 25 years of age and older in Hawaii in 1970, the census revealed civilian unemployment rates of 1.5 and 2.8 percent among males and females, respectively. In contrast, the unemployment rates on the west coast were 4.7 and 6.4 percent, respectively.[9] In comparison to the general west coast population, therefore, the Hawaii-born population on the west coast was quite successful in securing employment.

It is probable that the relationship between unemployment and migration status that is described above would have been reversed had the data been based on the early 1950s or the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, it does not appear that unemployment per se in the late 1960s was a severe problem that forced local persons to seek employment on the Mainland. This is supported by the survey of 1964 graduates (see Chapter X).

There are not a sufficient number of cases in the one percent national sample to ascertain whether the occupational structure of the

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[9]Computed from data provided in the U.S. Bureau of the Census "Detailed Characteristics" reports for Hawaii, California, Oregon, Washington and Alaska.

Hawaii-born short-term outmigrants on the west coast differs markedly from that of their counterparts in other areas. However, there are marked geographical variations among the Hawaii-born who lived on the Mainland in 1965. According to the national tape, 6.4 percent of the long-term outmigrant males were in the armed forces; however, the proportions were 4.0 percent in California, 4.6 percent in the northwestern states and 11.9 percent in non-west coast areas. Most males aged 25 and older who are in the armed forces appear to be career personnel and, to a considerable extent, their distribution reflects the general deployment of servicemen on the Mainland.

In terms of civilian employment, both males and females living in non-west coast areas tend to hold more prestigious jobs than those in Hawaii (Table 8.4). Among Caucasian males, under a third in the civilian labor force on the west coast (N=91 in the national sample) hold professional or managerial jobs, whereas of those in the labor force in non-west coast areas (N=35), over half held these jobs. Among Japanese males the percentages holding professional or managerial jobs were 36 and 56 percent on the west coast and non-west coast areas, respectively (based on sample sizes of 107 and 27). Among Caucasian females the comparable shares were 29 and 55 percent (based on sample sizes of 55 and 22). Sample sizes were too small for other ethnic groups to allow for any geographical comparisons.

The above findings support the view that the well educated and highly skilled tend to move the longest distances. However, the explanations for the Hawaii outmigrants are complex. Among Caucasians born prior to World War II, the Portuguese are known to have gone

Table 8.4

Distribution by Geographical Area of the Civilian Occupational Structure of the Hawaii-born Residents Aged 25 and Over and Living on the Mainland in Both 1965 and 1970

	Area of 1970 Residence					
	Male			Female		
Occupation	W.C.	Other	All	W.C.	Other	All
Professional	23.9	34.2	26.2	21.8	36.5	25.2
Managerial	8.6	13.2	9.6	5.2	5.8	5.3
Sales	5.6	1.3	4.7	2.3	3.9	2.7
Clerical	9.3	7.8	9.0	37.9	28.9	35.8
Blue Collar	39.2	31.5	36.4	11.5	7.7	10.6
Farm	1.6	0	1.2	0	0	0
Service	8.2	6.6	7.8	14.9	17.3	15.5
Unemployed	5.2	5.3	5.2	6.3	0	4.9
N	268	76	344	174	52	226

Source: One Percent Sample National Tape

Note: Percentages for west coast are slightly different from those shown in Table 8.3, which is based on a 4 percent sample.

overwhelmingly to California. In contrast, the children of the Haole elite went to prestigious non-west coast colleges in large numbers and many apparently stayed there. Evidence has earlier been presented from the public use census tapes that a large share of Hawaii-born persons presently migrating to places outside of California are attending college. This will later be confirmed (in Chapter XI) in the discussion of the migration behavior of persons in the survey sample. Thus, it appears that the generally higher educational and occupational levels of Hawaii-born residents in non-west coast areas is largely a function of the locations of desired colleges, rather than job opportunities.

In summary, occupational levels of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland and the returnees are generally higher than those of the locals. There is no evidence that persons of low occupational status are attracted to the Mainland in disproportionate numbers. Ethnic differences in occupational status in Hawaii are replicated on the Mainland as well.

8.4 Income Characteristics of the Hawaii-born

Most migration experts in the past have tended to view economic considerations as crucial in the majority of long distance moves. In Chapter II evidence was presented that there are economic problems in Hawaii that according to economic theory should motivate a considerable outmigration to the Mainland; the economy is largely service oriented, wages for given jobs are often well below west coast average, and living costs are approximately 20 percent above the national average. In theory, at least, the living conditions of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland should generally be better than if they had stayed in Hawaii.

Mean incomes by migration status are given in Table 8.5. It should be again noted that only the incomes of persons in the civilian labor force are included in the calculations.

Those who were living on the west coast in 1970 and on the Mainland in 1965 clearly enjoyed higher incomes than the Hawaii-born who resided in Hawaii in both 1965 and 1970. The effective difference for both males and females amounts to approximately 25 percent when the cost of living differential is considered. These differences remain even when age is controlled for.

In contrast, the returnees and short-term outmigrants received, on the average, slightly lower incomes than the locals. However, when age

Table 8.5. Mean 1959 Incomes by Migration Status of the Hawaii-Born Aged 25 and Over and in the Civilian Labor Force, 1970

	MALE				FEMALE			
	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70	Ha65 Ha70	M 65 W.C. 70	Ha65 W.C. 70	M 65 Ha70
A. All Persons								
Mean Income	9,813	10,474**	8,376**	9,467*	5,351	5,723**	5,294	4,795
N	821	951	55	102	542	542	49	56
B. By Age								
25-29	7,776	8,973**	7,604	8,324	4,827	5,668**	5,937*	4,782
30-34	9,668	10,091**	(8,828)	(13,400)	5,367	5,914**	+	(4,416)
35-39	9,864	10,457**	(9,500)	(11,782)	5,468	5,763*	+	(5,620)
40-44	10,717	11,235**	+	(8,517)	6,105	5,825	+	+
45-49	10,935	10,785	+	+	5,217	6,017**	+	+
50-54	10,938	12,140**	+	+	5,200	5,437	+	+
55-59	9,811	10,282*	+	+	4,974	5,255*	+	+
C. By Race								
White	8,880	10,623**	(8,553)	7,992*	4,307	5,274**	(4,814)	(4,606)
Japanese	10,540	10,582	(8,675)	10,812	5,591	6,117**	(5,784)	(5,304)
Chinese	11,884	12,521	+	(10,614)	5,526	6,551**	+	+
Filipino	7,307	8,961**	+	(7,610)	5,400	5,339	+	+
Hawaiian	8,557	8,367	(7,290)	+	4,776	5,565**	+	+
Korean	9,241	10,238	+	+	6,900	7,344	+	+

For explanation of symbols and sources see Table 8.1.

is controlled, the differentials in favor of the locals largely disappear or are even reversed. It must also be realized that persons moving to a new place (and a new job) often start at the bottom in terms of seniority and salary. Among those who migrated within a year of the census, the previous year's income may reflect a period of joblessness from the time a person moved to that of his finding one in the new location, or may be partly or wholly earned at the previous location. For these reasons, the incomes of the recent migrants and returnees are poor indicators of whether the moves were "rational" from an economic point of view. In terms of the occupational and educational levels of the recent outmigrants and returnees, it is reasonable to expect that with time, their average incomes will exceed those of the average of persons never living on the Mainland.

A number of notable findings are contained in the data on incomes by ethnicity. Among males the nominal (i.e., unadjusted for cost of living differentials) average income among white long-term outmigrants is a fifth higher than that of their local counterparts. In contrast, average incomes of the two comparable groups of Japanese males are virtually equal. As a result mean incomes of the white and Japanese males on the west coast are almost identical. These equalities occur in spite of the fact that the Japanese males on the west coast are characterized by considerably higher educational and occupational levels than either the west coast whites or local Japanese. Among females, all long-term outmigrants except the Filipinos on the west coast are characterized by higher incomes than their local counterparts, but the mean income of the white females on the west coast is more than 20

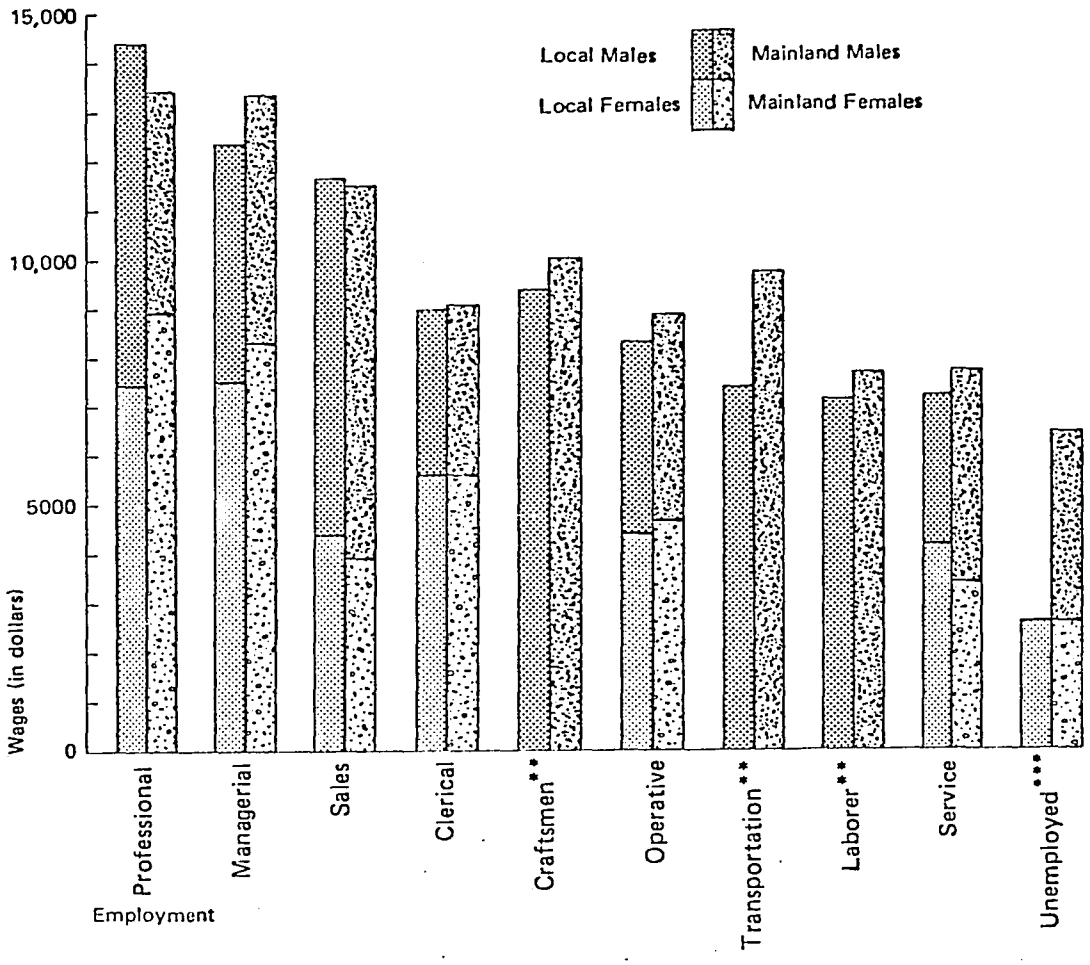
percent above that of their local counterparts. In relative terms, white outmigrants have clearly derived the largest economic benefits from their moves.

If wages in Hawaii and the west coast were equal for equivalent work and work were based on skills, mean wages of the long-term outmigrants should be higher than those of the local population because the outmigrants are characterized by higher educational and occupational levels. Figure 8.1 reveals that 1969 incomes of local male professionals were approximately six percent higher than those of their Mainland counterparts, but mean incomes among managerial and blue collar workers are higher on the Mainland. Nevertheless, as compared to their local brethern, professional employees are grossly overrepresented, and managerial and blue collar workers are underrepresented among the west coast males. This hardly supports the commonly expressed idea that economic factors are paramount in the migration of locals away from Hawaii.

Among females, mean incomes of professionals and managers are 17 and 11 percent higher, respectively among the west coast sample, but are comparable in the clerical and blue collar occupations, and are considerably below that of the local females in the service occupations. The last finding quite possibly is an indication that female service workers are much more likely to be employed full time in Hawaii than on the west coast.

The difference between the mean salaries of the local and west coast males is 6.7 percent; but standardizing either by using the west coast incomes by occupation and local employment distribution or

Figure 8.1 Mean 1969 Income* of Hawaii-born Residents in Hawaii in 1965 and 1970, and Hawaii-born Living on the Mainland in 1965 and on the West Coast in 1970 by Occupation



*Unadjusted for cost of living differential
**Data not available for females
***Data not available for Hawaii males

Source: See text.

using local incomes by occupation with the west coast employment distribution reduces the difference to 3.2 percent. This indicates that about half of the difference in mean income can be attributed to the differential occupational distribution whereas the remainder is due to differential pay for comparable occupations. Among females, the wage differential is 6.8 percent in favor of the west coast residents, but the difference drops to 3.4 percent when standardized for local income, by occupation and west coast occupational distribution. This differential is completely eliminated if the west coast incomes and Hawaii occupational distribution is used. This results from the dominance of the low paying service industries in Hawaii; only in the service industry are apparent wages substantially higher in Hawaii than on the west coast.[10] Thus, much of the wage differential for females is structural in that the service industries do not dominate on the west coast as they do in Hawaii.

Another measure of economic well-being is the "income to poverty ratio" developed by the Census Bureau. This measure, which however does not adjust for regional cost of living differences, combines family incomes with family size. Students living in dormitories and military families are excluded from the computation. According to this measure, 7.8 and 5.2 of the persons in the local and long-term migrant groups, respectively, had individual or family situations that placed them in "poverty status." In contrast, 57.6 and 63.1 percent,

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[10]"Apparent" is used here because there is no control for whether the jobs are full or part-time. Tips in the tourist industry also supplement wages of many Hawaii service workers.

respectively, were in situations where the individual or family incomes were at least three times the poverty cutoff. Thus, by the federal poverty measures, the west coast residents, on the average, enjoyed a somewhat higher standard of living than the local counterparts. Considering the fact that the cost of living in Hawaii was more than 15 percent higher than that on the west coast, however, the long-term migrants on the west coast were considerably better off in financial terms.

Those long-term outmigrants living away from the west coast were earlier shown to be characterized by considerably higher educational and occupational levels. Other things being equal, these attributes should be reflected in higher incomes. According to the national public use tape, the mean incomes of males living on the west coast and other areas were $10,671 and $11,376, respectively. These means (which were based on 237 and 69 cases, respectively), however, are not significantly different at the 95 percent level of confidence. Mean incomes of females living on the west coast and other areas was $6,421 and $4,497, respectively, which is statistically significant at the 99 percent level of confidence. Although the author suspects that this difference is partly or entirely due to a much higher percentage of women on the west coast who work full time, this belief is not subject to empirical verification with the data at hand.

In summary, mean incomes are somewhat higher among the long-term migrants on the west coast than the local nonmigrants, even when age and sex are controlled for. Caucasians, especially the males, appear to financially benefit the most from their moves. Incomes of the recent

outmigrants and returnees are somewhat lower than those of the non-migrants but the author believes this results from circumstances involved in the recent moves, and that in time their average incomes will exceed those of their counterparts who never leave Hawaii. When the cost of living differential is considered, the long-term migrants on the west coast are considerably better off economically than their local counterparts.

However, this does not prove that economic motives are dominant in the initial moves to the Mainland. Among males on the Mainland those in professional occupations are far more numerous than in Hawaii, yet average nominal incomes for professional workers in Hawaii appear to be somewhat higher. In contrast, incomes of male blue collar workers are higher on the west coast, but blue collar workers are under-represented among the male outmigrants. Among female professionals by contrast, average income is considerably higher on the west coast whereas incomes are much higher among service workers in Hawaii. The relative distribution of female professional and service workers in Hawaii and among the migrants on the west coast appears to support the economic theory of migration, but the fact that professionals are over-represented among both the male and female west coast residents suggests that both migrated for essentially the same reasons. One plausible explanation is that the majority in the professional occupations on the Mainland originally went there to attend college. Another is that those who migrate are characterized by personality attributes that are positively correlated with eventual occupational prestige. In fact,

both interpretations are supported by the results of the survey of high school graduates (see especially Chapters X, XIII, and XIV).

8.5 Summary

With the use of the public use tapes a comprehensive picture of the demographic characteristics of the outmigrants from Hawaii was obtained for the first time. Among those born in Hawaii, the outmigrants are better educated, hold higher status jobs, and enjoy somewhat higher incomes than the local population still living in Hawaii. Among the returnees, the generally high educational and occupational levels appear to ensure average long-term incomes well in excess of those of the nonmigrants. Differences by ethnic group in Hawaii in characteristics mentioned above tend to be replicated among the various classes of migrants. This suggests that personality attributes that exist among all ethnic groups are more highly correlated than individual economic circumstances with the decisions to move to the Mainland.

What has been lacking thus far in this dissertation are insights about motives and satisfactions that can only be gained from the migrants themselves. Even if, say, the fact that a large proportion of recent outmigrants are in college and therefore went to the Mainland to attend college, we know nothing about underlying motivations for going to college there. One can make judgments about whether the migrants are "successful" by measuring income differentials, but a migrant's view of "success" may differ substantially from what a researcher would infer from census data. Census data, for instance, can give no clue as to whether a migrant feels "liberated" by a move or

if relatives left behind are missed. These are trivial examples; yet there is a disconcerting tendency among migration scholars to measure both the motives of migrants and their realization from census data. It was because of these considerations that the survey of 1964 graduates of Hawaii high schools was undertaken. Chapters IX through XIV are based on the experiences and testimonies of those migrants and non-migrants included in this survey.

CHAPTER IX

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY SAMPLE

9.1 Introduction

When this dissertation topic was first envisioned, one seemingly insurmountable problem was locating a representative sample of migrants and nonmigrants for the purpose of a survey. Fortunately, from the standpoint of this study, tenth year high school reunions are important events in Hawaii. Consequently, reunion organizers are especially conscientious about obtaining addresses so that the graduates can be informed about the reunions. Furthermore, there are a number of private high schools that maintain complete alumni lists. A decision, therefore, was made in 1975 to use the 1964 Hawaii high school graduates as the sampling frame. The 11 year interval between graduation and the survey covers most long distance moves that are likely to be made, but is of short enough duration that the moves are easily recalled. In the balance of this chapter, the high schools from which the sample was drawn, and characteristics of the 1964 graduates, persons in the original survey sample, persons responding to the mailed questionnaires, and siblings of the respondents will be discussed.

9.2 High Schools Included in the Survey

In the summer of 1964, 10,174 persons graduated from Hawaii high schools (JCGEY, 1964). In 1974 and 1975, the author made a determined effort to obtain tenth year reunion class lists and 1964 alumni lists from the public and private schools, respectively. Lists were obtained from the 14 schools briefly described below.

Public Schools--Oahu

Farrington (873 graduates in 1964)

Farrington is the true inner city high school of Honolulu. In 1964 it contained the largest graduating class of any Hawaii high school. At that time, it drew students from the old Chinatown, the very poor Kalihi-Palama area just to the west of downtown, and the lower-middle-class area on the hills just to the north of Kalihi-Palama. Enrollment at present is largely Filipino (both local and immigrant) and Samoan, but in 1964 the graduating class, on the basis of surnames, was estimated to be two-fifths Japanese, one-fifth Filipino, one-seventh Chinese, one-tenth Hawaiian and only one-twentieth Haole (defined here as non-Portuguese or Puerto Rican Caucasian). In terms of present addresses, the class list was approximately 80 percent complete.

McKinley (639 graduates in 1964)

Once popularly known as "Tokyo High," McKinley was one of two standard language public high schools in existence on Oahu before World War II. It has had a proud academic history and many of the prominent politicians in Hawaii today are alumni. Its reputation was slipping by the mid-1960s although it was then still considered better than average academically. In 1964 the enrollment was primarily drawn from the then largely lower-middle-class single family housing district immediately east of the downtown area. Few of the high rises that have completely transformed the school catchment area had been built in 1964. Approximately three-fifths of the 1964 graduating class were Japanese and an additional seventh were Chinese. Persons with Haole surnames (some of whom were undoubtedly part-Hawaiian or part-Oriental) comprised less than five percent of the graduates. The class list was approximately two-thirds complete.

Kailua (585 graduates in 1964)

In 1964 the area served by Kailua High School included the rapidly growing and largely inmigrant middle-class Haole suburb with the same name, the most populous Hawaiian homestead area in the state, the former plantation town of Waimanalo and surrounding agricultural area, and the Kaneohe Marine Corps Station just to the north of Kailua. Approximately a tenth of the graduating class were military dependents. By ethnicity, approximately half of the 1964 graduate class were Haole, and a fifth each were Hawaiian and Japanese. The class list was approximately 60 percent complete.

Castle (278 graduates in 1964)

In 1964 the largely semirural character of the catchment area (which lies just to the north of Kailua's, on the windward coast) was being transformed by the rapid growth of the largely local and middle-class suburb of Kaneohe. Approximately two-fifths of the graduating class were Japanese, an additional fifth were Haole, and Portuguese, Filipinos and Hawaiians each comprised about a tenth. The class list was approximately 85 percent complete.

Waipahu (473 graduates in 1964)

Located in the Ewa area of Oahu, the school district in 1964 included the plantation town of Waipahu which was just beginning to mushroom as a result of the urban spillover from Honolulu, military housing at the Pearl Harbor military base, and the Ewa sugar plantation. Almost all Haole students were from the military base; most of the local students came from extremely modest circumstances. Japanese were estimated to comprise more than 40 percent of the graduates, whereas a fifth each were Haole and Filipino and about a tenth were Portuguese. The class list was 60 percent complete.

Leilehua (372 graduates in 1964)

Located in Wahiawa in the north-central part of Oahu, the students in 1964 were drawn from the large Schofield Barracks Military base, the service town of Wahiawa, and the pineapple plantation villages adjacent to Wahiawa. The class list, which was comprised of persons who physically attended the reunion, was only about a fifth complete. Whereas almost half of the graduating class was comprised of military dependents, virtually all names on the list were non-Haole.

Public Schools--Outer Islands

Maui (142 graduates in 1964)

In 1964, the area served consisted of a number of sleepy sugar plantation towns (of which Paia was the major town) on the north-central coast of Maui. The "hippie invasion" which has visually transformed the area had not yet begun. Approximately half of the graduates were Japanese and a fifth each were Portuguese and Filipino. The completeness of the class list was a remarkable 90 percent.

Kapaa (127 graduates in 1964)

The area served in 1964 included the pineapple plantation (now defunct) town of Kapaa, the largely agricultural and traditional Hawaiian village of Hanalei, a north coast sugar plantation (also now defunct), and a miniscule population strung from Hanalei to the scenic end of the road in northern Kauai. Hanalei is now the site of a hotel-resort complex as well as a number of tourist-oriented boutiques and the coast from there to the end of the road is saturated with "transients," but these developments were unforseen in 1964. Judging from surnames, the 1964 graduating class had the following ethnic composition: 30 percent Japanese, a fifth each Portuguese and Filipino, an eighth Hawaiian, and eight percent Haole. The class list was nearly 90 percent complete.

Private Schools--Oahu

Punahou (388 graduates in 1964)

This school should be familiar to all who read Chapter III closely. Established by the early missionaries for the education of their

children, Punahou became "the school" for the children of the Haole elite. Even today, it is locally considered to be of outstanding quality and a passport to prestigious eastern colleges and employment in Kamaaina Haole-owned businesses. The graduating class was approximately 85 percent Caucasian, eight percent Chinese, and five percent Japanese. The class list was approximately 95 percent complete. However, the school administration permitted it to be used only for determining where the 1964 graduates lived 10 years later.

Iolani (102 graduates in 1964)

Founded as an all-male school in the mid-nineteenth century by the Episcopal Church, Iolani is widely considered to be the Oriental equivalent of Punahou in terms of academic excellence. No less than 93 percent (vs. 89 percent of Punahou graduates) of the 1964 graduates entered college the following fall. Approximately two-fifths of the graduates were Japanese, about 30 percent were Caucasian, and 20 percent were Chinese. The class list was 80 percent complete.

Mid Pacific (81 graduates in 1964)

Founded by the Church of Christ in the first decade of the twentieth century, the enrollment up to the late 1960s was almost entirely Oriental. In terms of academic quality, Mid Pacific is locally considered to be close to the standards of Iolani and Punahou. Seventy-one percent of the 1964 graduates attended college that fall. About half of the enrollment has traditionally come from the outer islands because, with the exception of the racially exclusive Kamehameha (see below), Mid Pacific is the only boarding school in the state. Of the 1964 graduates, more than three-quarters were Japanese, an additional eighth were Chinese, and less than a twentieth were Caucasian. The class list was 90 percent complete.

St. Louis (201 graduates in 1964)

Founded by the Roman Catholic Church prior to the turn of the century as an all-male school, St. Louis has long had a reputation as Hawaii's premier Catholic school. Many of Hawaii's most illustrious local-born Catholics have received their education there. Sixty-three percent of the 1964 graduates went to a four year college the following fall. The ethnic composition of the 1964 graduating class was estimated on the basis of the class list to be as follows: Japanese, Chinese and Haoles a fifth each, Portuguese and Filipinos a tenth each, and a twentieth Hawaiian. However, many of the persons with Haole and Portuguese surnames were also of part-Hawaiian ancestry. The class list was more than 90 percent complete.

Maryknoll (97 graduates in 1964)

Located two blocks to the south of the Punahou campus, this small coeducational Catholic high school is virtually engulfed by Honolulu's major freeway. It has a high academic reputation and, as is the case of all Catholic schools unattached to a specific parish, has an enrollment that is approximately half non-Catholic. Sixty-two percent of the 1964 graduates attended a four year college that fall. The ethnic composition

of the 1964 graduating class was about one-third Haole, three-tenths Chinese, and a tenth each Japanese, Hawaiians and Portuguese. The class list was approximately three-quarters complete.

Kamehameha (293 graduates in 1964)

Founded in the late nineteenth century by the provision of the will of the Princess Bernice Bishop, Kamehameha is a coeducational school for persons of at least one-sixteenth Hawaiian ancestry. As tuition is low, competition to attend is keen. Approximately half of the 1964 graduates immediately entered college and another seventh entered the armed forces before the year ended. The latter figure was double the state average and reflects both a strong military tradition and excellent R.O.T.C. program at Kamehameha. All 1964 graduates were, of course, at least one-sixteenth Hawaiian, but a classification of surnames by the author indicated an enrollment that was 45 percent Haole, 25 percent Hawaiian, 15 percent Chinese, seven percent Portuguese, five percent Filipino, and two percent Japanese. Needless to say, the proportion of Hawaiians is also underestimated for other schools as well. The class list was 95 percent complete.

9.3 How "Representative" are the Schools in the Sample?

The above schools represent a great diversity in terms of the socioeconomic and racialbackgrounds of students attending them. By using data collected from the 1965 follow-up of the 1964 high school graduates, we can determine to what extent the graduates of the schools chosen for this study correspond to the overall graduating class in terms of their activities in the fall of 1964. Punahou and Leilehua are excluded from consideration in Table 9.1 as questionnaires were not sent to Punahou graduates, and the Leilehua class list, in contrast to the others, was only fragmentary.

In terms of activities after graduation, as well as the percentage who graduated from private schools, the sample is remarkably like that of all graduates (Table 9.1). The slight excess of males in the sample is due to the inclusion of two all-male, but no all-female private schools. The largest difference between the sample and the universe from which it is drawn lies in the underrepresentation of graduates of outer

island schools, but 25 percent of all questionnaires were sent to graduates of the two outer island schools in the sample.

Table 9.1

Comparisons of Graduates of Schools in the Study Sample to All High School Graduates from Hawaii Schools in 1964

	Sample	All Graduates
% of All Students	38.3	
% Male	51.4	49.3
% from Private Schools	19.9	18.3
% from Outer Island Schools	8.2	24.4
Activities, Fall of 1964		
% in 4 year college	34.1	38.1
% in 2 year college	4.0	4.9
% in business school	5.4	6.4
% employed full time	15.1	14.4
% in military	6.0	7.4
% whose activities were unknown	15.9	9.2

Source: Computed from information contained in Hawaii Department of Education, Follow-Up Survey of Hawaii's 1964 High School Graduates. State of Hawaii Research Report No. 17, Honolulu, September 9, 1965.

The exclusion of Punahou from the questionnaire survey meant, in effect, that there was a serious underrepresentation of students from the Kamaaina elite. Upper and upper-middle-class Haole children in Kahala and the new residential areas to the east who attended public schools went to Kalani, which is not in the sample. The exclusion of Radford, whose student body is mostly from the military community, and the absence of former military dependents in the Leilehua class list used in the study undoubtedly resulted in an underrepresentation of Haole military dependents.

As Kamehameha was included in the study, the Hawaiians are adequately represented. However, its very inclusion biases the Hawaiian sample towards the more affluent and better educated. A number of schools (specifically Kahuku, Waianae, Molokai, Hana, and Kau) whose enrollments in 1964 were comprised largely of rural and impoverished Hawaiians, were not included in the study.

Filipinos and Portuguese are adequately represented in terms of the schools in the sample. However, persons in both groups (and Hawaiians) were disproportionately likely to be among the estimated 17 percent (see JCGEY, 1964) who dropped out of school prior to their scheduled 1964 graduation. Japanese and Chinese, by contrast, are slightly over-represented. For both groups, the socioeconomic range (from the poor but aspiring at Farrington to the generally well-to-do at Iolani and Mid Pacific) is extensive. Enrollments at both outer island schools are quite representative of the rural plantation areas.

Excluding Punahou and Leilehua, the lists were 75 percent complete. However, the estimated rates of coverage by major ethnic groups are as follows: Japanese, 83 percent; Hawaiian, 81 percent; Portuguese, 80 percent; Chinese, 75 percent; Filipino, 69 percent, and Haole, 56 percent. Excluding the Kamehameha sample, the coverage for Hawaiians was only 70 percent. The figure for Haoles represents an overestimate as there are a large (but undeterminable) number with Haole surnames who are actually "hapa-Haole" (i.e., partly Haole and partly of another race). The enumeration completeness of these part-nonwhites is undoubtedly closer to that of nonwhites than Haoles. The low rate of completeness for Haoles is evidence that large numbers have left the

Islands and that large numbers of the parents have also left and were thus unavailable to account for the location of their children. Furthermore, with the likely exception of Kailua, most were not part of the "in-crowd" in the public schools. Japanese roughly represented the opposite features from those described for the Haoles (especially in terms of activity in "student affairs") and are thus well-counted.

In summary, the school sample is quite representative of all graduates. The groups most underreported appear to be the children of servicemen and well-to-do Haoles, whether Kamaaina or Malihini.

9.4 What Proportion of the 1964 Graduates were Living on the Mainland in 1974?

Even in the absence of a survey, the 1964 class lists are valuable in showing the locations of the graduates. However, the lists are incomplete. Persons most likely to be missing from the lists are Haoles who have moved to the Mainland.

Problems of completeness are least severe for the private schools in the study. Of the private schools, Punahou, Iolani, Mid Pacific and Maryknoll are similar in that they enjoy excellent academic reputations, most of the school parents are well-to-do, graduates in all schools are strongly encouraged by counselors to attend Mainland schools and most graduates do in fact go to the Mainland colleges,[1] and the large

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[1] In 1970, the earliest year for which data are available, 78 and 83 percent of the Iolani and Punahous graduates, respectively, went to college on the Mainland in the fall after graduation. Data are not available for Mid Pacific and Maryknoll, but the percentages are undoubtedly somewhat lower than the figures above. For a comparison of college enrollment trends of the Punahou and Iolani graduates, see Tom Kaser, "Punahou, Iolani Grads Choosing UH," Honolulu Advertiser, May 8, 1974, p. C-11.

majority with Haole surnames are in fact Haole. However, most of the Haole graduates were living on the Mainland in 1974 whereas most of their Japanese and Chinese counterparts were then living in Hawaii.

Table 9.2

Proportion of 1964 Graduates Living on the Mainland in 1974 by Selected Private School

	Haole				Japanese				Chinese			
School	Haw.	Main.	(%)[a]	UK	H.	M.	(%)	UK	H.	M.	(%)	UK
Punahou	113	160	59	17	16	2	11	2	15	7	32	1
Mid Pacific	2	1	33	0	38	15	28	7	7	2	22	1
Iolani	10	17	73	7	31	3	9	6	12	5	29	5
Maryknoll	10	12	55	16	7	3	30	2	19	5	21	4
All Schools	135	190	59	40	88	23	21	11	53	19	26	11
% Missing		11			12					13		

[a]"Unknown" not included in calculation of percentages

Source: See text.

Almost three-fifths of the Haole graduates were living on the Mainland in 1974, whereas the comparable shares for the Chinese and Japanese were about a quarter and a fifth, respectively. Given the fact that a majority of the Chinese and Japanese graduating from the above schools go to Mainland colleges, a very high rate of return, amounting to at least half of the number going to the Mainland, is indicated. As the public use census data suggest that the better educated are most likely to leave to and stay on the Mainland, the actual percentages of Japanese and Chinese graduating from all high schools in 1964 who were on the Mainland in 1974 were almost certainly somewhat below the figures for

the private schools. That Chinese from the 1964 classes were more likely to be on the Mainland in 1974 than their Japanese classmates is supported by evidence from St. Louis High School and the public schools in the sample (see below).

Kamehameha School is unique in that it is racially inclusive of Hawaiians. Addresses of approximately 93 percent of the 1964 graduates were known in 1974. Of this number, 39 persons, representing 16 percent of the graduating class, were on the Mainland in 1974. This is of interest, both because the 1970 public use census tapes suggest that Hawaiians were disproportionately represented among the 1965-70 out-migrants and because in comparison to the public schools Kamehameha sends its graduates to Mainland schools in disproportionate numbers. In the mid-1960s Kamehameha also contributed large numbers to the military, although Hawaiians from other schools also joined the military in large numbers. The author believes that the statewide proportion of Hawaiian high school graduates on the Mainland in 1974 was probably not higher than that of the Kamehameha graduates, This suggests a proportion of about 15 percent.. This is evidence that the 1970 census data that show a high proportion of Hawaiians among the local 1965-70 out-migrants are inaccurate. This undoubtedly results from persons of mixed ancestry being more likely to declare themselves Hawaiians on the Mainland than in Hawaii.

Only 11 percent of the St. Louis 1964 graduates whose addresses could be located (less than 10 percent were missing) were on the Mainland. That most of the missing persons in the class list have Haole surnames is negative evidence that many Haoles have gone to the Mainland

and subsequently been lost to the school records. It is difficult to account for the exceptionally low proportion of St. Louis graduates on the Mainland.

Locations of approximately 28 percent of the 1964 public high school graduates were unknown. Of those whose locations were known, 14 percent were on the Mainland. Only 11 percent of the well enumerated (20 percent missing) Japanese were on the Mainland. Among the Chinese (34 percent missing), Hawaiians (32 percent missing), Filipinos (33 percent missing), Portuguese (22 percent missing), and Haoles (48 percent missing), the shares on the Mainland were 17, eight, 13, 17, and 26 percent, respectively. Most of the 1964 Kailua graduates with Haole names were of unmixed ancestry. Addresses of five-ninths of persons with Haole surnames at Kailua were unknown and, of the remainder, a third were on the Mainland.

The two outer island school lists are of special interest because of their completeness (both over 90 percent complete). Of persons with known addresses, 26 and 20 percent of the Maui and Kapaa graduates, respectively, were on the Mainland. Taking both schools together, slightly more (26 percent) were on Oahu than on the Mainland (23 percent).[2] Half of the graduates were lost to the outer islands, but the proportionate loss was undoubtedly much greater for the graduating

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[2]The class lists support evidence presented elsewhere that the Portuguese are remarkably attached to the outer islands. Overall, slightly over a third of the outer island graduates in the sample were on Oahu in 1974. Among the Japanese and Chinese, however, the proportion was nearly half. In contrast, less than a quarter of the Portuguese graduates were on Oahu.

By contrast, few of the 1964 Oahu graduates in the sample were living on the outer islands.

classes during the 1950s. On the basis of the census 1955-60 outmigration data, which show similar rates of nonwhite outmigration from the outer islands and Oahu, the author suspects that the proportion of public school graduates who were on the Mainland in 1974 was similar for the outer islands and Oahu. Although the sample size (13) is miniscule, the fact that more than half of those with Haole surnames were on the Mainland again is evidence of a high rate of Haole outmigration.

Based on the evidence from the class lists, the author guesses that approximately a quarter of the 1964 high school graduates in the state were residing on the Mainland in 1974. However, the loss among Haoles was at least half of the total. Among all other groups the average loss was perhaps 20 percent with the individual losses as follows: Chinese, 25 percent; 20 percent each among Filipinos and Portuguese, between 15 and 20 percent of Japanese, and about 15 percent of Hawaiians. These estimates, however, are subject to a considerable margin of error.

9.5 Location of the 1964 Graduates on the Mainland

The most accurate records of the 1974 locations of the 1964 graduates are from the private schools. Figure 9.1, which portrays the 1974 location of 1964 private high school graduates with Haole surnames, largely reflects the Punahou Mainland contingent, but the distributional patterns of the Punahou and other Haole graduates are similar. Evident in Figure 9.1 is a relatively low concentration (about a third) in California, a not inconsiderable presence in Oregon and Washington (close to a tenth of the total) and a notable concentration (more than a tenth) in the Washington, D.C. area, which encompasses the district

Figure 9.1 Distribution of Haole 1964 Private High School Graduates Living on the Mainland, 1974

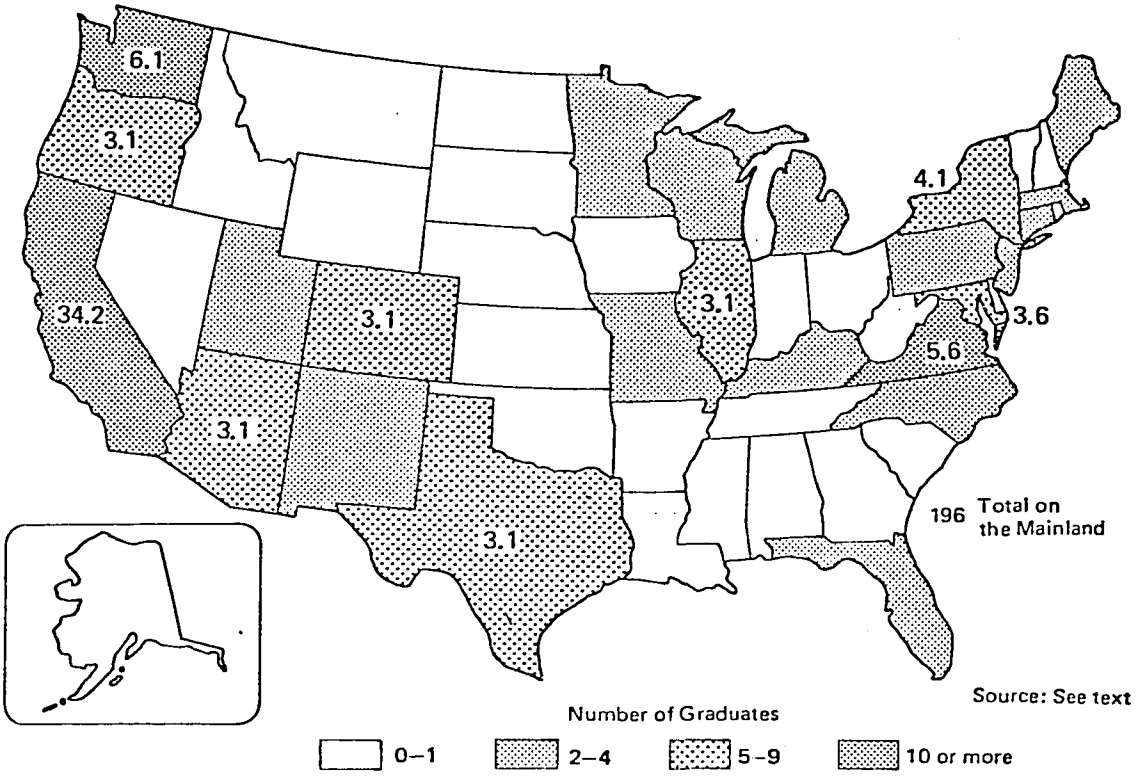
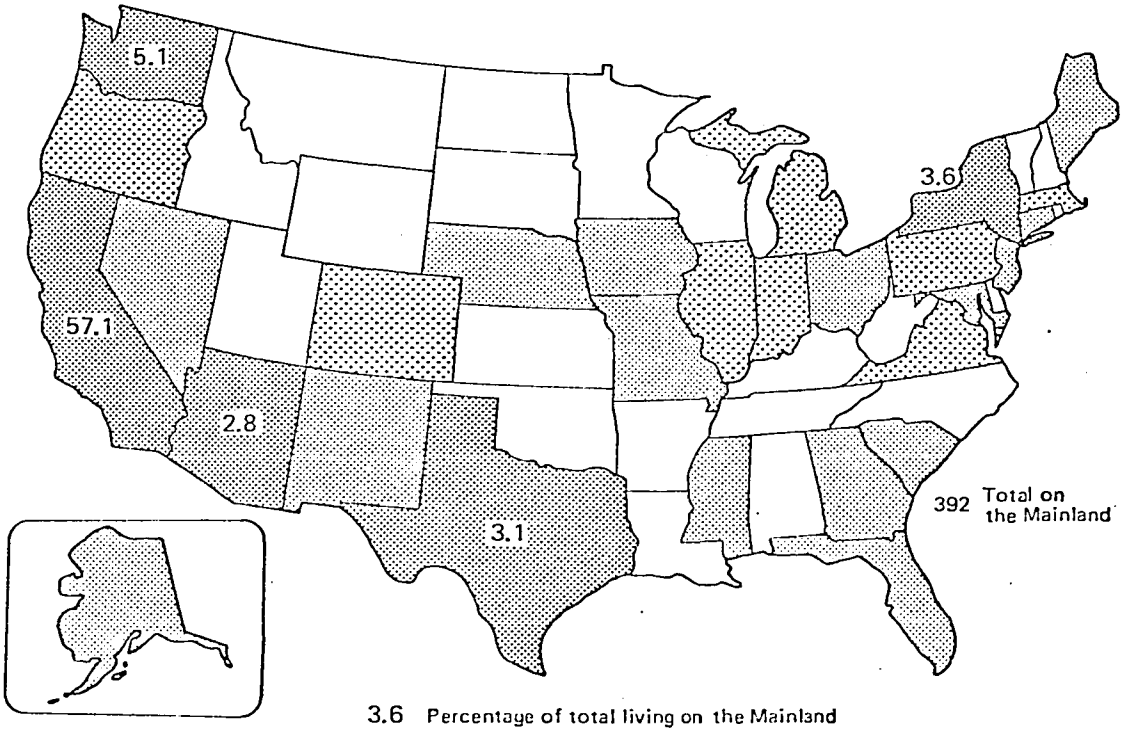


Figure 9.2 Distribution of Graduates from all High Schools in the Sample Living on the Mainland, 1974*



*Punahou High School excluded as graduates were not part of questionnaire sample

Source: See text

and adjoining areas in Maryland and Virginia. This distribution is similar to that portrayed by the census data on all 1965-70 outmigrants. Notable is the relatively low number in the Northeast despite the large number of Punahou graduates attending prestigious Ivy League colleges. Obviously, many have left the Northeast after graduation.

By contrast, exactly half of the 52 Chinese and Japanese private high school graduates were in California in 1974. With the exception of New York, which contained seven, no more than two of the graduates were to be found in any other state. Five of the seven in New York were residing in "The Big Apple." (In contrast, virtually none of the Oriental public high school graduates gravitated to the New York City area.) The continuing attraction of New York City for persons with specialized talents will be elaborated in the following chapter.

Of the 36 1964 Kamehameha graduates living on the Mainland in 1974, only 10 resided in California. An additional six were in Oregon or Washington and the rest were scattered across the rest of the Mainland. This distribution is strikingly similar to the 1965-70 outmigration patterns suggested for Hawaiians by the public use sample. At least four of the graduates living in non-west coast areas were at military locations.

Concentrations of all ethnic groups in California were much higher among public than private school graduates. Considering the fact that a large share of the private school graduates attend colleges outside Hawaii, this is to be expected. Figure 9.2 portrays the Mainland distribution of all except Punahou high school graduates. Almost

three-fifths of the sample are in California and another twelfth reside in the northwestern states. In non-west coast areas, the distribution appears to have a rough correspondence with that which would be predicted by a gravity model, although there is marked underrepresentation in the plains and deep south states. A comparably large number are in Virginia; by contrast, few are in Pennsylvania. The decline in the attractiveness of Illinois from that which existed in the late 1940s and early 1950s is evident. In short, the patterns are similar to those of the non-white Hawaii-born population on the Mainland in 1970, although the proportion is lower in California and is higher in the northwest in the study sample.

There do appear to be distributional differences by ethnicity (again assigned on the basis of surname) in the Mainland distribution (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3

Estimated Distribution of 1964 Graduates on the Mainland in 1974 by Ethnic Group (Punahou Excluded)

Group	Number (%) In California	Number (%) In Northwest[a]	Number (%) Elsewhere	N
Japanese	75 (61.5)	10 (8.2)	37 (30.3)	122
Haole	64 (55.2)	5 (4.3)	47 (40.5)	116
Chinese	28 (60.9)	3 (6.5)	15 (34.8)	46
Hawaiian	15 (35.7)	6 (14.3)	21 (50.0)	42
Portuguese	24 (66.7)	3 (8.3)	9 (25.0)	36
Filipino	14 (51.9)	3 (11.1)	10 (37.0)	27
Total[b]	224 (57.1)	30 (7.6)	140 (35.7)	392

[a]Oregon, Washington, and Alaska
[b]Including four Koreans and one Samoan

Source: See text.

Among the sample, Portuguese appeared to be the most concentrated in California and on the west coast. Hawaiians, by contrast, are the most dispersed, although the heavy influence of the Kamehameha graduates may be creating a misleading distribution concerning the distribution of all Hawaiians. The extent ot which this is true will be addressed in the section on the characteristics of persons answering the questionnaire. Compared to the average of the other groups, Japanese and Chinese are slightly overrepresented in California.

Outside of California, there are two cities that attracted more than a miniscule number of the outmigrants, namely New York City and Seattle with eight outmigrants each. Next in attractive power were Portland, Oregon and Chicago with four persons each. Excepting these cities there was no single area attracting a large number of outmigrants. In general, the migrants tended to be in the large cities and their suburbs.

In the preceding chapter it was determined that the Hawaii-born of different ethnic groups in the past have tended to be attracted to different areas in California. Table 9.4 shows to what extent this is true of the 1964 graduates on the Mainland.

From Table 9.4 it is evident that whereas the city of Los Angeles attracted somewhat fewer than its proportionate share of migrants, the opposite was true for the city of San Francisco. Los Angeles County as a whole (i.e., including the city and balance of the county) attracted almost precisely the proportion of California migrants that its share of the California population represented. The metropolitan area surrounding San Francisco attracted a share of the migrants that was well

Table 9.4

Estimated Distribution of 1964 High School Graduates in California in 1974 by Area and Ethnic Group

Area	% of Calif. Residents Living in Area							% of Calif.
	Jap.	Hao.	Chi.	Por.	Haw.	Fil.	All	Pop. in 1970
Los Angeles City	15	9	18	8	0	0	11	14.1
San Francisco	12	6	18	8	13	0	10	3.8
Other L.A. County	43	14	14	21	13	36	26	21.1
Other S.F. Met. Area[a]	16	31	39	38	53	36	29	17.1
Orange County	3	5	4	4	0	7	4	7.0
San Diego County	4	13	0	4	13	0	6	6.8
Other California	9	22	7	17	7	21	13	30.1
Total Number	75	64	28	24	15	14	224	100.0

[a]Including Marin, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Alameda, and Contra Costa counties.

Source: See text.

in excess of its share of the state population. By contrast, the out-migrants are underrepresented in the balance of the state. There seems to be a reluctance, especially among nonwhites, to move to places far away from the coastal metropolitan areas. This is supported by the distribution of the Hawaii-born in 1970 as shown by the public use sample (Chapter VIII).

There are, however, marked distributional differences by ethnic group. Nearly half of the Japanese are located in that part of Los Angeles County that is not covered by the city. In 1974, more were living in Gardena (12) than the city of Los Angeles (11). Gardena, which has a population of approximately 50,000, has served as a magnet for Hawaii-born Japanese since World War II.[3] By contrast, the Los Angeles

[3]Its rise and recent decline as a residence for migrants of Japanese ancestry is chronicled in Appendix F.

suburbs do not attract large numbers in other groups. Chinese are especially attracted to the San Francisco metropolitan area, but it is of note that none are to be found in San Francisco's Chinatown.

The fact that two cities in 1974 contained very few of the graduates is notable in itself. Oakland and Long Beach each contain about half the population size of San Francisco, but whereas San Francisco was home to 26 in the sample, three were in Oakland and only one lived in Long Beach. Prior to World War II, Oakland attracted many Portuguese from Hawaii, but it has experienced a relative economic decline since World War II. Furthermore, its racial composition has become increasingly black and there is no evidence that the average Hawaii outmigrant is more tolerant of living among large concentrations of blacks than is the average nonblack American. Long Beach is often called, not without justification, "the Newark of the west coast." It appears to be consciously avoided by the Hawaii outmigrants.[4]

There is nothing more to be learned from the class lists themselves. In the following section, the questionnaire survey procedures will be discussed.

9.6 Design and Administration of the Questionnaire Survey

A questionnaire was designed to address the following questions:

1. What are the demographic characteristics of persons who never lived on the Mainland after completing high school, as compared to those who went to the Mainland and subsequently returned, and others still on the Mainland?

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[4]Recently, Hawaii-born Japanese have been moving out of Gardena into surrounding areas. Adjacent Long Beach has been completely avoided. Many of the persons moving out of Gardena, however, have moved to the area immediately to the east of Long Beach. See Appendix F for more details.

2. Why were decisions (or nondecisions) on whether to move to the Mainland made?

3. Why were specific locations on the Mainland picked?

4. Why did the returnees decide to return?

5. How do the three groups defined in (1) perceive Hawaii as a place to live?

6. What are the perceptions of the three groups concerning changes taking place in Hawaii? Do these perceptions give clues as to whether the extent of the outmigration will change in the future?

7. Who is willing to be personally interviewed?

In June 1975, the questionnaire was sent to 400 persons of whom a quarter were graduates of outer island high schools. Half of the questionnaires went to persons with Mainland addresses. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a cover letter explaining the purpose of the questionnaire and a statement by Senator Daniel Inouye urging the respondent to complete and return the questionnaire. Copies of the questionnaire and cover materials are contained in Appendix E.

The sample was selected in such a way that each school was proportionately represented.[5] If a mailed questionnaire was not returned within two weeks, another questionnaire was sent. If the questionnaire packet was returned because the address was unknown, another person was chosen from the same school to receive a questionnaire. No further attempt to mail another complete questionnaire was made if the respondent did not respond to the second mailed questionnaire or if the

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[5]On Oahu this meant selecting every 13.5th person with a Hawaii address and every 2.3rd person with a Mainland address. Virtually all graduates from the outer island schools who lived on the Mainland received questionnaires as did every 3.5th person still in Hawaii.

address was also unknown for the replacement of the first "address unknown." A short questionnaire was sent to persons still in Hawaii who did not respond to the long questionnaire. Its purpose was to pinpoint possible biases in the types of persons answering the long questionnaire.

Eighteen of the questionnaires mailed to Mainland addresses could not be delivered. Of the remaining 182 mailed questionnaires, 118 usable questionnaires were completed and returned. Considering the fact that the questionnaire was 20 pages long, the author believes that the return rate of 64.8 percent is excellent and a matter for self-congratulation.[6] However, of the 192 questionnaires sent to Hawaii residents and presumably received, 87, or 45.3 percent were completed and returned. Needless to say, this return rate brought forth no gloating on the author's part. Of the 87 received, 49 were from persons who after high school had gone at least once to the Mainland either with the intention or the actual fact of staying at least six months there. If it is assumed that 60 percent of the returnees actually returned the questionnaire (the rate for Mainland residents), there were 80, or approximately 40 percent of the Hawaii resident sample who lived on the Mainland for at least six months after graduating from high school. On this basis it is estimated that more than half and possibly as many as 60 percent of the high school graduates who went to the Mainland after graduation returned to Hawaii by 1975.[7]

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[6]However, the very high return rate is actually a tribute to the aloha spirit and kokua that exists in the Hawaii population as well as the subject being of strong personal interest for most.

[7]The 60 percent completion rate is assumed as it is comparable to the percentage of Mainland residents returning the questionnaire. If

Characteristics of the sample by migration status are shown in Table 9.5.

A study of Table 9.5 reveals some marked differences among the three groups defined by migration status. Whereas the sex ratios of the returnees and Mainland residents approach the norm, more than three quarters of the nonmigrants were female. Japanese comprise more than three-fifths of the nonmigrants, a near majority of the returnees, and under a third of migrants still on the Mainland. The numerically much smaller Portuguese group demonstrates the same pattern by migration group. By contrast, Haoles, those of mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry to a somewhat lesser extent, and Chinese to a considerably lesser extent, are overrepresented in the Mainland group and underrepresented among those who never left. Only the Hawaiians are proportionately represented in all three groups. Filipinos, who comprise more than 10 percent of Hawaii's population, are almost nonexistent in the sample.

In terms of a number of measures of "rootedness in Hawaii," the nonmigrant group appears to be especially rooted (9.5B). All were born in Hawaii and also had at least one parent born in Hawaii; eleven-twelfths had both parents born in Hawaii. Although the Mainland group for the most part had local antecedents, less than three-fifths had both Hawaii-born parents. Returnees, in terms of these characteristics, fall roughly between the two other groups. The large majority in all groups characterized childhood family ties as moderately or very strong.

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this assumption is accepted and it is further assumed that 25 percent of the graduates are presently on the Mainland, it can be mathematically computed that the return rate was 55 percent.

Table 9.5

Characteristics of Persons Returning the Questionnaire
By Migration Status

A. Number, Sex and Racial Distribution

	Never Left	Returnnee	Mainland
Number	39	48	118
% Male	23	44	52
Race (%)			
Japanese	24 (62)	23 (48)	37 (32)
Haole	0 (0)	4 (8)	24 (20)
Hawaiian	6 (15)	9 (19)	24 (20)
Chinese	2 (5)	3 (6)	12 (10)
Filipino	0 (0)	3 (6)	2 (2)
Portuguese	6 (15)	2 (4)	4 (3)
Korean	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)
Mixed-Non-Hawaiian	1 (0)	4 (8)	14 (12)

B. Family Background

% born in Hawaii	100	92	85
% born on outer islands	10	31	20
% with father who worked in professional or administrative jobs	8	24	24
% with father in military career	3	6	14
% with Hawaii-born parents			
Neither Hawaii-born	0	12	21
One Hawaii-born	8	15	24
Both Hawaii-born	92	73	55
% citing family ties in childhood were unhappy or weak	5	2	15

C. Present Family Status

% Ever married	85	81	81
% Presently married	80	77	77
Average number of children	1	1	1
% with siblings on Mainland	23	39	63

Table 9.5 (continued) Characteristics of Persons Returning the Questionnaire by Migration Status

D. Occupation and Earnings

	Never Left		Returnee		Mainland	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Occupation						
Professional	22	29	33	45	51	45
Managerial	22	0	11	0	16	5
Sales & Clerical	22	62	6	50	14	32
Blue Collar	11	5	39	0	12	3
Service	22	5	6	5	6	13
Unemployed	0	0	6	0	2	3
% of females whose husbands are prof. or adm.		25		52		51
% of females whose husbands are in military		0		14		16
Labor Force Rate--females		68		74		70
% of males in military	0		5		10	
Median earnings in 1974	12,000	9,000	12,000	7,900	14,500	9,100
Median earnings of spouse where applicable	*	11,400	7,000	13,800	6,500	13,300

E. Education and Home Ownership

Median education (years)	14	16	16
Mean education (years)	14	15	15
% living in single family home	72	75	68
% owning residence	62	33	59

*Too few in sample to be meaningful

Source: See text.

However, a seventh of the Mainland group, but only miniscule shares of the nonmigrant and returnee groups characterized childhood family ties as weak or unhappy. These findings on the relationship of migration to attachment to place and family coincide with those of Taylor (1967).

Nearly a seventh of the Mainland residents, but only one in the never-left group had a father who engaged in a military career (again, Table 9.5B). Only a twelfth of the nonmigrants, but almost a quarter of the migrants had fathers in professional or managerial occupations. This suggests a link between socioeconomic status of the parents and chances of migration. Nevertheless, upward mobility (as measured by one's occupation compared with the occupation of the father) in all groups is striking.

In terms of present family structure, the three groups were almost identical (Table 9.5C). About four-fifths in all groups were married and the average number of children per respondent in all groups was one. Less than a quarter of the nonmigrants, but more than three-fifths of the Mainland residents had one or more siblings living on the Mainland. This suggests a linkage between siblings in migration decisions. To what degree this is the case will be examined in the following two chapters.

In terms of education (Table 9.5E), both the Mainland and Returnee groups tended to be considerably better educated than those who had never left Hawaii. Only a quarter of the nonmigrants, but fully half of the returnees and Mainland residents had at least four years of college.

As is to be expected from the educational levels, high proportions of both males and females in the Mainland and returnee groups are in

professional or managerial occupations (Table 9.5D). There are not enough males in the nonmigrant group to generalize overall occupational characteristics, but the fact that only a quarter of the husbands of nonmigrant females, but more than half of the husbands of returnee and Mainland females hold professional or managerial occupations, suggests a substantial occupational differential between nonmigrant and migrant males.

Median incomes of both males and females are highest among the Mainland residents (also Table 9.5D). Returnees have been far less successful at transforming generally high educational and occupational levels into cold cash. Their incomes are not markedly above those of the nonmigrants, although the husbands of the female returnees are characterized by a median income level that is 20 percent above that of husbands of nonmigrant females. The rather low median income of the wives of the migrant males derives from the fact that a substantial (but undetermined) proportion of the Haole wives (even those married to non-Haole migrants) held only part-time jobs. In general, especially considering the cost differential between Hawaii and the Mainland, the Mainland residents appear to be doing better financially than either the returnees or nonmigrants.

A chief component of the cost of living differential between Hawaii and the Mainland is housing costs. The author has suggested earlier that one important motivation in leaving Hawaii is to obtain adequate housing at reasonable prices. In this regard, it is of interest that the proportion of nonmigrants and returnees living in single family housing is almost 75 percent and is slightly higher than that of the Mainland

residents. Three-fifths of both the nonmigrants and Mainland residents own their residences, a figure that is close to the national average.[8] This reinforces the argument made in Chapter III that the local population has made considerable adaptations to cope with housing prices. In terms of owning housing, the really luckless group is the returnees. It is the author's belief that while many of the returnees were still on the Mainland, their classmates who stayed in Hawaii bought their homes. The annual rate of inflation in the Hawaii housing market hit double figures after 1968 and those who have returned to Hawaii after 1970 have faced particularly severe obstacles in purchasing housing.

9.7 How Representative are the Three Groups in the Sample?

Possible biases in the original class lists were discussed in Section 9.4. Of the 64 on the Mainland who did not answer the questionnaire, 36 were female. A rough idea of the bias by ethnicity is provided by Table 9.6.

With the exception of the Filipinos, all groups in the original classification were characterized by a response rate in the neighborhood of two-thirds. On the basis of all questionnaires received from Filipinos completing the questionnaire, the author suspects that language problems discouraged some Filipinos from completing the questionnaire. Had Filipinos been included in their proportionate numbers, overall educational and occupation levels of the Mainland sample would probably have been indicated to be somewhat lower.

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[8]However, a number of the homeowners in Hawaii specified that their house was on leasehold property.

Table 9.6

Estimated Response Rates by Ethnicity of Mainland Residents Receiving Questionnaires

Ethnic Group	(1) # in original classification	(2) # (& %) in (1) who returned questionnaire	(3) # returning by self-classification
Japanese	58	37 (64)	37
Haole	55	39 (71)	24
Hawaiian	20	15 (72)	24
Chinese	18	13 (72)	12
Filipino	21	7 (33)	2
Portuguese	9	6 (67)	4
Korean	1	1 (100)	1
Mixed	-	-	14
Total	182	118 (65)	118

Source: See text.

A comparison of the returned questionnaires by preassigned ethnicity and self-identification is instructive (column 1 vs. column 3 in Table 9.6). Because Japanese males did not intermarry in large numbers prior to the 1950s and Japanese surnames are distinctive, it was virtually impossible to misclassify by Japanese surname. In contrast, nearly two-fifths of respondents with Haole surnames actually had a mixed Oriental or Hawaiian heritage. The Hawaii Department of Health procedure of classifying anyone of mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry as mixed was followed in the questionnaire and its weaknesses in adequately classifying Filipinos is demonstrated in this study. At least two of the five persons with Filipino surnames who were reclassified as mixed non-Hawaiian were culturally Filipino, as determined in subsequent interviews.[9]

[9] This problem results from the extensive intermarriage of unmixed Filipinos with Chinese and Spanish in the Philippines. The offspring are almost always culturally Filipino.

Biases in the sample residing in Hawaii are undoubtedly more serious. The most obvious bias is that females were much more likely than males to return the questionnaire. Of 95 females in Hawaii who received the questionnaire, 57, or 60 percent returned it. By contrast, only 30, or 31 percent of the males receiving the questionnaire returned it. Whereas most males on the Mainland were sufficiently motivated by the subject matter to complete the questionnaire, many in Hawaii obviously felt they did not want to answer or were too busy to be bothered with the questionnaire. An estimate of the completion rate by ethnicity is shown in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7

Estimated Completion Rates by Ethnicity of the Hawaii Residents (including returnees and nonmigrants) Receiving Questionnaires

Ethnic Group	(1) # in original classification	(2) # (& %) in (1) who returned questionnaire	(3) # returning by self-classification
Japanese	89	46 (52)	47
Haole	19	5 (26)	4
Hawaiian	23	9 (32)	15
Chinese	15	8 (53)	5
Filipino	27	9 (33)	3
Portuguese	19	10 (53)	8
Mixed	-	-	5
Total	192	87 (45)	87

Slightly over half of the persons with Oriental and Portuguese surnames returned the questionnaire. In contrast, the response rates of Hawaiians, Filipinos, and especially Haoles were dismal. The author suspects that whereas the cover letter by Senator Inouye increased the

response rate among Japanese, it helped considerably less among other groups and may have been a hindrance in obtaining responses from Hawaiians and Haoles.

From the data in Table 9.7, it is impossible to determine the relative degree of bias among the returnees and nonmigrants. As females generally do not serve in the armed forces, they almost certainly predominate (although not by the lopsided margin implied in the sample) among the nonmigrants. However, the 1970 census data on returnees shows a marked predominance of males. It is believed here that this was true of the sample as well.

Short questionnaires inquiring about migration status were sent to all Hawaii residents not responding to the long questionnaire. Eight of ten returnees returning the short questionnaire were male. An equal number had four years or more of college training. If the better-educated returnees answered the long questionnaire in disproportionate numbers, it is not shown by the completed short questionnaires. Five of the returnees were Japanese; as compared to three Hawaiians and two of mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry. All returnees were born in Hawaii.

Only five of the fourteen nonmigrants returning the short questionnaire were male. By ethnicity, the breakdown was six Japanese, three Hawaiians, two mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry and one each Chinese, Portuguese, and Haole. The single Haole was Mainland born; the remainder were born in Hawaii. Six did not attend college and three attended college for only one year; by contrast, only three completed four or more years of college. If this is an accurate portrayal of the nonmigrants in terms of education, the educational gap between them and the migrants is large.

In summary, with the exception of the underrepresentation of Filipinos, the Mainland sample is believed to be a fairly accurate cross section of persons on the class lists who were on the Mainland in 1975. In contrast, the sex and ethnic bias in the Hawaii group is substantial. In terms of educational and socioeconomic levels, however, the returnee and nonmigrant samples are considered by the author to be fairly representative of their unselected counterparts from the class lists.

9.8 Where do the Siblings of the Respondents Live?

Respondents were asked the sex, age, education, and present location of their siblings. From information contained in other parts of the questionnaire it could be determined whether each sibling was born in Hawaii. This limited amount of information on the siblings yielded a substantial amount of information on migration patterns.

One interesting finding not directly related to migration was that whereas 205 respondents in the sample had 552 siblings for an average of 2.7, by ethnic group the averages were as follows: Hawaiian, 4.7; Filipino, 3.8; Portuguese, 3.1; Chinese, 2.6; Japanese, 2.4; mixed, 1.9; and Haole, 1.3. These marked differences in family size by ethnicity (which persist today in Hawaii) help explain why the part-Hawaiian group is expanding so rapidly and the failure of the Haoles to become a majority in spite of continued inmigration. If the average number of children per respondent is any indication, average completed family size of the sample will be much smaller than the average of the families they grew up in.

A total of 172, or 31 percent of the siblings were living on the Mainland (163) or foreign countries (9). Table 9.8 contains a detailed comparison of the siblings on the Mainland and in Hawaii.

Among the Hawaii-born siblings there is virtually no difference by sex in the proportion on the Mainland (9.8A). Among the non-Hawaii-born there is a marked predominance of females on the Mainland, but the sample size is too small to determine whether this is only an artifact of the data.

Noteworthy is the fact that less than three-tenths of the Hawaii-born, approximately half of those non-Hawaii-born who grew up in civilian families, and nearly all of the non-Hawaii-born who were raised in military families in Hawaii no longer resided in Hawaii by 1975.

More than three-fifths of the Mainland residents, compared with two-fifths of the returnees and less than a quarter of the nonmigrants had siblings who lived on the Mainland (9.8B). Two-fifths of the siblings of the Mainland residents but less than a fifth of the siblings of returnees and nonmigrants were on the Mainland. Even when the non-Hawaii-born siblings are excluded, the proportion of siblings of Mainland residents who were on the Mainland was double the rates for the siblings of the other two groups. Thus, it appears that the probability of migrating to the Mainland and staying there is enhanced if another member of the family has previously migrated.

Among the Hawaii-born (who include virtually all the non-Haole siblings), approximately a quarter of the Japanese and Hawaiian siblings were on the Mainland (Table 9.8C). The relatively low rate

Table 9.8

Characteristics of the Siblings of the Sample

A. By Sex

	Male	Female	Total	N. in Sample
% on Mainland--All	31	32	32	552
% of Hawaii-born on Mainland	29	29	29	513
% on Mainland--non-Hawaii-born	53	68	64	39
(Born in mil family)[a]	(100)	(82)	(88)	(17)
(Born in civ family)[b]	(27)	(65)	(46)	(22)

B. By Status of Respondent

	Nonmigrant	Returnee	Mainland	Total	n.
% with siblings on Mainland	23	39	63	50	205
% of siblings on Mainland	18	19	40	32	552
% of Haw.-born siblings on Mainland	18	18	37	29	513

C. Percent of Hawaii-born on Mainland by Ethnicity

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total	N
Japanese	28	25	27	194
Haole	30	78	52	19
Hawaiian	28	22	25	162
Chinese	36	32	34	44
Portuguese	29	45	38	37
Filipino	46	43	44	18
Mixed	21	19	20	35
Total[c]	29	28	29	513

Table 9.8 (continued) Characteristics of the Siblings of the Sample

D. Percent of Hawaii-born on Mainland by Age

Age	Male	Female	Total	N
18-19	10	28	18	28
20-24	15	23	19	109
25-29	30	30	30	129
30-34	39	33	36	148
35+	34	26	30	90
Age UK	0	0	0	9
Total	29	28	29	513

E. Percent of Hawaii-born on Mainland by Years of Schooling Completed

Years Completed	Male	Female	Total	N
12 years or less	21	21	21	269
13-15 years	35	31	32	108
16+	42	39	40	136

F. Mean Years of Schooling Completed by Residence--Age 25+

	Hawaii	Mainland	N
Total	13.3	14.0*	395
Male	13.4	14.1**	212
Female	13.2	13.9**	183
Age			
25-29	13.7	14.6**	146
30-34	13.2	14.1**	158
35+	12.5	12.7	91
Ethnicity			
Japanese	14.0	15.1**	143
Hawaiian	12.2	13.1**	115
Chinese	14.6	15.6*	36
Portuguese	12.1	11.9	30
Haole	15.4	14.5	29
Siblings of			
Never left	12.9	13.9**	67
Returnee	13.0	14.1**	102
Mainland	13.7	14.1**	226

[a]All Haoles in sample; [b]Including 14 Haoles; [c]Including four Koreans
**Significant at .01 level
*Significant at .05 level

for the Hawaiians is strong evidence that the 1970 census data showing a higher proportion of Hawaiians than other Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland is erroneous.[10] Sample sizes of the other groups are much smaller, but it does appear that Portuguese and especially Haoles (more than half of whom were on the Mainland) are much more likely than nonwhites to become Mainland residents. Of the 50 siblings of all Haole respondents (including 31 born on the Mainland), only 38 percent were still in Hawaii. This heavy outmigration to the Mainland, combined with a low birth rate and immigration from Asian and Pacific countries, has kept Haoles a minority in Hawaii.

Table 9.8D shows the proportion of Hawaii-born siblings on the Mainland by age. The local outmigration from Hawaii became substantial in the early 1950s and the 1970 census data for the nonwhite Hawaii-born show proportions on the Mainland ranging between 25 and 30 percent for age groups 20-24 to 35-39. Percentages on the Mainland among persons aged 25 to 44 (only one percent in the sample were age 45 and above) are somewhat higher than the census data just alluded to for the following two reasons: siblings of Mainland residents are overrepresented, and Hawaii-born Portuguese and Caucasians are included in the table. Otherwise, the pattern of the 25 to 44 age group in the sample is similar to the 20 to 39 age group portrayed in the census data collected five years earlier (Section 4.8).

However, whereas according to the census the proportion of nonwhites on the Mainland in 1970 was highest in the 20-24 age cohort (27.8

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[10]This results, of course, from problems involved in classifying persons of mixed ancestry.

percent vs. 27.0 percent in the 25-29 age group), the Mainland proportion in the sibling sample aged 20-24 is considerably less than in the 25-29 cohort. Furthermore, whereas 30 percent of the males and 24 percent of the females aged 20-24 were on the Mainland in 1976, in the study sample more females than males in this age group were on the Mainland. The author believes that not only has the outmigration of young Hawaii adults dropped in recent years, but the outmigration stream no longer contains a dominance of males. A major factor in both changing trends has been the establishment of the volunteer military and the subsequent drop in recruitment. Another reason is that the proportion of Hawaii high school graduates who attend college is no longer increasing and an increasing proportion is staying in Hawaii for higher education (see Section 4.11).

Parts E and F in Table 9.8 support the public use census data that show generally high educational levels among the Hawaii-born outmigrants. A fifth of the Hawaii-born siblings with a high school education or less, compared to two-fifths of those with four or more years of college are on the Mainland. Differences in mean educational levels are consistent up to age 35 and among all ethnic groups except the Portuguese and Haoles. Siblings living in non-west coast areas had much higher average educational levels (14.6 vs. 13.7 years) than those on the west coast.

It is traditional in Japanese society for first born males to assume major responsibilities for the parents. To see whether this affects the probability of migration to the Mainland, the relationship between the probability of living on the Mainland and the status of being first born, first born male, first born female, or none of the

above was tested for the Japanese population. No significant relationships were found. Indeed, for both the Japanese and the entire sample there was no statistically significant relationship between birth order and the probability of living on the Mainland.

Mainland locations of the siblings by ethnicity, place of birth, and age are portrayed in Table 9.9. Although sample sizes are small, the locations of the nonwhite Hawaii-born ethnic groups (Table 9.9A) conform closely to those indicated by the public use census tapes. For example, more than two-thirds of the siblings of the Japanese and Chinese respondents, but less than half the Hawaiians are in California. The high proportion of Hawaii-born Haoles in the northwest reflects their generally youthful age and attendance at Oregon colleges. The relatively low proportion of non-Hawaii-born siblings on the west coast conforms to the 1965-70 outmigration data on Caucasians. Five siblings from three military families were in Virginia, a reflection of the military link between Hawaii and Virginia.

Table 9.9, which shows the location of the Hawaii-born by age, offers confirmation of the public use census data that showed a shift away from the earlier California dominance of the nonwhite outmigration stream. Of the 100 Hawaii-born respondents on the Mainland, 62 were in California, seven in the northwest (six Washington and one Alaska), 27 in non-west coast areas of the U.S., and four at military stations abroad. This distribution is roughly intermediate between that shown for the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups in Table 9.9B. A shift to the northwest is especially evident for the 18-24 age group. It is noteworthy that none in the questionnaire sample were in Oregon; it serves primarily

Table 9.9

Location of the Siblings on the Mainland by Area

A. By Ethnicity and Place of Birth

Ethnic Group	No. and (%) in California	Oregon or Washington	Other U.S.	Total	No. Foreign
		HAWAII-BORN			
Japanese	25 (70)	5 (8)	10 (20)	50	2
Hawaiian	17 (47)	3 (8)	16 (44)	36	4
Chinese	9 (69)	2 (15)	2 (15)	13	2
Haole	2 (20)	4 (40)	4 (40)	10	0
Filipino	6 (75)	1 (13)	1 (13)	8	0
Portuguese	8 (57)	3 (21)	3 (21)	14	0
Mixed	6 (86)	1 (14)	0	7	0
Total--all	83 (60)	19 (14)	37 (27)[a]	139	8
Nonwhite	72 (63)	12 (10)	30 (26)	115	8
		NON-HAWAII-BORN			
Haole	6 (29)	0	15 (71)	21	1
Other	1 (33)	1 (33)	1 (33)	3	0
Total--all	7 (32)	1 (4)	16 (64)	24	1
		ALL PERSONS			
Total	90 (55)	20 (12)	53 (33)	163	9

B. Location of Hawaii-born Siblings by Age

Age					
18-24	11 (44)	10 (40)	4 (16)	25	2
25-29	15 (44)	4 (12)	15 (44)	34	5
30-34	36 (68)	1 (2)	16 (30)	53	1
35+	21 (78)	4 (15)	2 (7)	27	0

[a]Including one Korean

Source: See text.

as a place of schooling rather than a place of employment for the Hawaii-born. Although it is dangerous to generalize too greatly from the small sample, the indicated low percentage of persons under age 25 in non-west coast areas may well reflect a decline in the proportion of young Hawaii-born migrants who are initially moving beyond the west coast. If true, this can at least in part be attributed to the decline in the number of persons entering military service.

In summary, much worthwhile information was extracted from the records of the siblings of the questionnaire sample. In general, they provide confirmation of the findings derived from the public use census tapes.

9.9 Summary

Overall, the schools in the sample appear to be fairly representative, although upper-class Haoles, military dependents, and lower-class Hawaiians appear to be underrepresented. The class lists show the proportion on the Mainland to be higher both among private than public school graduates and among whites than nonwhites. Overall, about a quarter of the 1964 high school graduates were indicated to be living on the Mainland in 1975. Most of the outmigrants were shown by the lists to be living in California although the different ethnic groups tended to reside in different areas in California.

Approximately two-thirds and four-ninths of Mainland and Hawaii residents, respectively, completed and returned the mailed questionnaires. Mainland residents and returnees were characterized by considerably higher levels of education than the nonmigrants. The Mainland residents were also characterized by higher occupational and income

levels than either the returnees or the nonmigrants. Mainland residents returning the questionnaire appear to be representative of all permanent outmigrants; in contrast, those returnees and especially nonmigrants returning it were disproportionately Oriental and female.

An examination of the location of siblings of those returning the questionnaire showed the proportion living on the Mainland to be highest among the Mainland residents. It also suggested that the rate of permanent outmigration to the Mainland has dropped in recent years. In terms of Mainland locations, differences indicated for the various ethnic groups are identical to those shown in the 1970 census. That the outmigrants are drawn disproportionately from the better educated is also confirmed.

In the following chapter, questionnaire findings pertaining to migrant and nonmigrant motivations, and assessments of plans and past decisions will be presented.

CHAPTER X

REASONS GIVEN FOR MOVING TO THE MAINLAND OR STAYING IN HAWAII AND WHY THE INITIAL DESTINATION WAS CHOSEN

10.1 Introduction

Preceding chapters have contained thorough descriptions of migration trends and demographic characteristics of the Hawaii outmigrants *vis-à-vis* the nonmigrant population. In this chapter, reasons why an initial move to the Mainland was or was not made will be examined for the nonmigrants, returnees, and Mainland residents who participated in the questionnaire survey. In addition, reasons given for why the initial Mainland destinations were chosen will be scrutinized. This chapter illuminates, to a degree impossible with aggregated demographic data, motivations for the movement or nonmovement of local persons away from Hawaii.

10.2 Perceptions at the Time of Graduation from High School in 1964

By definition, all persons in the sample were living in Hawaii at the time of graduation from high school. Realistically speaking, few migrate independently before completing (or dropping out of) high school. For most, graduation from high school represents a time of crucial decision making about future activities; therefore, individual migration to meet proposed goals then becomes a viable course of action.

The question "When you graduated from high school, did you think you would like to live on the Mainland sometime?" was vague in that it did not specify a specific time period or whether "live" connoted any

emotional attachment. As the question was flawed, criteria used in answering the question varied. Nevertheless, the answers provide valuable clues to the motives of the outmigrants (Table 10.1).

Almost two-thirds of the Mainland residents and returnees, but only two-fifths of the nonmigrants at the time of high school graduation thought that they would like to live on the Mainland sometime (Table 10.1A). Three-fifths of persons expressing this wish mentioned a desire to "see more of the world" (Table 10.1B). The two next most commonly cited reasons, "for schooling," and "for a job," were cited by approximately a quarter and a fifth, respectively, of respondents answering positively. In most cases it was impossible to determine whether desires for better education or a higher standard of living were important considerations in answering "for schooling" or for a "job." However, the infrequency in which "lower costs of living" and "better wages" were cited suggests that economic considerations were not paramount among the persons wanting to go to the Mainland for schooling or to obtain a job. For a few, living on the Mainland enabled independence from strict parents. Notwithstanding Hawaii's renowned climate, a small minority wished to experience more changeable weather.

Few persons expressed dissatisfaction with Hawaii as a motive for wanting to live on the Mainland. Those who did were inevitably from the Mainland or, in one case, Japan, and had lived in Hawaii for a few years at most.

Reasons given for not wanting to live on the Mainland tended to be less articulately expressed (presumably because most gave the matter little thought when they graduated), but the overriding consideration

Table 10.1

Responses to Question "When You Graduated from High School, Did You Think You Would Like to Live on the Mainland Sometime?"

	No. (%) Mainland	No. (%) Returnee	No. (%) Never Left	No. (%) Total
A. "Yes" or "No"?				
Yes	74 (63)*	31 (65)*	16 (41)	121 (59)
No	44 (37)	17 (35)	23 (59)	84 (41)
B. Why "Yes"? (Percent of persons answering "yes")				
See More of World	43 (58)	21 (68)	8 (50)	72 (60)
Schooling	22 (30)	7 (23)	2 (13)	31 (28)
Job	13 (18)	4 (12)	5 (31)	22 (18)
Break Family Ties	4 (5)	1 (3)	2 (13)	7 (6)
Change in Weather	5 (7)	0	1 (6)	6 (5)
"Hawaii too Small"	5 (6)	0	0	5 (4)
Lower Cost of Living	1 (1)	1 (3)	1 (6)	3 (2)
Better Wages	1 (1)	0	1 (6)	2 (2)
Other	8 (11)	0	1 (6)	9 (7)
Total Responses	108 (146)	34 (110)	21 (131)	163 (135)
C. Why "No"? (Percent of persons answering "no")				
Hawaii "home"	21 (48)	9 (53)	10 (43)	40 (48)
Family Ties	6 (14)	7 (41)	5 (22)	18 (21)
Fear of Mainland	4 (9)	3 (18)	2 (9)	9 (11)
No Interest in Mainland	2 (5)	2 (12)	2 (9)	6 (7)
Friends Staying in Hawaii	1 (2)	1 (6)	1 (4)	4 (5)
Mainland "bad"	0	1 (6)	2 (9)	3 (4)
Better Climate in Hawaii	1 (2)	0	1 (4)	2 (2)
Other	1 (2)	2 (12)	3 (13)	6 (7)
Total Responses	37 (84)	25 (147)	26 (109)	86 (102)

*Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05, as measured by t-test.

Source: See text.

for approximately half was that Hawaii, not the Mainland, was "home." More than a fifth mentioned family ties in Hawaii. Approximately a tenth were apprehensive concerning how they would adjust on the Mainland. A somewhat smaller share stated a complete lack of interest in the Mainland. Only three in the sample specifically cited the Mainland as an undesirable place to live.

Actually, the term "live on the Mainland" is misleading if no qualification is given. Only a very few indicated a desire to live permanently on the Mainland. For most, "experiencing the Mainland" by residing there for a specified or indefinite length of time was what they meant when they answered "yes."

In summary, nearly two-thirds of the returnees and Mainland respondents, as well as a substantial minority of the nonmigrants recall that at the time of graduation they wished to live on the Mainland sometime. The overriding consideration was to see more of the world and experience more things; economic and educational considerations were of considerably less importance. Those who indicated no interest stressed their roots and family ties in Hawaii. If we are to label the basic opposing forces that existed at the time of graduation, they would be curiosity vs. emotional security.

10.3 Why did the Nonmigrants not Migrate?

The above question can be answered on many levels. From the preceding chapter we have seen that the nonmigrants are strongly rooted in Hawaii in terms of Hawaii birth, length of Hawaii antecedents, and the low proportion having siblings living on the Mainland. On another level, attitudes of nonmigrants compared with those of returnees and Mainland

residents and the relation of the attitudes with migration will be investigated in Chapter XIII. In questions 33 through 40, the non-migrants discussed (1) why they had not moved to the Mainland and (2) their future plans. Table 10.2 contains a summary of responses to questions 33 through 39.

Although approximately two-thirds of the nonmigrants at least vaguely considered the possibility of migration, only a fifth considered it seriously (Q33). For the majority, the possibility was not discussed with parents (Q34). Although most parents at least seemed resigned to the possibility of migration, in five cases they exerted pressure to prevent the proposed move (Q35). In at least two cases, their opposition appears to have been crucial in preventing the move. However, in the other three cases in which the respondents claimed to have stayed in Hawaii because of parental opposition (Q35a) there is no indication in responses to Question 36 that parental opposition played an influential role in the decision to stay in Hawaii.

In answering Question 36 on why a move to the Mainland was never made, the majority stressed the positive attributes of Hawaii as a place to live, family ties, friends living in Hawaii, or satisfactory jobs. About an eighth mentioned the lack of money with which to make a move. Two of those mentioning lack of money also cited parental opposition. Another eighth cited unattractive aspects of Mainland living. An additional eighth found they lacked sufficient courage to make a move. Two specifically cited the lack of both friends and job prospects on the Mainland. A breakdown of the responses suggests that about three quarters were never seriously attracted by the prospect of moving to the

Table 10.2. Why Did Nonmigrants Not Move to the Mainland?

Q33 Thought About Moving to the Mainland?		
Thinking of Moving in Near Future		1 (3)
Once Thought A lot About Moving but Not Now		7 (18)
Thought About it in the Past, but not too Seriously		18 (46)
Never Thought About it		13 (33)
Q34 Did You Ever Tell Parents You were Thinking of Moving?		
Yes		17 (44)
No		22 (56)
Q35 What did (Would Have) Your Parents Say?	Did Say (17)	Would Have Said (22)
Encouraged Move to Mainland	2 (12)	1 (5)
Did not Mind	5 (29)	5 (23)
Unhappy but Respondent's Decision	5 (29)	14 (64)
Very Unhappy and Tried to Prevent Move	5 (29)	1 (5)
No Answer	0	1 (5)
Q35a Would You Have Stayed (Did You Stay) in Hawaii if you Wanted to Move and Parents were Strongly Opposed to Move?		
Yes, Would Have Stayed		10 (26)
Yes, Did Stay		5 (13)
Don't Know		11 (28)
No		12 (31)
No Answer		1 (3)

Table 10.2 (continued) Why Did Nonmigrants Not Move to the Mainland?

Q36 Why Did You Not Move to the Mainland?

Family in Hawaii	8 (21)
Job Security in Hawaii	7 (18)
Friends in Hawaii	5 (13)
Hawaii the Best Place to Live	7 (18)
Not Adventuresome	5 (13)
Mainland is a Terrible Place	5 (13)
No Money to Move	5 (13)
No Job or Friends on Mainland	2 (5)
Opposition of Parents	2 (5)
Opposition of Husband	1 (3)
Went to University of Hawaii	1 (3)
No Answer	2 (5)
Total Answers	48 (123)

Q37 Is Financial Position Better in Hawaii than it would be on Mainland?

Yes	5 (13)
About the Same	8 (21)
Would be Better on Mainland	11 (28)
Don't Know	14 (36)
No Answer	1 (3)

Table 10.2 (continued) Why Did Nonmigrants Not Move to the Mainland?

Q38 Are You Happy You Live in Hawaii?	
Very Happy	24 (52)
Quite Happy	9 (23)
Mixed Feelings	5 (13)
Quite Unhappy	0
Very Unhappy	0
No Answer	1 (3)
Q39 Will You Move to the Mainland in the Future?	
Am Planning Move	0
Move Very Likely	1 (3)
Perhaps will Move	8 (21)
Move Very Unlikely	21 (51)
Would not Consider Move	8 (21)
No Answer	1 (3)

Mainland, but the remaining quarter conceivably could have moved, given slightly different and more favorable circumstances for moving.

Although an understandably high proportion stated they did not know whether they were financially better off in Hawaii than they would be on the Mainland, more than twice as many thought they were worse off than better off (Q37). However, there was no statistical relationship between the respondent's assessment of his financial situation and whether he was pleased to be living in Hawaii (Q38). Nearly two-thirds expressed great happiness to be living in Hawaii, compared to an eighth who had mixed feelings. One person believed that a future move to the Mainland was likely and another eighth believed a future move was quite possible (Q39). A majority termed a future move to be quite unlikely and a fifth ruled out a move under any circumstances. In general, the explanations they gave correspond to reasons given for not moving to the Mainland. Many stressed they would move only under extreme conditions. In short, the vast majority stayed in Hawaii because they regard Hawaii as the ideal place in which to live.

It is worthwhile to take a quick look at those in the past or present who were the most realistic candidates to migrate. These are the persons who are, or once seriously thought about migrating, or who have mixed feelings about living in Hawaii, and/or believe that the possibility of moving to the Mainland in the future is more than a remote one.

The one respondent who stated that she was thinking of moving to the Mainland was a Portuguese female on Oahu who stressed the desire to travel and "see the continent." She expressed mixed feelings about

living in Hawaii and stated that her husband was likely to be transferred to Canada, but stressed that the possible move would be for only three years and that ownership of the Hawaii house was to be retained.

Of the seven persons who once thought seriously of moving to the Mainland, two each wanted to escape parental influence and to see more of the world, and one believed jobs were better on the Mainland; reasons could not be determined for the other two. In two cases parental opposition and lack of finances prevented a move. One each cited the opposition of the husband, marriage, deciding the Mainland was undesirable, and opting for the security of Hawaii over the uncertainties of the Mainland as the reason no move to the Mainland was made. No reason could be determined for the remaining individual. All but one expressed moderate to ecstatic happiness at living in Hawaii and even the one person expressing mixed feelings about residing in Hawaii believed that a move to the Mainland was highly unlikely. One person, a never married Japanese female, stated that she might move to the Mainland in the future "if our job situation gets worst [sic] and if there is no choice."

Three persons (two Japanese males and a Portuguese female) not discussed above also expressed mixed feelings about living in Hawaii. For two the source of the mixed feelings was obviously financial, the other had thwarted desires to visit the Mainland. Those who were dissatisfied financially stated perhaps they might move in the future if better jobs were available on the Mainland; the other believed a move was unlikely because "it would be foolish for me to leave a good job here for an uncertain job situation that exists now on the Mainland."

Four remaining persons indicated that perhaps they would move to the Mainland in the future. Two persons gave no reason nor an indication

anywhere else in the questionnaire of any interest in the Mainland. They can be assumed to have answered the question inappropriately. The other two classified themselves as very happy to be living in Hawaii, but wanted to experience what it would be like to live on the Mainland.

The one theme that emerges from the testimonies of the nonmigrants is rootedness and emotional attachment to Hawaii. Most have never seriously considered the possibility of moving to the Mainland. Of those who once seriously considered the possibility, most appear to be quite content with the choice to stay in Hawaii. Curiosity about the Mainland, rather than economic dissatisfaction appears to be the motivating force for most of the small minority expressing mixed feelings about living in Hawaii. Few of the nonmigrants believed that job considerations might dictate a move to the Mainland. Indeed, the author believes that barring an economic collapse, few in the nonmigrant group would leave for economic reasons. The above is evidence that, under ordinary circumstances, the outmigration of local persons from Hawaii is not strongly related to economic circumstances. This surmise is further supported by evidence from actual migrants, which will be presented later in this chapter.

10.4 Demographic Characteristics of Migrants and Returnees at the Time of the Initial Move to and Return from the Mainland

Demographic characteristics of migrants and returnees at the time of the initial move and return (if a returnee) are portrayed in Table 10.3. Two-fifths left in 1964 and approximately half left within a year and a half of graduation from high school (10.3A). In both groups there was only a negligible outflow to the Mainland after 1969. Data shown in Table 10.3A for the Mainland group are actually biased towards later

Table 10.3

Characteristics of Mainland Residents and Returnees Concerning: (A) Year of Move, (B) Marital Status and Number of Children, and (C) Duration of Move (if returnee)

A. Year of Initial Move

Year	Mainland No.	(%)	(Cum. %)	Returnee No.	(%)	(Cum. %)
1964	47	(40)	40	21	(44)	44
1965	12	(10)	50	2	(4)	48
1966	14	(12)	62	5	(10)	58
1967	6	(5)	67	5	(10)	69
1968	15	(13)	80	6	(13)	81
1969	12	(10)	90	6	(13)	94
1970	4	(3)	93	1	(2)	96
1971	4	(3)	97	0		96
1972	2	(2)	98	0		96
1973	0		98	2	(4)	100
1974	2	(2)	100	0		100

B. Marital Status and Number of Children at Time of Initial Move

	Mainland		Returnee	
Marital Status at Initial Move				
Single	92	(78)	42	(88)
Getting Married	13	(11)	3	(6)
Married	13	(11)	3	(6)
# of Children when First Moved				
0	113	(96)	46	(96)
1	3	(3)	1	(2)
2	2	(2)	1	(2)

C. Marital Status and # of Children When Return to Hawaii Made

	Marital Status		Children		
Single	33	(68)	0	40	(83)
Married	15	(32)	1	5	(11)
			2	1	(2)
			3	1	(2)
			4	1	(2)

D. Length of Time Returnees Spent on Mainland Per Move

Duration	Long Form		All Forms*	
Under 6 Months	1	(2)	1	(2)
6 Months to 1 Year	16	(30)	17	(27)
1 to 2 years	11	(20)	11	(17)
2 to 3 years	4	(7)	4	(6)
3 to 4 years	9	(17)	13	(20)
4 to 6 years	9	(17)	12	(19)
Over 6 years	4	(7)	5	(8)

*Including persons filling out short questionnaire sent to Hawaii Residents not responding to Long Questionnaire.

Source: See Text.

dates because a number of persons did not count early college experience or military service as "living on the Mainland." (See Section 14.3.) Thus, the suggestion that more than nine-tenths of the moves took place in the first half of the eleven year time period is understated. This suggests that if a local person does not move to the Mainland before his or her twenty-fourth birthday, he or she is unlikely to ever make the move.

As is to be surmised by the relatively youthful ages at departure, the large majority in both groups were unmarried. Notable is the substantial number marrying a month or less prior to the initial move. This phenomenon, which is a demonstration that migration itself can act as a trigger for timing of marriage as well as vice versa, will be investigated later in this chapter. The fact that a higher proportion of the Mainland residents than returnees were married or getting married at the time of the initial move is also noteworthy as persons in both groups migrated at roughly similar ages. Evidence will be presented later to show that while marriage between locals discourages outmigration, the opposite is true for local females marrying servicemen from the Mainland. The insignificant number of children among the departees reflects both the relatively young age of the average outmigrant and the negative influence of children on outmigration. Almost a fifth of the returnees married for the first time while on the Mainland, and the returnees contributed 11 Mainland-born children to the Hawaii population (Table 10.3C). The author believes that a majority of the some 10,000 Mainland-born "other nonwhites" in Hawaii in 1970 had at least one Hawaii-born parent.[1]

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[1] According to the 1970 census, 12,675 "other nonwhites" in Hawaii were born on the Mainland. However, almost 3,000, the overwhelming

10.5 Duration of Mainland Residence in the Returnee Sample and Its Relevance to Understanding the 1970 Census

The time returnees spent on the Mainland is directly related to their chances of their moves being captured in the census. Table 10.3D shows that only one person who expected to stay on the Mainland for at least six months did not do so. However, including those returning short forms, more than a quarter returned within a year. Many were males who served six months of active duty. The concentration between three and four years reflects those returning to Hawaii after completion of college. Many in the substantial number who were on the Mainland between four and six years had the misfortune of being drafted into the military after the completion of college. The longest length of time spent by anyone on the Mainland was eight years and two months. Three of the returnees went to the Mainland on two separate occasions and one went three times.

The author projected the actual number of returnees who would be recorded in the 1970 census as having lived on the Mainland in 1965 and in Hawaii in 1970 if 1,000 persons left Hawaii each year between 1955 and 1965, eventually returned, and had probabilities of return after given time spans that were identical to those of all returnees in the

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majority being elderly Orientals, were misclassified as being born in South Atlantic states! An analysis of public use tapes for Hawaii shows the erroneous states of birth to be Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and the District of Columbia. Ignoring the South Atlantic states, 8,985 were indicated to be born on the Mainland. Of this number, 64.2 percent were under the age of 15 and only 20.4 percent were between the ages of 20 and 44. This is strong evidence that most were born to at least one Hawaii-born parent.

sample. As all persons who migrated eventually returned, the intrinsic return rate is 1,000 persons per year. However, the 1970 census would show 2,585 returnees (183 persons who migrated before 1960 as well as 196, 367, 474, 560, and 805 who migrated in 1960, 1961, 1921, 1963, and 1964, respectively) who lived on the Mainland in 1965. Although this number ignores persons who migrated prior to 1955, this bias is undoubtedly more than counterbalanced by the fact that some of the time periods used in the projection involved military service abroad.

This projection suggests that if the time periods derived from the sample are representative for those of the Hawaii population at large, approximately half of all return moves would be captured in a census. If the 1965 to 1970 migration flow to the Mainland includes 1,000 persons a year who will eventually return to Hawaii and have probabilities of return in a given time period identical to those in the sample, 2,585 (196, 367, 501, 618, and 902 migrating in 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1969, respectively) of the eventual returnees will be counted in a 1970 census enumerating the number of persons in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970.

What relevance does the above exercise have to the 1970 census? It has been earlier reported that 20,512 "other nonwhites" were recorded as residing in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970. An analysis of the public use sample suggests that approximately 80 percent were Hawaii-born; therefore, an estimate of 17,000 who were Hawaii-born is not unreasonable. An estimate of 6,175 "other nonwhites" born in Hawaii, living on the Mainland in 1965 and in Hawaii in 1970 was derived from the public use census tapes. If the migration durations in the sample

are representative of the population at large (and many of the 1964 high school graduates were among the returnees counted in the 1970 census), the true number of Hawaii-born nonwhites returning to Hawaii from the Mainland between 1965 and 1970 exceeded 12,000. Likewise, if 12,000 eventual returnees were among the nonwhite Hawaii-born migrants to the Mainland between 1965 and 1970, only 6,000 would have been counted in the 1970 census, and the true flow to the Mainland was in the neighborhood of 23,000. Assuming the annual volume of migration did not change greatly between the late 1950s and 1970 (there is no evidence that it did as the number of "other nonwhite" Hawaii-born outmigrants living in Hawaii in 1955 and on the Mainland in 1960 has previously been estimated to be approximately 15,000), this suggests that more than half of the Hawaii-born "other nonwhites" migrating to the Mainland during the 1960s eventually returned to Hawaii.[2] This supports the argument presented in the previous chapter that over half of the Hawaii-born in the 1964 graduating class who migrated to the Mainland had returned to Hawaii by 1974.

This high percentage of local outmigrants eventurally returning suggests that in understanding the net loss of local residents it is more relevant to ask why some return and others stay on the Mainland than

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[2]No comparable analysis can be done for whites as such a large share of the outmigration is military related and a large share of the Hawaii-born on the Mainland were born as military dependents. Another substantial portion consists of persons who left as adults prior to World War II. Returnees from the latter group complicate calculations even though individual return probabilities in this group are low. Many in the military group return again with parents or as military personnel when they reach adulthood.

why the outmigrants make the initial move to the Mainland. This is an issue which will be considered in Chapter XII.

10.6 Why were the Initial Moves to the Mainland Made?

Question 7 in the questionnaire is "Why did you move to the Mainland?" Question 8 lists specific reasons for moving and asks respondents to rate them in terms of importance in the initial move to the Mainland. Both questions yielded valuable information on why the initial moves were made although they contain weaknesses that will be discussed below.

A breakdown of responses given to Question 7 is given in Table 10.4.

Table 10.4

Distribution of Responses to the Question "Why Did You Move to the Mainland?"

	Number (%) Giving Reason					
	Mainland			Returnee		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
College	33	24	57 (48)	6	12	18 (38)
In Military	12	1	13 (11)	12	0	12 (25)
Marriage	0	14	14 (12)	0	3	3 (6)
Home Town of Spouse	0	5	5 (4)	0	2	2 (4)
Husband Transferred	0	2	2 (2)	0	0	0
Job	11	4	15 (13)	1	4	5 (10)
Parents Moved	0	3	3 (3)	0	0	0
"Change"	2	2	4 (3)	1	1	2 (4)
College and Job	2	0	2 (2)	1	0	1 (2)
Live Away from Home	1	1	2 (2)	0	3	3 (6)
Vacation	0	0	0	0	2	2 (4)
Bad Hawaii Environment	1	0	1 (1)	0	0	0
Total	62	56	118 (100)	21	27	48 (100)

Source: See text.

Table 10.4 shows that approximately half in the Mainland group and three-eighths in the returnee group stated they went to the Mainland primarily to attend college. A fifth of the Mainland, but five-eighths of the returnee males initially went to the Mainland to serve in the armed forces. This suggests that males serving in the armed forces have high probabilities of eventual return to Hawaii.

It is noteworthy that whereas three-eighths and a sixth of the Mainland and returnee females, respectively, gave reasons relating to impending marriage or the husband's choice, none of the males in either group mentioned the wishes of their spouses. This is suggestive evidence with which to answer the question of which spouse was generally more influential in the initial decision to migrate. All husbands who wanted to return to their hometowns were from the Mainland, and all but one were serving in the military while in Hawaii. Both transfers also involved husbands from the Mainland. Knowing the origin of the spouses is crucial in understanding why females who left for reasons pertaining to the spouse are much more prevalent in the Mainland than returnee sample; females who leave with Malihini ("newcomer") spouses are much less likely to return than those leaving with local husbands.

Although some gave detailed discussions in addressing the open-ended question on why the initial move to the Mainland was made,[3] more often a single word such as "school" or "job" was given. The problem with such terse responses is that it is not known whether perhaps "school" or

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[3]For example, the discussion of a female Japanese returnee from Maui who stated her reasons for leaving as follows: "I had gone to U.H. for two years, couldn't decide on a major, tried working in Honolulu for one year, got bored, then decided to see what the Mainland had to offer."

"job" simply describes activities to be undertaken, whereas underlying motivations for departure are unrelated to the activities to be undertaken. As a large percentage of the outmigrants expected to attend college, assume a job, or both immediately after arriving on the Mainland, it is important to understand to what extent motivations for better educational or economic circumstances prompted the initial moves.

The question following the open-ended question "Why Did You Move . . ." was designed to measure underlying motives for moving. Unfortunately, the statement "please rate each reason for its importance to your moving to the Mainland" is poorly worded as it does not stress that motivations at the time of the initial move, rather than for staying on the Mainland, are to be given. Some persons interpreted the question in the latter sense and thus economic motivations are given undue importance. Responses to the above question are contained in Table 10.5.

From Table 10.5 it can be determined that economic reasons were given much less often by the returnees. The author believes this is largely because they naturally did not interpret the question as to why they have stayed on the Mainland. Considering the responses given to the question on whether the respondent wanted to live on the Mainland at the time of graduation, it is not surprising that approximately 60 percent of both returnees and Mainland residents rated curiosity as an important motivation for moving to the Mainland. A fifth in both groups gave "escape from family" as an important motivation for departure. Considering the small size of Hawaii and the web of family ties that often cover the major islands, the Mainland for many is the logical

Table 10.5

Responses to Listed Reasons for Moving to the Mainland

Not a factor = 1
Not very important = 2
Quite important = 3
Very important = 4

	Mean Score		% Answering "Quite" or "Very Important"	
	Main.	Ret.	Main.	Ret.
Schooling	2.92	2.36*	67	49
See More of World	2.61	2.72	59	64
Look for Job	2.39	1.71**	48	28
Good Job Hard to Find in Hawaii	2.36	1.57**	49	17
More Things to Do on Mainland	2.11	1.92	36	36
Lower Living Costs	1.78	1.51	27	17
Escape from Family	1.58	1.66	19	23
Armed Forces	1.53	2.04**	19	36
Spouse Wanted to Move	1.50	1.32	18	11
To be with Relatives	1.49	1.40	15	13
To be with Friends	1.36	1.45	9	11
To get Married	1.36	1.15	10	4
Better Climate	1.30	1.09	9	0
Voluntary Transfer	1.03	1.13	1	4
Involuntary Transfer	1.01	1.02	0	0
N	118	47	118	47

*Different from Mainland Sample at significance level between .01 and .05.

**Significance level < .01. T-Test used.

Source: See text.

place to go in order to achieve personal independence. More than a third in both groups rated "more things to do on the Mainland" as an important motivation for departure.

Virtually all who rated marriage or the spouse's wishes as important were female. With one exception, all who rated the armed forces as

important were males in the military or wives of military personnel. Females in the Mainland group were much more likely than males to rate being with relatives (23 vs. eight percent) as important. This corresponds to the oft made observation that females are more attached to kinfolk than are males. For all other reasons listed, the responses of males and females were similar.

In the whole sample, there were only three moves that involved job transfers; two females married civil servants who had transferred to Hawaii from the Mainland and were subsequently transferred back to the Mainland, and one Japanese female returnee went to California in an exchange teaching program. The author believes on the basis of personal observation that because of family and island ties, very few local persons accept transfers to the Mainland, even if their careers are advanced as a result. The above supports this belief.

The listed reason "for better climate" elicited a number of cynical responses such as "you've got to be kidding," but a small number wanted to experience a change, enjoyed the four seasons (all persons from the Mainland) or had allergy problems in Hawaii (again, persons from the Mainland.

How important were considerations for better education or economic opportunities in moves made to the Mainland? The author scrutinized all questionnaires closely to determine in which moves these motivations appeared to be important. In the following cases, these considerations may have played a significant role.

Returnees

Hawaii Male.[4]
Stated move was "primarily for schooling, no other reason."

Haole Male.
Moved to Hawaii at age 12. Received a scholarship at an Ohio University.

Haole Male
Moved to Hawaii at age 14. Went to California to attend seminary.

Mainland Residents

Japanese Male from Kauai.
Decided to become an industrial designer while still in high school. Knew that such an occupation required living on the Mainland. The best school for industrial design was located in California.

Portuguese Male from Kauai.
Stated he wanted to go to Mainland for better job opportunities. Left immediately upon completion of high school.

Hawaiian Male.
Original move to the Mainland to go to college was motivated because of curiosity. Moved back to the Mainland in 1974 because "of better business opportunities and I like 4 seasons, open spaces & places to go and grow and expand."

Japanese-Caucasian Male.
Stated move to Mainland primarily for schooling; secondarily to see more of the U.S. Choice of school determined by the quality of the pre-medical program.

Hawaiian Male.
Went to Mainland to take law enforcement program in California. No such program existed in Hawaii at the time. Another motivation was to see more of the world.

Japanese Male
Went to the Mainland in 1967 to attend dental school. No school of dentistry exists in Hawaii. Also rated as a very important factor was "escape from family." The subsequent interview revealed that his father was an extremely domineering individual who wanted his two sons to become dentists.

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[4]Unless a statement is made to the contrary, all nonwhites discussed are Hawaii-born and graduated from an Oahu high school.

Chinese Female.

Went to school on Mainland for M.A. in journalism. No such program exists in Hawaii. Desire to see more of the world was also strong.

Haole Male Born in Hawaii.

Left to pursue acting career, for which opportunities are limited in Hawaii (see Chapter II). He states "enjoyable tho it is, Hawaii is limited in what it can offer a local Houli [sic]. However, he further notes "I wanted to see snow. I was interested in the continent, the people, the places, the seasons. I wanted to see the White Eliphant [sic]. See the world."

Japanese-Caucasian Female.

Moved to California because husband (local) felt job opportunities better there.

Chinese Male.

Did not pass University of Hawaii entrance exam. Decided to go to two year college, butnone existed on Oahu.

Japanese Male.

Offered a position by the County of Los Angeles in 1969 after completing school in Hawaii. No offers from Hawaii were made until the move was already decided on, and the pay was also considerably less than that offered by the Mainland job.

Filipino Female.

Married a serviceman from the Mainland. Husband believed that the cost of living in Honolulu was too high and insisted on moving to the Mainland.

Chinese Female.

Married a person from the Mainland who could not find a job in his specialty (restaurant management). They moved to Los Angeles, where his father owned a restaurant.

Hawaiian Male.

Family was having financial difficulties and "my son needed medical attention." Therefore, the family moved to San Diego in 1968.

Among the returnees, two and possibly three moves were made primarily for educational reasons and in no moves did economic considerations appear to play an important role. Among Mainland residents listed above, economic or career considerations play an important role in at least 11 of the moves and considerations of superior schooling are important in five other moves. There may have been other cases, especially among the females

who married military personnel from the Mainland, in which economic considerations played a role. However, even under the most generous assumptions that can be made about the role of educational and economic considerations, the author believes that under a fifth of the moves to the Mainland were motivated largely by economic and/or formal educational considerations.

Motivations behind persons moving to the Mainland because they were in the military were usually difficult to ascertain from the questionnaire. The Vietnam War was at its height in the late 1960s and even among persons who enlisted one can detect a common view that enlistment was chosen only as an alternative over involuntary induction. At least one husband was among the unlucky individuals in the Hawaii-based naval reserve unit called to active duty in 1967. Of the returnees, seven joined various military services for active duty and the other five served six months of reserve duty. Six of the enlistees rated curiosity as fairly or very important motivations in going to the Mainland, whereas none of the reservists did so. Of the thirteen Mainland residents who originally went to the Mainland for military reasons, at least eleven enlisted and in only two of the cases did the threat of an imminent draft obviously influence the decision to enlist. None was discharging reserve duty when the initial move to the Mainland was made. A substantial number in the Mainland sample were drafted, but most attended college on the Mainland first. Thus, there is circumstantial evidence that a large proportion who joined the military as volunteers did so in part because they "wanted to see more of the world."

It appears then, that most of the moves made to the Mainland were voluntary in nature and that economic and academic considerations were of major importance in less than a fifth of the moves. Curiosity, a desire to see more of the United States, a wish to achieve independence from strong parental influences, and a feeling that exposure to different places would enhance personal growth all played important roles in the initial decisions to move. To the extent that these factors are operative, it appears that the outmigration of young local adults is largely insensitive to economic factors.

It should be recalled that even though problems of a modest pay scale, a limited variety of jobs, and a cost of living 20 percent higher than that of the Mainland have existed since World War II, the late 1960s was a period of minimum unemployment in Hawaii. Although economic conditions worsened considerably in Hawaii during the early 1970s, most of the 1964 graduates were by then already married and "settled down." Yet, despite the fact that economic conditions in Hawaii as compared to the Mainland between 1949 and 1955 can be termed as "terrible," evidence has earlier been presented (see Section 4.11) that a large scale outmigration of local residents seeking immediate employment on the Mainland began only in the late 1950s. Furthermore, if the census is to be believed, the rates of local outmigration in the late 1950s and 1960s were similar. These findings, as well as those from the survey, strongly suggest that economic considerations are not overriding in determining the yearly volume of outmigration of local residents.

10.7 Other Factors Associated with the Initial Move to the Mainland

In questions nine through eleven, the respondents were asked their occupation prior to the initial move, how long the move was considered, whether parents were informed about the contemplated move and their reaction, if told. Question nine revealed that three-fifths of both returnees and Mainland residents had no occupation at the time of the initial move. As most moves were made within a years of graduation of high school or immediately after graduation from the University of Hawaii, this is to be expected. Most occupations listed were service, unskilled, or menial clerical jobs. Fewer than ten left professional or managerial jobs in Hawaii. Because most left before they obtained jobs their education and training would qualify them for and, furthermore, many of the jobs listed were only part-time, this question is uninformative in ascertaining whether "upward mobility" actually took place on the Mainland. However, it is useful in that the occupations listed would suggest that there were few strong job ties that complicated the decision to migrate.

In response to the question "About how long did you think about moving to the Mainland before you did move?," approximately a third replied "under three months," compared to an eighth indicating between three and six months, a quarter answering six months to a year, and three-tenths who asserted that the move was considered for over a year. There was no statistically significant difference between the Mainland residents and returnees, although a third of the former and less than a fifth of the latter stated that the move was considered for more than a year. However, there were substantial differences in time when classified against the major purposes of the initial move (Table 10.6).

Table 10.6

Length of Time Move Considered According to Major Purpose of Move

Time Move Considered	Major Reason Given for Move (%) College	Army	Job	Other	Total
Under 3 months	15	72	35	40	33
3 to 6 months	11	8	22	14	13
Six months to a year	32	12	22	23	25
More than one year	43	8	22	23	29
N	73	25	23	43	164*

$X^2 = 33.64$ $p < .0001$ d.f. = 9

*Two missing observations.

Source: See text.

Many joining the military service appeared to do so on an impulse; by contrast, most who went to college on the Mainland appeared to have given the matter considerable thought. Those moving for other reasons fall midway between these extremes in terms of prior thought given to the move. If time considered prior to the move is any indication of satisfaction with the move, those entering college and the armed forces should represent the extremes in opinion.

Approximately three-quarters of both Mainland residents and returnees discussed the proposed move with parents before deciding to move. In the 125 instances in which parents were informed of the proposed move, only three tried to prevent it, 52 were unhappy but felt the decision was up to the son or daughter, 33 did not mind, and 37 actively encouraged the move. Although the parents of both returnees and Mainland residents generally reacted more positively than those of the nonmigrants (see Table 10.2, Q35a), there were no significant differences

between the reactions of parents of returnees and Mainland residents. Again, however, the probability of discussing the proposed move with the parents and the reaction of the parents was very much influenced by the purpose of the move.

Table 10.7

Whether Parents were Told of Proposed Move and Their Reaction (if told) When Told of the Proposed Move Classified Against Major Reason Given for Move to Mainland

A. Was Move Discussed with Parents (%)

	College	Military	Job	Other	Total
Yes	86	60	73	68	76
No	14	40	27	32	24
N	73	25	23	43	164*

$X^2 = 9.24$ $P < .026$ d.f. = 3

B. Reaction of Parents if Told (%)

Reaction	College	Military	Job	Other	Total
Tried to Prevent Move	3	7	0	0	2
Unhappy, but Decision up to Child	32	60	47	50	42
Did Not Mind	19	33	47	27	26
Encouraged Move	46	0	6	23	30
N	63	15	17	30	125

$X^2 = 23.9$ $p < .0045$ d.f. = 9

*Two missing observations.

Source: See text.

Again, Table 10.7 reveals the extremes to be between those in the armed forces and those attending college. As a practical consideration,

parental consent is not required if someone is either drafted or enlists in the army after reaching the age of eighteen. In contrast, parental acquiescence is necessary in the large majority of cases where the children attend college on the Mainland, as the parents usually "foot the bill." The general parental approval given to attending college on the Mainland undoubtedly reflects both the prestige and excellent education that many Mainland colleges offer and a structured environment for those going to the Mainland. Part of the general negative reaction of parents toward their children joining the military may have been motivated by concern that their sons might be killed or injured (the Vietnam War was at its height in the late 1960s). Similarly, much of the general lack of enthusiasm among parents whose children planned to work on the Mainland may have resulted from concerns that "something bad" might happen to the children in the "big city." In general, the parents do not appear to have posed serious obstacles to moving to the Mainland; and, in the case of children wanting to attend college on the Mainland, were often encouraging.

10.8 Where Did the Outmigrants Move to Initially and Why?

Breakdowns of the original destinations of both returnees and Mainland residents in the sample are given in Table 10.8.

From Table 10.8 it is apparent that slightly more than half in both the Mainland and returnee groups initially migrated to California. Geographical distributions for the Mainland residents and returnees (both long and short form) are similar, the major difference being the much higher proportion of returnees who originally migrated to Northwestern states. Eight of the 11 returnees originally went to college in small

Table 10.8

Original Mainland Destinations of the Survey Sample

Area	Migrants (%)	Returnees--Long Questionnaire (%)	Returnees--All (%)
California	64 (54)	27 (57)	29 (51)
L.A. County	27 (23)	11 (23)	11 (19)
S.F. Met. Area	16 (14)	7 (15)	7 (12)
Other	21 (18)	9 (19)	11 (19)
Northwest	11 (9)	8 (17)	11 (19)
Mountain*	11 (9)	1 (2)	3 (5)
South*	6 (5)	3 (6)	4 (7)
Midwest*	18 (15)	4 (9)	5 (9)
Northeast*	8 (7)	4 (9)	5 (9)
N	118	47	57

*Region is same as that used by U.S. Census.

Source: See text.

towns in Oregon, and one can assume that there were few employment opportunities in the immediate area to entice them to stay. Notable is the low proportion who initially went to southern states, notwithstanding the concentration of military bases there.

Why the initial destinations were chosen was measured first by an open-ended question (Q13) "Why did you Move to (the place you initially moved to and not a different one)," followed by a list of potential reasons that the respondent was asked to rate in terms of their importance for moving to the initial destination (Q14).

A minority in the sample gave detailed answers to the open-ended question which indicated that considerable thought was given to where the move should be made. For example, a Hawaii-born Haole female who

left Hawaii in early 1968 and returned at the end of the year chose Portland, Oregon, because

> I felt that there may be the most difference in climate, people, etc., of all western cities I'd read about, than Hawaii. California was too much like Hawaii, I'd discovered after I'd previously visit(ed) it. The east coast was too "cold" in more ways than one according to reliable sources I'd talked to.

Often, however, the response was terse, with a single phrase such as "school there" or "stationed there." One answer, which defies any attempt at easy categorization was that given by a Korean-Chinese male returnee who chose to attend college in Minneapolis because "The state is in the middle of the continental U.S.--makes it easy to see the rest of the country." In general, the least informative answers came from persons going to the Mainland to attend college there.

Table 10.9 contains a breakdown of the major reasons given for moving to specific locations and the areas mentioned most frequently in connection with the reasons. No distinction is made between Mainland residents and returnees as both went to given locations for basically the same reasons.

Evident in Table 10.9 is the relative unimportance of the perceived abundance of jobs in the choice of the initial area moved to. In two-fifths of the moves, the fact that the college of choice was in the area moved to seemed to be paramount, and in another fifth of the moves the existence of friends and relatives at the destination appeared to be crucial. In another fifth of the moves, the destination was dictated by military assignment. Considerations of environmental amenities are almost nonexistent in Table 10.9 although they may have played a secondary role in the consideration of some.

Table 10.9

Reasons Given for Why the Initial Destinations on the Mainland were Chosen (Q13)

Reason Given	Number (%)	Areas for Which Reason Given is of[a] Most Importance (% in region)
College There	64 (39)	Northwest (79), Other U.S. (51)
Stationed There	22 (13)	Other California (42)
Relatives There	16 (10)	L.A. (23)
Choice of Husband	14 (9)	Other U.S. (16)
Friends There	13 (8)	L.A. (16), S.F. (13)
Job Offer	8 (5)	L.A. (11)
Husband Stationed There	8 (5)	Other California (15)
Attractive Area	4 (2)	S.F. (9)
Jobs There	3 (2)	All L.A. or S.F.
Fiancee There	3 (2)	All L.A. or S.F.
Friends & Relatives There	2 (1)	Both L.A.
Other	8 (5)	
Total Persons	165	

[a]All non-west coast areas included in "Other U.S."

Source: See text.

Equally striking in Table 10.9 is the fact that different areas attract movers for different purposes. Whereas five-ninths of initial moves were made to California, nearly two-thirds of moves made because of the location of the college attended were initially made to areas outside of California. This included more than three-quarters of moves made to northwestern states and half of moves to nonwestern states. Of the 31 whose moves were largely influenced by the presence of friends and/or relatives at the destination, 19 went to Los Angeles, five to San Francisco, three to other parts of California, and only four to areas outside of California. Of the 11 moves in which job considerations at the

destination were mentioned, seven were made to Los Angeles as contrasted with two to San Francisco and two to non-west coast areas (both to New York City).

Most of the moves made to "other California" were to Fort Ord, Sacramento, or San Diego, which contain training bases for Army, Air Force, and Navy recruits, respectively. Most going to these bases were in either midwestern or southern states, or abroad by the end of the first year on the Mainland. The majority of moves involving the choice of the husband were to hometowns in non-west coast areas. Of all areas on the Mainland, only San Francisco showed a considerable diversity in terms of why persons moved there. The chi-square probability of the areas moved to against reasons the area was picked was .0000. This is evidence that different places have markedly different attractive powers (or "place utilities") for the potential migrants.

Question 14 asks "please rate each reason for its importance in your choice of city or town you first moved to on the Mainland." This question suffered from the same flaws earlier noted for Question 8 concerning why the initial move to the Mainland was made. Nevertheless, the overall responses did correspond fairly consistently with Question 13 and different areas were evaluated quite differently, as shown in Table 10.10.

One fact that is evident from a glance at Table 10.10 is that Los Angeles received a high evaluation in all economic categories, in terms of having "many things to do," and in being the residence of friends and relatives already living there. Although some of the assessments involve perceptions that were undoubtedly developed after the initial

Table 10.10

Mean Scores on Listed Responses for the Question of Why the Respondent Chose the First Place Moved to on the Mainland

4 = very important
3 = quite important
2 = not very important
1 = not at all a factor

Reason Listed	Mean Score	Area(s)[a] Scoring Highest on Reason
College in Area	2.56*	N.W. (3.24), NWC (2.77)
Many Things to do in Area	1.81*	L.A. (2.09), S.F. (1.91)
Friends in Area	1.74**	L.A. (2.40), S.F. (2.04)
Many Jobs in Area	1.70**	L.A. (2.40), S.F. (1.73)
Pretty Area	1.67	S.F. (1.96), N.W. (1.96)
Climate Good in Area	1.67	S.F. (1.96), N.W. (1.90)
Relatives in Area	1.64**	L.A. (2.04), S.F. (1.70)
Friendly People	1.60	
Living Costs Low in Area	1.56**	L.A. (1.98)
In Armed Forces	1.56**	O.C. (2.69), NWC (1.57)
Wages High in Area	1.55**	L.A. (2.09)
Housing Cheap in Area	1.49**	L.A. (1.89)
Job Offer	1.40*	L.A. (1.78)
Choice of Spouse	1.35	
Hometown of Spouse	1.16	
Voluntary Transfer	1.07	
Involuntary Transfer	1.02	
Overall Average	1.56	L.A. (1.68), S.F. (1.57)
N	165	

*Difference between areas significant at probability between .01 and .05 as determined by Analysis of Variance

**$p < .01$

[a]L.A., Los Angeles County; S.F., San Francisco; O.C., Other California; N.W. Northwestern states; NWC, non-west coast U.S.

Source: See text.

move, the fact that for most persons these perceptions were held prior to the move help explain the popularity of Los Angeles among those outmigrants concerned with finding immediate jobs. On all of the above issues, San Francisco was rated second to Los Angeles. In addition, it received plaudits for its climate and general attractiveness, two areas in which Los Angeles was rated rather poorly. The balance of California scored rather poorly in all categories but one; it contained the basic training bases to which most in the military were sent.

The Pacific Northwest scored well above average in terms of climate and general physical attractiveness, but its overwhelming attraction was its colleges. It received low "across the board" economic ratings.

The non-west coast U.S. scored above average for college and military assignments as well as on matters concerning the choice of the (invariably nonlocal) spouse, but in general received rather average ratings. Considering the heterogeneity of the area in terms of attributes relevant to potential migrants (e.g., military personnel often get sent to southern military bases, many students go to midwestern schools, and a number of local outmigrants seeking specialized employment in entertainment are attracted to New York City), it is perhaps to be expected.

The one aspect in which the question on why a particular destination was picked failed to be enlightening concerned those persons choosing midwestern colleges. Often, the answer to the open ended question was "college there" and only the closed ended answer "my college in area" was checked of being of importance. Considering the facts that generally the midwestern colleges do not appear to have been picked because

of perceived superior quality, and that there has been a persistent substantial flow of local residents to midwestern colleges since World War II suggests positive feedback from former to potential students. That this is in fact the case was determined by the personal interviews of Mainland residents (see Section 14.4).

Ninety-two (55 percent) of the 165 outmigrants reported no relatives were present at the initial destination, as opposed to 17 percent who reported the presence of five or more relatives. Ninety-three reported there were no friends at the initial destination, as compared to 23 reporting the presence of more than four friends. However, as Table 10.11 illustrates, friends and relatives were conspicuously present in Los Angeles and absent outside the two major California metropolises.

Among persons who listed "job" as the main motivation for moving to the Mainland, only 43 percent had no friends and 32 percent had no relatives at the initial destination. In contrast, the comparable percentages among those listing college as the main motivation were 59 and 62 percent, respectively. The presence of friends and/or relatives appears to be an important consideration for most who are seeking jobs. Those going to college often have guaranteed accommodations in dormitories, their parents usually pay tuition and other expenses, and they can make friends in a structured institutional context. This is certainly an important consideration in explaining why those attending college are considerably more dispersed geographically than are the job seekers. Where friends and relatives were located was, of course, irrelevant in the initial military assignments. Of those going to the Mainland for military assignments, more than two-thirds and three-quarters,

Table 10.11

Presence or Absence of Friends and Relatives in the First Area Migrated to (%)

Initial Destination	No. of Relatives			No. of Friends		
	None	1-4	5+	None	1-4	5+
Los Angeles	23	50	27	32	46	23
San Francisco	61	22	17	36	41	23
Other California	65	23	11	77	16	8
Northwest	71	14	14	67	19	14
Other U.S.	71	18	12	73	22	6
All	56	27	17	57	29	14
	$X^2 = 22.0$	$P < .0005$		$X^2 = 26.1$	$P < .001$	
		d.f. = 6			d.f. = 6	

Source: See text.

respectively, had no relatives and friends in the vicinity of the initial military base. Were it not for the substantial number of Hawaii-born living in all areas of California, these percentages would have been far higher.

In 54 (74 percent) of the 73 instances in which there were relatives residing in the initial area moved to, the relatives were considered by the movers to have given assistance. Likewise, in 56 (69 percent) of the instances where friends were in the vicinity of the initial destination, help was perceived to have been given by at least one friend. The nature of the assistance rendered varied from "just by being there" to "in every possible way." Both friends and relatives were heavily relied on for initial housing, orientation, and assistance in obtaining permanent lodgings. In about a quarter of the cases in which the relatives provided help, direct financial assistance was given. Although few of the friends did likewise, they played a much larger role than relatives in

introducing the migrants to others. This is to be expected as the relatives were often considerably older than the migrant whereas the friends were almost invariably in the same age bracket. In a number of instances, efforts of friends or relatives led directly to the first employment found on the Mainland. Friends and especially relatives provided valuable moral support. For the latter, the expression "provided roots" was sometimes expressed. Notwithstanding the argument often advanced that Oriental family ties are especially strong, the Haole outmigrants appeared to be as appreciative as others of the efforts of relatives in providing assistance.

In summary, different areas tended to have different attractions for potential migrants. Friends and relatives played important roles both in choices of destination and in terms of practical assistance rendered. This was especially important for the group going to the Mainland with the expectation of finding immediate employment.

An understanding of both the motives for migration and the role of friends and relatives makes the changes in the outmigration patterns of the local population much more comprehensible. Prior to World War II, most local residents left under modest circumstances and were seeking improved employment opportunities. The assistance of those Hawaii-born already living on the Mainland was crucial. Under such circumstances almost all went to a few specific locations in California. In the years immediately following World War II, rapidly increasing numbers attended college on the Mainland. For reasons earlier explained, locational restraints are far less severe in choosing colleges than in seeking employment. Only in the mid-1950s did the mass of friends and

relatives in California become sufficient to encourage a large-scale exodus of persons seeking immediate employment. This flow engendered is responsible for the overwhelming preference for California among local residents leaving Hawaii for the Mainland in the late 1950s. However, the growth in the proportion going to college during the 1960s meant that many seeking a Mainland experience who would have sought immediate employment on the Mainland in the late 1950s instead chose a Mainland college in the late 1960s. This is reflected in a decline in the proportion moving to California and an increase in the numbers moving to Oregon and Washington during the 1960s. Communications (the nature of which were not illuminated by the survey questionnaire) are important in the choice of colleges, but for most potential outmigrants it does not appear that the immediate physical presence of friends and/or relatives at the contemplated college is crucial in the choice of college.

10.9 Summary

A number of topics concerning the movement or nonmovement of the questionnaire sample was addressed in this chapter. Most of the returnees and Mainland residents, but only a minority of nonmigrants were shown to have a desire to "live on the Mainland sometime" at the time of graduation from high school. The major motivation for wanting to live on the Mainland was curiosity, whereas most who had no wish to leave considered Hawaii to be "home." Most of the nonmigrants never had a strong motivation to move and only a few stayed primarily because of family or economic obstacles to moving. In general, they were glad

to be living in Hawaii and viewed a future move to the Mainland as being highly unlikely.

Demographic characteristics of the Mainland residents and returnees at the time of the initial move were considered. The large majority were single and under the age of 23 at the time the initial move to the Mainland was made. From the average time that returnees spent on the Mainland, the author estimated that approximately half of the return moves and three quarters of the initial moves to the Mainland by Hawaii-born "other nonwhites" between 1965 and 1970 were captured in the 1970 census.

A near majority left to attend college on the Mainland and a substantial minority expected to assume jobs immediately after moving to the Mainland. However, strictly educational and economic motivations for moving were less important than considerations of curiosity and a chance to experience "more of the world." Initial destinations chosen were very much differentiated by the type of activity the migrant expected to engage in once the Mainland was reached. Friends and relatives at the destinations provided valuable help to many. An understanding of their geographical distribution and roles helps explain changes in the volume and geographic distribution of local outmigrants from Hawaii.

Changes in the geographical locations of the outmigrants in the sample, once the initial moves to the Mainland were made and reasons for subsequent moves made on the Mainland will be examined in Chapter XI.

CHAPTER XI

CHANGES IN THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL SAMPLE ON THE MAINLAND AND REASONS BEHIND MOVES UNDERTAKEN ON THE MAINLAND

11.1 Introduction

In the 1970 United States census the key migration item pertained to residence in 1965. In the previous chapter an estimate was made that this resulted in the underestimation of the five year volume of outmigration of Hawaii's local outmigration by a quarter and return migration by half if a six month duration interval for defining a migration is used.

Another problem that is never seriously addressed in the migration literature is that more than one move can be made in the five year period. To the extent that this occurs, analyses of changes in location that test gravity or intervening opportunities models with census data are invalidated. Of more importance, to the extent that these moves have observable patterns in terms of direction, duration and purpose, much is learned about the process of migration.

In question 17 in the questionnaire, Mainland residents and returnees were asked whether subsequent moves on the Mainland were made. If so, the person completing the questionnaire was asked to list the town and state moved to, the year of the move, and the reason the move was made. All persons completing the questionnaire conscientiously answered all parts of this question; as a result, an unexpected gold mine of information concerning the nature and direction of moves was made available for this study.

In this chapter, moves made on the Mainland by both Mainland residents and returnees will be examined. Issues to be addressed concern changes in the initial and 1975 distribution of the Mainland sample, changes in the geographical patterns of residence over time for all movers to the Mainland and their relevance for understanding the 1970 census, motivations behind interstate moves made, and why some in the Mainland sample are presently residing in non-west coast areas.

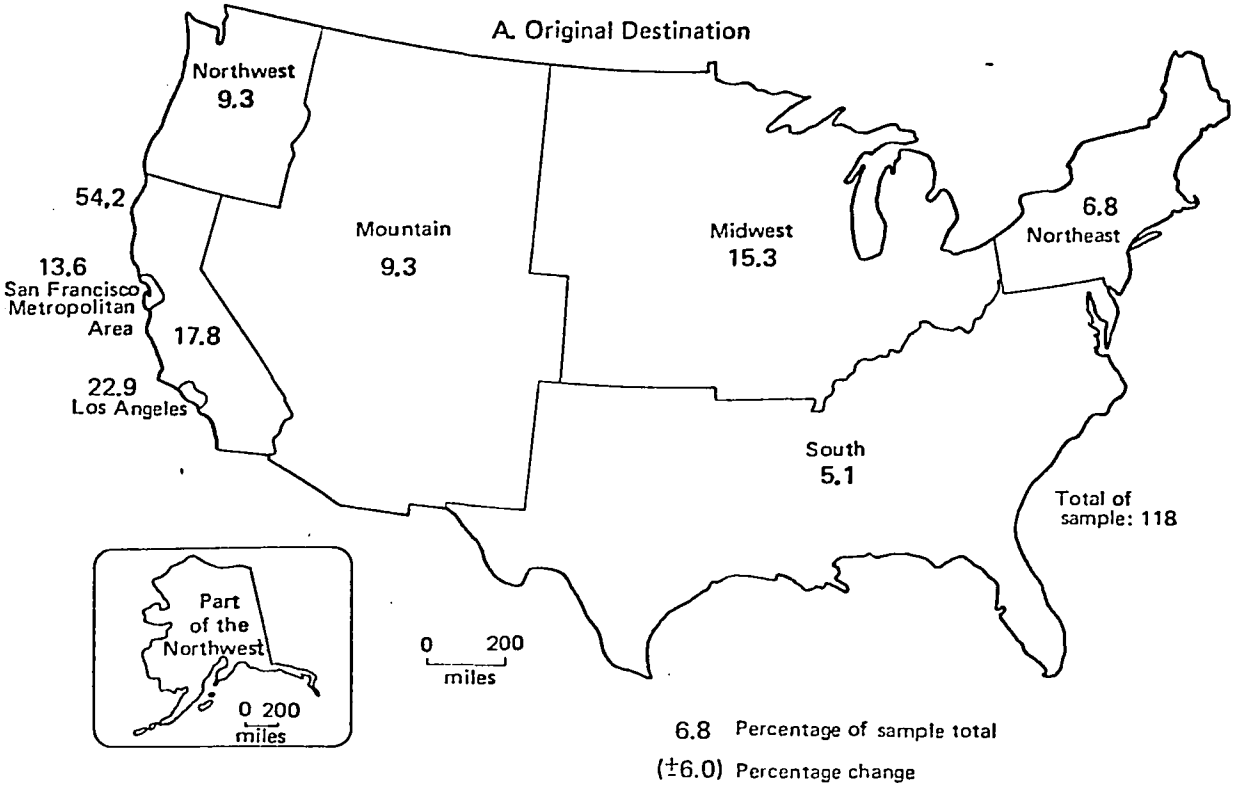
11.2 Changes in the Mainland Distribution of the Survey Sample

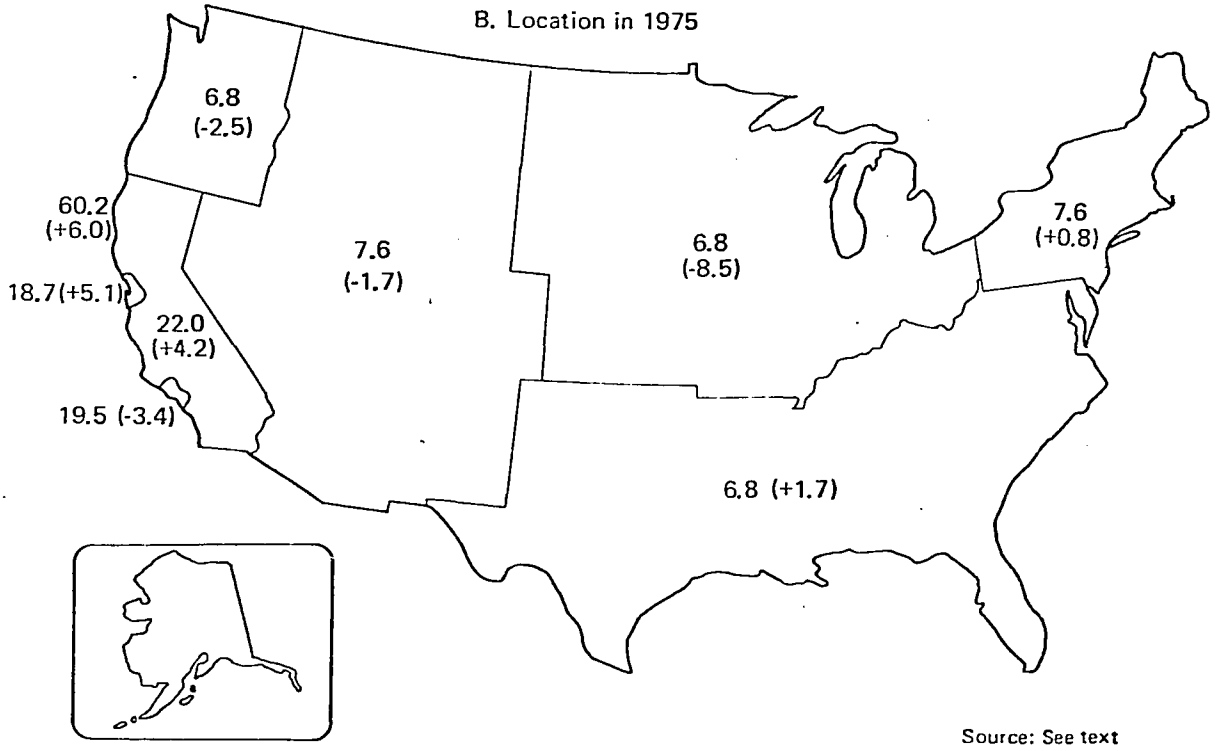
Figures 11.1A and 11.1B portray the original destinations and 1975 locations of the Mainland sample. In California, substantial increases are evident for areas outside of Los Angeles County. Although a decrease is evident for Los Angeles, the proportion in California rose from 54 to 60 percent. Excluding the persons at foreign military bases raises this share to 63 percent. The most striking change that occurred elsewhere was the decrease in the numbers living in the Midwestern states. Clearly, the Midwest had low retentive power for those in the Mainland sample.

Original destinations of the returnees in the sample by region have previously been shown in Table 10.6. The major difference between the Mainland residents and returnees in terms of original destination is that a much higher proportion of returnees than Mainland residents originally went to the Northwestern states of Washington and Oregon.

How did the distribution of the 1964 class on the Mainland change over time? This question is highly relevant as the class of 1964 was heavily represented among the 1965-70 outmigrants who were recorded in the 1970 census. Furthermore, a portrayal of changing locations over

Figure 11.1 Original Destination and 1975 Location of Mainland Sample





Source: See text

time allows a test of the relative stability of the initial moves and gives insight into why shifts in location were made following the initial move to the Mainland.

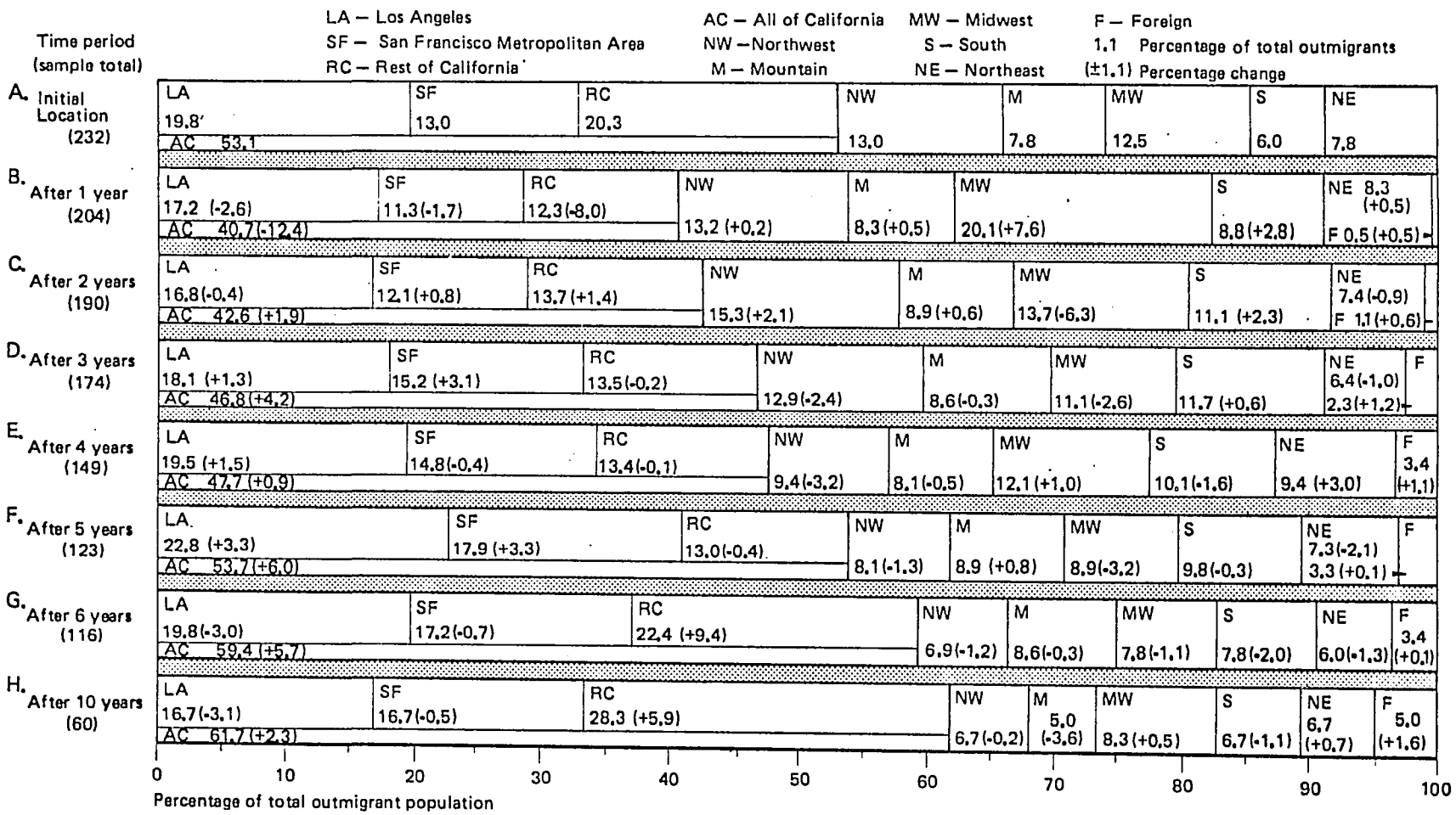
When the author estimated shifts in location over time, he gave returnees, including those completing short forms, a weight of two. This was done because of earlier estimates that approximately half of those going to the Mainland eventually return. Because of the weighting, a total of 114 returnees and 118 Mainland residents are used in the time projections. As it has been stated previously that the proportion of outmigrants who eventually returned was probably well over half, the author believes that the returnees are somewhat underrepresented in the projection.

Figures 11.2A through 11.2H portray the changing Mainland distributions of the 1964 high school class according to the number of years lived on the Mainland.

A comparison of Figures 11.2A and 11.2B is especially instructive. In terms of initial destination, California attracted approximately five-ninths and the Northwest and Midwest each attracted approximately an eighth of the outmigrants. Within a year after the initial migration (Figure 11.2B) approximately an eighth of the original outmigrants had returned to Hawaii. The proportion in California declined to two-fifths; most of the loss occurred outside of the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas. A moderate increase occurred in the south and a large increase was registered for the midwestern states.

Clearly, a comparison of the initial locations with those of a year after the initial move shows a substantial shift away from California

Figure 11.2 Distribution of 1964 High School Graduate Outmigrants from Hawaii



Source: See text

and marked increases for the Midwest and South. Of the 14 returnees in the questionnaire sample who returned before the end of one year on the Mainland, six served six months of active duty either in San Diego or at Fort Ord, California. An additional five had taken jobs; four of this number originally went either to Los Angeles or San Francisco. All told, 11 of the 14 who returned within a year originally went to California. Only one who went with the intention of going to college returned within a year. Those who served more than six months of active duty generally went to California for basic training and were then transferred to a midwestern or southern base by the end of the year. The large proportionate increase for the midwestern states results from the residential stability of the large numbers who attended college there combined with an influx of military personnel from California bases.

Figures 11.2C through 11.2F portray a recovery by California to approximately the initial share of all persons moving to the Mainland. However, the proportion outside the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas at the end of five years (Figure 11.2F) is much smaller, whereas a substantial gain is recorded by the San Francisco area. In the Northwest, a relative increase between the time of the initial move and the end of the second year results from the residential stability of persons attending college there; the decrease thereafter occurs mainly because of their departure. The large decline for the Midwest results from the departures of both military personnel and college students, other types of voluntary outmigration, and virtually no new inmigration from other areas. The increase for the South at the end of two years results from males leaving Mainland colleges early who subsequently

enlisted or were drafted into the armed forces. The relative stability thereafter in the South reflects the continuing recruitment or drafting of college graduates during the Vietnam War years.

Assuming that 232 persons left Hawaii each year and their migration patterns to, from, and on the Mainland reflected those described above, what would a census showing residence in Hawaii in a given year and on the Mainland five years later indicate in terms of numbers and distribution? This question is particularly relevant in testing whether the 1970 census distribution of "other nonwhite" outmigrants resembles that for outmigrants in the 1964 high school sample. Over the five year period, 877 moves or 75.6 percent of the 1160 moves actually made to the Mainland would be counted. An additional 21 moves were to foreign military bases (mostly Vietnam). The distribution on the Mainland shown by the hypothetical census and that shown for "other nonwhites" aged 14 and over who lived in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970 is shown in Table 11.1.

Considering the small sample size on the national public use census tape, the correspondence between it and the distribution generated from the sample is quite close. From the four percent public use sample available for the west coast states, it was estimated that 44 percent resided in California and an additional 11 percent were in Northwestern states. These figures are quite close to the estimates generated with the questionnaire sample. The largest discrepancies in Table 11.1 concern the Mountain and Southern states. Considering the popularity of a number of colleges in Colorado and, to a lesser extent, in Utah, the estimate for the Mountain states generated by the public use sample is

Table 11.1

Proportion of "Other Nonwhite" 1965-70 Outmigrants by Region of Residence in 1970 Shown By One Percent Census Tape, Compared to Projected Five Year Outmigration of Hawaii High School Graduates in Sample

Region of Residence	Census	Questionnaire Sample
California	48	47
Northwest	17	13
Mountain	2	9
South	15	10
Midwest	12	14
Northeast	7	8
N	138	175*

*Including 118 Mainland residents and 57 returnees. Moves were projected as described in text. 877 moves were projected by this method.

Sources: One percent public use census tape sample for the U.S. and questionnaire sample.

much too low, although the estimate from the 1964 class may be too high. Outmigration to the Southern states, on the other hand, may well have been underestimated by the questionnaire sample as persons leaving Hawaii to attend college were probably more likely to complete the questionnaire than those serving in the military.[1] What the 1964 class sample does, however, is to confirm that as compared to the mid-1950s, the initial outmigration of Hawaii-born nonwhites was shifting away from California. It is also evident from Figures 11.2A through 11.2F that the 1965-70 outmigration figures given in the published 1970 census conceal a large volume of movement both on the Mainland and back to Hawaii.

[1]The basis for this belief is the fact that in general, level of education is positively correlated with the probability of responding to a mailed questionnaire.

Figure 11.2G shows that in the sixth year there was a 10 percent increase in the proportion living in California outside the two major metropolitan areas. The bulk of the increase resulted from the movement of persons previously living outside California who finished graduate school or were released from the military. However, persons previously in Los Angeles also moved into adjacent Orange and Ventura counties. Excluding those in foreign countries, 61 percent were in California by the end of the sixth year. California's gain in the sixth year came at the expense of every other region.

Direct comparison of Figures 11.2G and 11.2H is risky in the sense that whereas almost all in the Mainland sample had been on the Mainland for at least six years, only slightly more than half were on the Mainland for at least 10 years as of 1975. However, the initial distribution of those who were on the Mainland 10 years or more in 1975 is almost identical to the initial distribution of the entire Mainland sample. A continuing increase in the proportion outside the two major metropolitan areas in California is evident. Most of the increase resulted from relocation from Los Angeles County to adjoining counties mentioned earlier as well as to San Bernardino County (also adjacent). The proportion in California increased to 62 percent, or 65 percent if those in foreign bases are excluded. Again, California's gain came at the expense of almost every other region.

A comparison of Figures 11.2H and 11.2B is especially instructive. A huge increase is evident for the part of California outside of the major metropolises. Whereas most who went to this area in the first year of migration were stationed at military bases, the large majority in

the tenth year were either in counties adjacent to Los Angeles County or in the San Joaquin Valley in interior California. A substantial increase is also evident for the San Francisco metropolitan area. In contrast, a decline was recorded for Los Angeles County. All told, the proportion in California increased by 20 percent. Most of the increase came at the expense of the Midwest, although a large decline is evident for the Northwest as well. Interestingly, the distribution at the end of the tenth year is quite similar to the distribution of the "other nonwhite" Hawaii-born in 1970 (see Table 4.8). In short, the original location on the Mainland is a poor predictor of where a person will be many years later. Residence patterns described above suggest that California has a strong attraction that results in a substantial inmigration of Hawaii-born from other areas, once they complete schooling or military service in other areas. There is also suggestive evidence that many who are originally attracted to the two large metropolitan areas of California disperse to other areas within California after they gain financial security and learn more about other areas. In order to determine reasons for the shifts portrayed in Figures 11.2A through 11.2H, it is worthwhile to look at the moves directly.

11.3 Moves Made on the Mainland: Purpose, Duration, and Direction

A glance at Figures 11.2A through 11.2H should dispell the notion of a residentially stable population once the initial move to the Mainland is made. As the numerous interstate moves made within regions are not shown on the maps and moves also tend to cancel each other out in terms of net direction, interstate mobility is understated by the maps. Just how mobile the migrants were is shown in Table 11.2.

Table 11.2

Number of Interstate Moves on the Mainland Made by Mainland Residents and Returnees in the Survey Sample

N. of Interstate Moves	% of Mainland	% of Returnees
0	42	61
1	17	27
2	17	6
3	14	4
4	8	0
5 or more	3	0
Mean Number	1.41	.52

That the Mainland sample was characterized by a much greater interstate mobility on the Mainland than were returnees is to be expected as the average time spent on the Mainland by returnees was only two and a half years, whereas the average was 8.4 years for the Mainland sample. Most of the interstate moves made by returnees involved military transfers.

Among the Mainland residents, one's probability of making an interstate move was very much related to the original destination (Table 11.3).

Excluding those initially assigned to military bases, more than two-thirds of persons who originally moved to California made no subsequent moves out of the state. In contrast, only about a fifth initially moving to other states made no subsequent interstate moves. Almost four-fifths of persons staying continuously in the state first moved to originally went to California. This is one reason why after

Table 11.3

Number and Percent in Mainland Sample Who Did Not Move to a Subsequent State

Original Destination	N. Initially Moving There	N. and % Who Did Not Leave Original State Moved to	(%)
Los Angeles	27	19	70
San Francisco	16	10	63
Other California	21	9	43
(exc. Mil. Bases)	(13)	(9)	(69)
Northwest	11	3	27
Mountain	11	2	18
South	6	0	0
Midwest	18	4	22
East	8	2	25
Cal. Exc. Mil.	56	38	68
Other States	54	11	20

Source: See text.

the end of the initial year of residence on the Mainland, California's share of the total increased each year thereafter.

An analysis of the 162 interstate moves made shows the following distribution by reason: military transfer, 43 percent; new job, 19 percent; job transfer, 15 percent; initial college on the Mainland, 3 percent; subsequent college on the Mainland, 11 percent; marriage, 6 percent; and other and unknown, 3 percent. Thus, nearly half of the moves made involved direct military transfers. The number of moves directly attributable to the influence of the military probably approached half of the total as release from military service generally involved an interstate move. Thus, much of the seeming tremendous mobility of the sample once the initial move was made involved involuntary institutional

causes. Although job transfers were involved in a very small proportion of initial moves, they did comprise a significant proportion of the moves made on the Mainland. Many of the transfers involved direct training for higher status jobs. Most of the moves made for subsequent schooling involved graduate school. Thus, more than two-thirds of the interstate moves involved involuntary military moves, job transfers (many of which were regarded as "career training" by the involved company) and continued education. This suggests that a marked decline in the interstate migration should occur once the migrants complete job and academic training. Table 11.4, which shows the number of interstate moves made by year lived on Mainland, appears to support this.

Table 11.4

Interstate Moves Made by Mainland Residents in the Questionnaire Sample

Year Lived on Mainland	N. Living Entire Year on Mainland	N. Making Interstate Moves	%	% Exc. Military Making Moves
1	118	23	20	7
2	117	21	18	10
3	116	20	17	6
4	116	14	12	9
5	113	30	27	24
6	108	22	20	16
7	97	11	11	7
8	81	8	10	5
9	74	6	8	6
10	60	3	5	3
11	50	1	2	2

Source: See text.

Military moves comprise approximately two-thirds of moves undertaken in the first three years of residence on the Mainland. Afterwards,

they drop off rapidly in terms of both relative and absolute importance. The flurry of moves generated during the fifth and sixth years are related to the completion of undergraduate school and the choice of a graduate school or job in a different state. In addition, a number of persons who joined the military were discharged at the end of the fourth year. After the fifth year there is an obvious pattern of increasing stability. This suggests that the distributional pattern shown in Figure 11.2H is approximately the "stable" Mainland distribution of the 1964 graduating class, insofar as an annual interstate migration rate of two percent can be termed "stable."

On an individual level, the moves seemed to largely counterbalance each other in terms of direction, and some moved a number of times only to end up very close to their original destination. Two examples are the female whose service in the military took her to Anniston, Alabama, Baltimore, San Francisco, Baltimore, and then back to San Francisco; and another female who originally accompanied her husband to Los Angeles; subsequent job transfers took the family to Denver, to a town in California approximately seventy miles from Los Angeles, to Omaha, and finally to a town in Orange County approximately twenty miles to the south of the original destination. However, a marked drift to California is nonetheless unmistakable. Excluding the first year, in which there was a large outmigration from California due to the location of basic training military facilities there, a total of 38 interstate moves were made into California compared to 23 moves out of California. California gained from every region except the Mountain states. In contrast, after the initial year on the Mainland, there were only six moves into the Midwest as

contrasted with 20 moves from there into other regions. Relative to the size of the population there at any given time, the South generated the greatest number of interregional moves with 22 moves into and 24 out of the South after the initial year. Approximately three-quarters of the moves into and out of the South involved military transfers. Moves into and out of other regions after the initial year are as follows: Eight into and 13 out of the Northwest, 13 into and 14 out of the Mountain states, 14 into and 12 out of the Northeast, and eight into and five out of foreign countries.

Although California was characterized by a low relative rate of outmigration, there was nevertheless considerable movement within California which resulted in a redistribution within the state. Six moved from Los Angeles to San Francisco; none moved in the opposite direction. A number of comments indicated a perception that San Francisco is "a better place to live." Five persons went to Los Angeles County from areas outside the San Francisco metropolitan area; however, nine left in the opposite direction, mostly to adjacent Orange, San Bernardino, and Ventura counties. Three left San Francisco for other counties outside of Los Angeles County; only one moved in the opposite direction. The net result was a decline in the proportion in Los Angeles County and an increase in other areas. This redistribution was especially true for the Japanese. Forty-two percent (16) originally moved to Los Angeles, but only 29 percent (nine) were there at the time of the survey. The author suspects that because of increased severity

of urban problems (especially smog) of Los Angeles, local outmigration from the isles is beginning to be directed more towards San Francisco.[2]

11.4 A Short Note on the Non-West Coast Residents

Those in the sample living on the west coast in the main appeared to be quite settled. Their responses to the question pertaining to what state they preferred to live in if they "had enough money to live anywhere" (Q43) revealed that almost all preferred living in the state they are in to other Mainland states. The number living in non-west coast areas is rather small and so dispersed geographically that it is difficult to generalize about them. New York (six residents) and Arizona (four residents) were the only non-west coast states with more than three residents. Two of the persons in Arizona were stationed at military bases there and another was attending graduate school. None of the four chose Arizona as the Mainland state they prefer to live in. These facts suggest that the number in Arizona has probably dropped since 1975. The five in other mountain states appeared to be quite "settled."

Most striking about the eight residents of southern states was the fact that none preferred living there to other Mainland areas. Two were

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[2]A preliminary questionnaire was given to students in an introductory geography class at the University of Hawaii by the author. Of the 43 completed questionnaires, 27 were returned by Hawaii-born students. Respondents were asked to rate 14 cities from 1 (highly unfavorable) to 5 (highly favorable). Los Angeles received an overall dismal rating of 2.0 (ninth among all cities) among the Hawaii-born. In contrast San Francisco received a rating of 3.5 (tops) among the Hawaii-born. Respondents were also asked to give initial impressions of each city. Twenty-six of the 27 Hawaii-born made negative comments about Los Angeles, with 21 specifically mentioning smog. Admittedly the sample is unrepresentative but the author nevertheless believes attitudes expressed represent a recent negative shift in the perceptions of Los Angeles.

stationed there (one in Texas and one in Florida), two married females while stationed there and settled in the spouse's home town (one in West Virginia and the other in Maryland), two females while living in other areas of the Mainland married southern-born spouses and went "home" with them (one to Texas and the other to Georgia), one was attending medical school in Texas and expected to return to Hawaii when schooling was completed, and the remaining female had a well-paying journalism job in Florida and appeared to be settled there. A future diminution of the number living in the southern states seems likely.

Those eight persons in the midwest in 1975 for the most part originally attended college there and stayed, although one in 1975 was still in graduate school, another (a military dependent in Hawaii) moved back to her childhood home in Illinois, and the remaining person came to southern Illinois because his best friend while he served in Vietnam lived there. Six preferred living in their present state of residence to other Mainland states and all appeared to be content to stay where they were. From the questionnaire responses it seems unlikely that any in the Midwest (who represent only a remnant of a large initial group) will move to other regions in the near future.

Of the nine persons in the northeast, two married persons from the area while still in Hawaii and moved with their husbands, one returned to his childhood town in Connecticut, and six (five from other parts of the Mainland) moved there because of job opportunities or transfers. Four of the nine preferred living in their state of residence to other Mainland states; the remainder preferred the west coast. The northeast appears to be the one non-west coast area that attracted persons because of economic

opportunities. However, many in the sample would undoubtedly depart upon receiving comparable job offers on the west coast.

New York City deserves special mention, both because it contained three in the sample whereas no more than one resided in any other non-west coast city, and the fact that the occupations of the three (actor, dancer, and management consultant) suggest that in occupational characteristics the type of person attracted to New York City is far from typical. Although the local residents of Hawaii are probably as "anti-New York City" as any in the country,[3] it has a strong appeal for persons in entertainment who find Hawaii "too small" as a place to develop their talents and receive recognition. Hawaii's best-known 1964 high school graduate, Bette Midler, achieved stardom on Broadway.[4] A number of lesser-known personages from Hawaii have also achieved considerable success on Broadway.[5] Both persons in entertainment specifically moved from Hawaii to New York City because of this conducive atmosphere for developing entertainment talents. In contrast, the majority living in other non-west coast areas were living where they were not by choice, but because of specific circumstances.

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[3]In the survey cited in the previous footnote, the Hawaii-born rated New York City 13th (with a score of 1.7) of the 14 cities listed. Easily in last place was Chicago (with a score of 1.3), the destination of many aspiring Nisei outmigrants from Hawaii in the years following World War II.

[4]No, she was not part of the survey sample!

[5]Perhaps the best known is Yvonne Elliman who played Mary Magdalene in the rock opera "Jesus Christ, Superstar." A number of others are discussed in Janos Gereben, "Hawaii's Neglected Talent," Honolulu Star-Bulletin, January 19, 1976, p. A-8.

Many attributes of New York City that make it attractive for persons in certain specialized occupations undoubtedly make it unattractive for the average outmigrant. The only returnee (a Japanese male) who originally moved to New York City stated he moved there because "on an impulse I applied for a job with an airline for a position in New York City and much to my surprise I got it." After two years he moved to Los Angeles because "I got fed up with terrible living conditions in New York (City)." For the average potential local outmigrant, both the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas offer adequate job variety as well as a physical and social environment more congenial than that of New York City.

In summary, a large proportion of persons living in non-west coast areas are there because of individual circumstances, rather than by initial choice. The notable exception is the New York City group. New York City appears to be the one non-west coast city offering certain desired attributes not available in west coast cities. The fact that a considerable share, especially in the South, prefer to live in Mainland states other than those they are living in suggests that there is still considerable potential for interstate moves, especially to California.

11.5 Summary

In this chapter, the changing patterns of residence on the Mainland among the survey sample has been examined. It was shown that large geographical shifts related to occupational, military, and educational considerations have occurred. These shifts have increased the proportion over time in California, largely at the expense of the Midwestern states. Although after the fifth year of Mainland residence the proportion

engaging in interstate moves has declined yearly, there appears to be considerable potential for further interstate moves among persons not on the west coast.

In Chapter XII, attention will be given to the individual assessments of moves made to the Mainland and, if returnee, back to Hawaii.

CHAPTER XII

ASSESSMENTS OF MOVES MADE TO THE MAINLAND AND BACK TO HAWAII

12.1 Introduction

For most local outmigrants, the Mainland represents a substantial change from Hawaii in terms of climate, physical landscape, "bigness," and people. Therefore, substantial adjustments are required on the part of most. Considering the natural amenities of Hawaii as well as the close familiy ties that characterize most local families, it is plausible to expect many movers to the Mainland to feel "stranded" and unhappy. This expectation receives support from the large percentage who return to Hawaii. In this chapter, Mainland residents and returnees assess the wisdom of moves made to and (for returnees) back from the Mainland, their feelings about either staying on the Mainland or returning to Hawaii, and their expectations as to where they will live in the future.

12.2 Evaluations of the Wisdom of Moving to the Mainland

In Question 19, both returnees and Mainland residents were asked, "Was the move from Hawaii to the Mainland a wise one?" They were then asked to explain why. Responses to Question 19 are shown in Table 12.1.

Almost half of both Mainland residents and returnees asserted being "very pleased" with the move to the Mainland. Approximately a quarter in both groups expressed mixed feelings and only a negligible share in each group expressed unhappiness with the move to the Mainland.

Table 12.1

Distribution of Responses to the Question "Do You Think Your Move Away from Hawaii to the Mainland was a Wise One?

Response	Number and (%) Mainland		Returnee	
Very Pleased	52	(44)	22	(48)
Quite Pleased	28	(24)	12	(26)
Mixed Feelings	33	(28)	11	(24)
Quite Unhappy	2	(2)	1	(2)
Very Unhappy	3	(3)	0	
Total	118		46*	

*Two missing responses

Source: See text.

Both the Mainland residents and returnees appear on the whole to be pleased with moves made to the Mainland. If returnees are generally those who are failures in a new environment, there is no evidence of it in this sample.

A breakdown of reasons given for answering Question 19 as it was answered is given in Table 12.2.

After looking at the distribution of positive responses in Table 12.2, the reader may be excused for assuming that the Mainland residents and returnees were answering different questionnaires. Whereas the Mainland residents stress economic benefits and, to a considerably lesser extent, a favorable lifestyle, returnees stress intellectual development and, to a lesser degree, travel and making new friends. It is reasonable to surmise that many of the Mainland residents take the benefits mentioned by the returnees for granted. Most are settled into occupations and have growing families; thus, economic considerations

Table 12.2

Distribution of Responses to the Open-Ended Question (Question 20) on Why the Move to the Mainland was Evaluated as it Was

	Percent of All Persons Giving Response	
	Mainland	Returnee
Positive Response		
Likes Mainland Job	49	2
Mainland Cost of Living Lower	26	4
Mainland Pay Better	25	0
Likes Mainland Lifestyle	18	0
Have Grown Intellectually	15	51
Many Things to do on Mainland	14	2
Travel Possible on Mainland	11	26
College Better on Mainland	8	15
Made Mainland Friends	5	17
Neutral Response	4	4
Negative Response		
"Hawaii Home"	16	4
Miss Family	15	4
Miss Friends	9	2
Hawaii Friendlier	8	11
Homesick	4	8
N	118	48

Source: See text

would be expected to be important. By contrast, a majority of returnees appear to have never held gainful employment on the Mainland and therefore can be expected to be less appreciative of the economic benefits of living on the Mainland.

None of the negative responses made by either Mainland residents or returnees concerned economic conditions on the Mainland. Most focused on missing Hawaii and its climate and people, relatives and friends, and

the purported unfriendliness of Mainland people. Overall, the number of negative comments is small compared to the positive comments. The fact that Mainland residents gave a higher percentage of responses indicating they missed Hawaii and friends and relatives does not mean that a large share of returnees did not share these feelings while on the Mainland. There was a tendency among the returnees to stress the positive aspects of their stay on the Mainland. To what extent the returnees suffered from "homesickness" while on the Mainland will be investigated in the following section.

In giving reasons why Question 19 was answered as it was, those answering "quite pleased" tended to give similar answers to those answering "very pleased," although six Mainland residents answering "quite pleased" stated they did miss family and/or friends. However, those expressing mixed feelings tended to be much more negative about residence on the Mainland than those answering "quite pleased." Similarly, the small number of persons answering "quite unhappy" and "very unhappy" gave similar answers. To give a flavor of how Mainland residents and returnees assessed their moves, a number of responses are given below.

Very Pleased with Move: Mainland Residents

Caucasian Female in California. Born in Hawaii County (Big Island).
Job opportunities are better here, cost of living is lower here than in Hawaii. I enjoy the area and I have a good job here.

Hawaiian Male in Utah.
I have a better place to live, less congestion, people are still friendly, I feel more aggressive in business, there is a chance to grow with economy, the city is moving "outward," not "upward."

Japanese Male in Illinois
I am married, have two kids, a job, a house (buying), a car, motorcycle, etc. These would have been an impossibility in Hawaii.

Hawaiian Female in Alaska.

We have a better life here, we are able to live the life we wanted, without much interference with relatives. We have a beautiful home, good job, and a cleaner life.

Very Pleased with Move: Returnees

Japanese Female who attended college in Iowa.

I learned, experienced, saw much, and met many fine people, did things I probably would never had [sic] if not for living on the Mainland.

Filipino Male who joined the Navy and later worked in California.

I'm very pleased because I have fulfilled my childhood dream of seeing the Mainland. I now know what it's like and appreciate Hawaii more.

Japanese Female--went to California to work and escape from parents.

It was an experience I will never forget. I learned a lot about the economics of living away from home and with living with non-family. I wish I had stayed longer, travelled more.

Japanese Female who went to California for junior college and later employment.

It was such a good experience to see how others live, learned racial discrimination, weather changes, vastness of country. Became independent and responsible. Most important--mainlanders do not understand "pidgin."

Mixed Feelings: Mainland Residents

Japanese Male in California. Born on Kauai.

Although I have been extremely successful in my field and have been greatly rewarded. My social life on the other hand hasn't been very good. All of my friends have moved to Hawaii and I haven't found to[o] many girl friends.

Caucasian Female born on Oahu, presently in Texas.

When you marry a Texan, you move back to Texas, but my heart will always be in Hawaii!

Hawaiian Female in California

The Mainland has introduced us to a vast spectrum of "lifestyles" and different people. Its opened our eyes to all types of "hard-times" and "happiness." It brought out many hidden talents that were hidden inside my husband and myself. Our way of thinking is so much broader than our family and friends in Hawaii. On the other hand, we have missed our families and friends and Hawaii's "atmosphere." We wish we were still living in Hawaii quite often.

Hawaiian Male in Michigan.
The economic opportunities are great--but my heritage and tradition are deeply imbedded within me.

Mixed Feelings: Returnees

Japanese Male who served in armed forces for four years in California.
The cost of living in California is really lower than Hawaii and it was really easy for an average person to make a start there but yet Hawaii is my home and the people are a lot friendlier here.

Filipino Female who went with husband to his home town in New York.
I liked the East Coast Region, the 4 seasons, climate and the quality of living. However, my family and friends are still in Hawaii and aside from my in-laws I found it difficult to form firm friendships with people.

Hawaiian Female who went with husband to his home town in Connecticut.
Because it was an experiment to see if my husband could make it. Well, he could but I cound't. It was a lesson I'll never forget. The country was beautiful but the people was [sic] cold.

Unhappy with Move: Mainland Residents

Chinese Female in California.
I have family and friends in Hawaii and the weather is perfect. In the three states I've lived in (and visited many more) none can compare to Hawaii in climate and people.

Hawaiian Female in California.
The people are nicer and get along better in Hawaii. Life is more enjoyable in Hawaii. Everyone isn't so rushed. The climate could not be beat.

Unhappy with Move: Returnee

Hawaiian Male who joined armed forces and went to Europe after basic training in California and Georgia.
Homesick.

Among the returnees, the assessment of the wisdom of the move was linked to its original purpose. Three-fifths of those attending college were "very pleased" with the move and all who took immediate jobs on the Mainland expressed satisfaction with the move. In contrast, only two of the 12 serving in the military were "very pleased"; half had mixed or

negative feelings about the move. Considering the large number who went only to fulfill reserve unit obligations and spent less than a year on the Mainland, and the fact that service at military stations tends to give one a distorted view of the surrounding area, these negative feelings are to be expected (see Section 3.8). Twenty-three of the twenty-six females among the returnees were "very" or "quite pleased" with their move; in contrast, nine of the 20 males had mixed or negative feelings about the move. This differential largely results from the negative perceptions of those in the armed forces.

Among the Mainland residents there was no statistical relationship between original purpose and assessment of the move. Most, whatever their original intentions for moving, had lived on the Mainland for many years and settled into occupations. There was no statistical relationship between sex of the respondent and assessment of the move to the Mainland. In fact, the assessment of moves made did not show a strong correlation with any of the measured demographic characteristics of the Mainland residents.

Although most of the returnees were pleased with their move to the Mainland, the fact remains that they returned to Hawaii. Their reasons for returning to Hawaii will be examined in the next section.

12.3 Why did the Returnees Return to Hawaii?

In Question 26 the returnees were asked "Why did you return to live in Hawaii?" In the following question they were asked to assess the importance of a number of reasons listed for returning to Hawaii.

On the open-ended question there was a tendency to answer in terms of activities completed on the Mainland or contemplated in Hawaii. The distribution of answers is shown in Table 12.3.

Table 12.3

Distribution of Answers Given to the Question "Why Did You Return to Live in Hawaii?"

Reason	N	%
Education Completed on Mainland	8	17
Finished Military Service	7	15
Job Offer in Hawaii	5	10
Returned "Home"	4	8
Be with Family	4	8
Disliked Mainland	4	8
Military Husband had Unaccompanied Tour of Duty	3	6
Family Obligations	2	4
Choice of Husband	2	4
Homesick	2	4
Look for Work	2	4
Exchange Teaching Contract Expired and Marriage	1	2
Military Transfer to Hawaii	1	2
Hawaii Environment Better	1	2
Unemployed	1	2
No Answer	1	2
N	48	

Source: See text

A glance at Table 12.3 reveals little evidence of "failure" on the Mainland. The sole person (a Filipina) who was unemployed could not find a teaching job in New York, but probably more important to her return was the fact that her husband "was extremely dissatisfied with the job he had." Only a small minority specifically mentioned the Mainland as being a poor place to live. One Japanese male who served in the military

mentioned "escaping from white supremacy," and a Portuguese female from Maui who married a serviceman from the Mainland returned after six years on the Mainland because "We got tired of the rush of city life. Got fed up with racial problems. Also worried if children would get hassled in school for racial reasons."

Only two persons, both Japanese females, returned because of family obligations. One returned to be with a parent during surgery and the other's father requested her help in a newly established store. However, considerations of family and "home" were of considerable importance. A number received offers of employment before returning to Hawaii.

One answer, that of a Japanese female who was employed in California for nine months, is worth citing here because it contains a number of reasons which were undoubtedly of importance to many not citing them:

> I had applied for and was accepted for a job. My friends were leaving and I had seen many of the sights that I wanted to see and I'd heard the job situation was going to get worse.

Besides the obvious reason that a job offer was made, the perception that if the move was not made then, the Hawaii job situation might deteriorate, making a later return more difficult,[1] and the facts that Hawaii friends were beginning to return and that the basic curiosity about the Mainland was satisfied undoubtedly were motivations for the return of many. A number of Mainland residents, both in the questionnaire and personal interviews mentioned that the loneliest time on the Mainland occurred when friends from Hawaii returned "home."

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[1]In the case cited above, the perception was accurate. The teaching job was accepted in 1970. Since then the demand for beginning teachers in the public schools in Hawaii has been virtually nil.

The above suggests that social rather than economic reasons were the primary considerations in the decisions to return. This is confirmed by the ratings of reasons listed in Question 27 for returning to Hawaii.

Table 12.4

Mean Scores on Question "Why Did You Return to Live in Hawaii?"

4 = Very important
3 = Fairly important
2 = Not very important
1 = Not at all a factor

Reason Given	Mean Score	% Answering "Fairly" or "Very Important"
To be with Relatives	2.93	70
Hawaii is Beautiful	2.91	70
Hawaii Climate Better	2.78	65
Life More Relaxed in Hawaii	2.63	63
To be with Friends	2.59	63
Air Cleaner in Hawaii	2.59	54
People more Friendly in Hawaii	2.54	52
Homesick	2.32	43
Finished Schooling	2.28	41
Job Offer in Hawaii	1.87	27
To look for a Job	1.78	30
Spouse Wanted to Move	1.74	26
Felt Discriminated Against	1.46	11
To get Married	1.43	17
Could not Find Good Job on Mainland	1.28	6
Voluntary Transfer	1.13	4
Unemployed on Mainland	1.13	2
Involuntary Transfer	1.06	2
Lower Living Costs in Hawaii	1.02	0
N	46*	

*Two did not answer this section.

Source: See text

Table 12.4 suggests that economic factors are of small importance in the return of Hawaii residents. The response "to be with relatives"

ranks first, followed closely by a number of stereotyped responses about what makes Hawaii a special place, as well as "to be with friends." Judging by the scores in Table 12.4 as well as responses elsewhere in the questionnaires, local Hawaii residents in general believe in the essential validity of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau images concerning what makes Hawaii a "special place." The lures of relatives (especially), friends, and perceived attributes of Hawaii and its people are the crucial considerations in return to Hawaii.

A factor analysis demonstrates a high intercorrelation between the responses on the attributes of Hawaii. These responses were statistically independent of the responses "to be with friends" and "to be with relatives" and the latter two responses were statistically independent of each other. Thus, they correlated highly on different dimensions.[2] The results of the factor analysis are shown in Table 12.5.

The virtual statistical independence of the influence of friends, influence of relatives, and the cluster of variables describing the

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[2]The purpose of a factor analysis is to ascertain groups of variables that have a high intercorrelation with each other but are statistically independent of other groups of variables. In a factor analysis, a "dimension" that explains the maximum amount of variation in the data used is generated. The correlation of each variable with the factor generated is shown. Clusters of variables with high correlations (loadings) with a dimension, insomuch as they display conceptually similar attributes, can be given a label which is then applied to the dimension. Other dimensions (as many as there are variables) that are statistically independent of each other as well as the first dimension are then generated. Only the first few, however, are generally interpretable and with any practical significance. This is admittedly a truncated account although the author believes the analysis done above is not of importance such as to merit a full discussion. For those who know nothing about factor analysis the exposition of R. J. Rummel, "Understanding Factor Analysis," Journal of Conflict Resolution (V), January, 1966, pp. 1-24 is recommended.

Table 12.5

Factor Analysis of Reasons for Returning to Hawaii

The first five dimensions generated are shown.
Only variables having a correlation of at least
.5 with any dimension are listed.

Variable	D1	D2*	D3**	D4	D5
Life More Relaxed Here	.85				
Hawaii People more Friendly	.91				
Hawaii Climate Better	.90				
Hawaii is Beautiful	.83				
Air Cleaner in Hawaii	.81				
Transfer--Moved by Company		.88			
Transfer--Wanted to Move		.86			
Cound Not Find Good Job			.64		
Unemployed on Mainland			.90		
Friends in Hawaii				.86	
Relatives in Hawaii					.63

*Practical significance virtually nil as only two were transferred.
**Practical significance also virtually nil.

Source: See text.

attractive attributes of Hawaii suggest that different types of individuals are motivated to return by the three basic motivations listed above. However, a canonical analysis linking reasons for return with demographic characteristics of respondents failed to be enlightening. Motivations for return are undoubtedly linked to attitudinal variables not elicited in the questionnaire.

A comparison of the results presented in this section with those in other parts of the United States is unfortunately precluded by the lack of any comparable study. Although the loyalty of the local population to the perceived positive attributes of Hawaii and their attachment

to relatives may well be stronger than those of most areas on the Mainland,[3] the author nevertheless believes that comparable studies taken elsewhere would yield similar results to this study. Serious rethinking is required on the question of why local inhabitants return to their native areas.

Although the returnees to Hawaii in general do not return for reasons of economic advancement in Hawaii or because of economic distress on the Mainland, the rate of return is nevertheless very much influenced by economic conditions in Hawaii. Evidence for this is in the fact that whereas the volume of local outmigration appear to have been similar in the late 1950s and 1960s, the 1970 census shows a volume of return migration in the late 1960s that was almost double that in the 1950s. Just as persons do not migrate with the purpose of failing economically, neither do they return with that purpose in mind. One need only recall the 1956 follow-up study of the 1952 high school graduates that showed most military personnel on the Mainland expecting to stay there because of better economic opportunities there (see Section 4.11) and evidence from the present study that indicate the return to Hawaii of most who served in the military in the mid-1960s to realize the truth of this observation.

12.4 Why Have the Mainland Residents Not Returned?

In retrospect, it is obvious to the author that the greatest failing of the questionnaire was in the fact that the above question was not

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[3]The two most comparable areas in the U.S. that the author believes are characterized by equally strong regional and family loyalties are the Mormon area centered on Utah and the largely Acadian counties in southern Louisiana.

posed directly to Mainland residents. However, considerable insight to this question can be gained from various responses elsewhere in the questionnaire. It is apparent from reasons given for why the move to the Mainland was or was not wise that economic motivations were dominant in continued residence on the Mainland. However, this begs the question of why the Mainland residents have not responded to the same social attractions of Hawaii that characterized the returnees. One clue lies in the fact that most returnees left the Mainland at the completion of a specified task such as college or the armed forces. Social and economic bonds to the area moved to on the Mainland are the weakest at such a time.

The following statement a Portuguese-Filipino male living in California made on why he was very pleased with his move to the Mainland is relevant here as it describes to a considerable degree why the majority of Mainland residents with positive feelings about the area they live in have stayed:

> I liked the town, weather, people, church, etc. I just began to feel at home here.

The increasing sense of rootedness on the Mainland with increasing duration of residence is undoubtedly the primary factor why the social blandishments have not attracted them back to Hawaii. Often, this sense of rootedness comes unexpectedly without any desire for it to occur. For example, a Japanese female who met her Hawaii-born Japanese husband in Los Angeles and settled there expressed mixed feelings about her move to the Mainland because

> I am quite happy here, but home is still home. The first five years here, I always thought we'd move back to Hawaii. Now, with three children and a home we are more settled and I have adjusted to the fact that we'll probably live here.

For some, the social "glue" has been provided by marriage to a Mainland resident. Often, this has kept the respondent on the Mainland whereas a move back to Hawaii would undoubtedly otherwise have been made. For example, two Japanese males serving in the military married females from West Virginia and Maryland and settled in their home states. Both stated they would return to Hawaii if it were not for family ties on the wife's side. It appears evident from the questionnaire that at least 13 of the 118 Mainland residents stayed on the Mainland primarily because of marriage to a Mainland resident. Although 11 of the 13 expressed mixed or negative feelings about living on the Mainland, only one (a Portuguese female) planned to return and she was in the process of obtaining a divorce. Other moves back to Hawaii may well occur if more divorces occur in this group, but the main motivation would be the chance to act on the areal preferences, rather than the need for "family" to cushion the shock of a divorce.[4]

Thirteen Mainland residents were either in the military or had husbands in the military. Of the ten Hawaii-born nonwhites in this group, six planned to return to Hawaii when military service was completed.[5] Another eight were either in graduate school or had Hawaii-born husbands in graduate school. Of this number, six planned to return

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[4]This is not to deny the important role that relatives in Hawaii can play in this regard. However, the largest cause of unhappiness (mentioned in nine cases) among those stranded on the Mainland by marriage is the long distance from relatives in Hawaii.

[5]None of the three non-Hawaii-born Haoles, however, expected or wanted to return to Hawaii.

when schooling was completed. Certainly, one's plans are not altogether accurate indicators of whether a move will be made, but it is nonetheless significant that of the 97 Mainland residents not in the military or graduate school, only 12 categorically stated they would return to Hawaii someday and five in this group stated it would be for retirement. An important consideration is that those still in school or the military will experience a change in employment status whereas the balance, who are either gainfully employed in the civilian labor force or married to someone who is, are more rooted in terms of employment, residence in one location, and fixed assets (such as owned housing) on the Mainland.

12.5 How do Returnees Assess their Return to Hawaii and Whether They Will Return to the Mainland in the Future?

In questions 28 through 32, returnees were asked whether they believed they were financially better off in Hawaii than they would have been had they stayed on the Mainland, whether they were glad they returned to Hawaii and whether they believed that a move to the Mainland in the future was possible. Responses to questions 29, 29, and 31 are summarized in Table 12.6.

Although more returnees felt they would be financially better off on the Mainland than the reverse, their feelings about personal financial conditions were somewhat more sanguine than those of the nonmigrants (Table 10.2, Q37) and considerably more so than those of the Mainland residents (see Section 12.6), notwithstanding their low relative levels of income and home ownership (see Table 9.5). Based on occupational and education characteristics the long-term average earnings of returnees

appear promising, but the author believes there is an element of rationalization in the returnees' perceptions of their financial conditions.

Table 12.6

Summary of Responses of Returnees to Questions 28, 29, and 31 in the Questionnaire

Q28.	Is your financial position better in Hawaii than it would be if you had stayed on the Mainland?		%
	Worse in Hawaii	13	28
	About the Same in Hawaii	8	17
	Better in Hawaii	9	20
	Don't Know	16	35
Q29.	Overall, are you glad that you returned to Hawaii?		
	Unhappy about Return	0	0
	Mixed Feelings about Return	7	15
	Quite Glad about Return	6	13
	Very Glad about Return	33	72
Q31.	Do you think that you will someday return to the Mainland to live?		
	Yes, Next Year	2	4
	May Someday Return to Mainland	9	20
	Move to Mainland Unlikely	26	57
	Will not Move to Mainland	9	20
	N	46*	

*Two did not answer this part of questionnaire

Source: See text

More than seven-tenths expressed great happiness at having returned to Hawaii and less than a sixth had mixed feelings about the return. Reasons given for being glad the return move was made are similar in distribution to those given by the nonmigrants on the question concerning whether they were glad to be living in Hawaii. Nineteen made

a general statement that Hawaii was the best place in the world to live, seven mentioned family ties, three each mentioned friends and the conducive atmosphere for raising children, two appreciated the opportunity to attend graduate school at "home" and with resident tuition, and one each mentioned enjoyment of his job and clean air. In short, just as the large majority of returns were motivated by social considerations, for most they were paramount in assessing the wisdom of the return. Many would agree with the statement of an Oahu-born Haole female who worked for six months in Portland, Oregon, that

> Money is important, but not the most important thing for living in Hawaii. The friendliness of the people in Hawaii or the weather couldn't be matched anywhere else. . . . My heart is here in Hawaii.

Among the eight expressing mixed feelings about returning to Hawaii were the two Japanese females who returned from California because of family obligations. Both stated they enjoyed where they had been living and had been receiving considerably more pay in their occupations. It is unlikely either would have returned had they not felt obligated to. The one female who mentioned unemployment as a consideration for returning to Hawaii expressed mixed feelings about the return because "I now realize that Hawaii's cost of living is much too high and the salaries are much too low." The Japanese male who returned to Maui to be with "my family and my kind of people and to get away from white supremacy" had mixed feelings because of "job opportunities and the fact that Haoles are starting to take over our Hawaii." A foreign-born Haole male who attended seminary in California and returned to accept a pastoral assignment mentioned "ties on the Mainland as well as Hawaii." A Chinese male who served in the armed forces expressed the view that

"It's good to be back with friends and in a nice place, but I still feel that I would like to learn and live a bit more on the Mainland or elsewhere." The remaining person with mixed feelings, a Japanese male who served in the armed forces, gave a philosophical view that "One can never say what might have happened if I did decide to stay and make it my home."

More than three-quarters termed a future move to the Mainland as unlikely or inconceivable. There is no statistical relationship between the assessment of the wisdom of the return move and whether a future move to the Mainland was likely. There was, however, a strong relationship between "rootedness" in Hawaii and future plans. One manifestation of this is the fact that both females who returned only because of family obligations termed a future move to the Mainland as unlikely because they had become settled. According to the female who returned to help her father manage his store:

> Sometimes want to move. More opportunities to travel there, cost of living lower, wages higher. But I am now managing and find it difficult to make a change--and I really love Hawaii although it does not offer quite as much as I would like to have.

Both persons (a Filipino and a Japanese male) who expected to return to the Mainland in the following year had both work and college experience on the Mainland, returned to Hawaii to take advantage of resident tuition and the opportunity to live at home while attending the University of Hawaii, rated the return as very successful for that reason, and termed the local job market for their specialties (one in electronics, the other unknown) as nonexistent. For them, the move back to Hawaii was considered strategic for long-run considerations but was not intended to be permanent.

Those nine persons stating that they thought it likely that they would return to the Mainland represent a rather "mixed bag." Two were military dependents who came to Hawaii either while their husbands were on unaccompanied-leave in Asia or stationed in Hawaii. One stated that she would probably stay on the Mainland after her husband's retirement from the military because of lower living costs there. Another male was a career serviceman who happened to receive a Hawaii assignment. Thus, in three of the nine cases, the returnees can be considered sojourners in that their moves to Hawaii were dictated by the military and they will move again under military orders. Their real decision on where to live permanently will occur upon separation from the armed forces. A fourth, a Japanese female who attended college on the Mainland, had recently married a serviceman who expected to return to the Mainland after separation from the armed forces.

Of the five unconnected with the military who thought a future move to the Mainland was likely, two had married Mainland spouses from the northeast and returned with them because of dissatisfaction with the Mainland. One expected to return because "There's land on the Mainland. . . . My husband is a natural farmer." The other termed the cost of living in Hawaii as "much too high." A Japanese male who worked in New York City and Los Angeles termed a move likely because "We have found that the family we have here and the friends we have here are quite the same as when we left and I would like it very much if they kept changing." He characterized family ties when he was a child as "unhappy" and in various parts of the questionnaire indicated continuing conflict with parents and siblings. The remaining two were Haole males born elsewhere.

One expected his vocation as a clergyman would eventually take him to the Mainland and the other, who was an instructor at a community college, thought a move quite possible for "financial security."

Among the various persons planning or expecting a move to the Mainland, there is a lack of "rootedness" either with the respondent or spouse to Hawaii. Economic considerations are important in four of the eleven cases but can hardly be considered as the overriding concern. For those in the military, the real choice on where to live will come with separation from the military. The fact that nearly a quarter of the returnees but only a negligible proportion of nonmigrants (Table 10.2, Q31) do believe there is at least a good chance that a future move to the Mainland will be made raises the question of what proportion of local outmigrants in their late twenties and early thirties were former returnees. The author suspects it is high, but empirical evidence from the census is lacking.

In summary, the returnees in general rate their return a success. Their views on why coincide with the views of the nonmigrants on why they preferred living in Hawaii. More than three-quarters viewed a future move to the Mainland as unlikely, at best. Satisfaction with the return moves was not related to future plans on where to live.

12.6 Opinions of Mainland Residents Concerning Their Present Mainland Residence and Future Plans

In Questions 20 through 24, Mainland residents were asked to assess their present financial position, their happiness on the Mainland, whether they hoped to return to Hawaii and whether they thought they would return.

The distribution of responses to the questions 20 through 23 are given in Table 12.7.

Table 12.7

Distribution of Responses Given by Mainland Residents to Questions 20, 21, 22, and 23

Q20 Is Your Financial Position Better on the Mainland than it Would be in Hawaii?		%
Yes, Is Better	84	71
Is About the Same	14	12
No, is Worse	2	2
Don't know	18	15
Q21 Are You Happier on the Mainland than You Would be If You Lived in Hawaii?		
Yes	51	43
Would Feel the Same in Hawaii	41	35
Would Feel Happier in Hawaii	26	22
Q22 Do You Hope Someday to Return to Live in Hawaii?		
Yes	47	40
Am Not Sure	52	44
No, Prefer Mainland	19	16
Q23 Do You Think You Will Someday Return to Hawaii to Live?		
Yes, Planning to Return Next Year	4	3
Will Return to Hawaii Someday	22	19
A Good Chance for Return	23	20
Don't Know	40	34
Doubt Return to Hawaii	25	21
Will Not Return to Hawaii	4	3
Total Number	118	

Source: See text.

As is obvious from Table 12.7, the overwhelming majority of Mainland residents believe their financial position is better on the Mainland than it would be in Hawaii. Of the two who did say their financial position

was worse on the Mainland, one was an unemployed Japanese-Haole male in medical school and the other was a Portuguese housewife who had just experienced a divorce and had no help from relatives in Hawaii. There was no statistical relationship between satisfaction with the move to the Mainland and the assessment of the relative financial condition; most of those with mixed or unhappy feelings about living on the Mainland stayed because they believed they were financially better off on the Mainland. However, whereas 44 of the 47 females who made an assessment of their financial condition said it was better on the Mainland, only 40 of the 53 males replied in the affirmative. This difference, which is significant at the 99 percent level, is rooted in reality; salaries of males in Hawaii tend to be comparable to those on the Mainland whereas salaries for jobs traditionally held by females are usually much lower in Hawaii (see Section 2.9).

About four-ninths believe they are happier on the Mainland than they would be if they had stayed in Hawaii (Q21); nearly a quarter feel the opposite. As is to be expected, there is a strong statistical relationship between "happiness" and assessment of the wisdom of the move. Thirty-seven of the 52 who were very pleased with their move believed they were happier on the Mainland; by contrast, none with mixed or negative assessments felt "happier" on the Mainland. All of those with negative assessments believed they would be happier in Hawaii as compared with about half who had mixed assessments and only three of the 90 with positive assessments of their moves. Again, there was no statistical realtionship between "happiness" and assessed financial status; the major difference between those who were "happy" and "unhappy" was in the evaluations of the social aspects of living on the Mainland. There is no

statistical relationship with the sex of the respondent, but Haoles (58.3 percent were happier on the Mainland as opposed to 12.3 percent who said they would be happier to be in Hawaii) were the most satisfied to be on the Mainland.

Approximately two-fifths expressed a hope to someday return to Hawaii (Q21). In contrast, less than a sixth categorically stated that they preferred to stay on the Mainland. It is apparent that Hawaii still has a strong attraction for the Mainland residents. Not surprisingly, there is again a strong statistical relationship with assessment of the move; however, less notable than the fact that three-quarters of those with mixed or negative assessments hoped to return as compared to none to the contrary is the fact that of those stating they were very pleased with the move to the Mainland, only a quarter stated they preferred the Mainland and more than a fifth expressed a hope to someday return to Hawaii. A third of the Haoles expressed a preference for the Mainland whereas a fifth hoped to return to Hawaii; in contrast, only a ninth of all others preferred the Mainland and four-ninths hoped to return to Hawaii someday.

Approximately two-fifths believed there was at least a good chance that a move back to Hawaii would be made in the future; about a quarter believed a future move to Hawaii was unlikely or impossible (Q23). Again, there were no statistical differences by sex or assessed financial situation. Of persons with positive perceptions of the Mainland move, a third regarded a move back to Hawaii or at least likely, as compared to an equal share who stated they doubted a return or would not return. Of those with mixed or negative feelings about the move to the Mainland,

three-fifths believed there was at least a good chance that a move back to Hawaii would be made whereas only a twelfth believed a return move was unlikely. There was a large difference between Haoles and others; 15 (63 percent) of the 24 Haoles stated that a return to Hawaii was unlikely or impossible whereas only 14 (15 percent) of the 94 others believed likewise. Only three of the Haoles believed there was a good chance of a return and only one Haole stated categorically that a return move would be made. Of the others, 20 (21 percent) believed there was a good chance a return move would be made and 25 (27 percent) stated that a return move would be made eventually or next year. To the extent that expectations are translated into reality, one can assume that Haoles who are raised in Hawaii and migrate to the Mainland are less likely to return than are other locals. There has been ample evidence given elsewhere in this study that this is indeed the case.

In Question 24, the respondent was asked to discuss the reasons why a future move to Hawaii was or was not envisioned. As is to be expected, given findings presented earlier in this chapter, social reasons were usually given for hoping or planning to return to Hawaii whereas economic reasons were usually given for wanting to stay on the Mainland. However, nearly half who doubted a return or expected not to return gave answers which showed satisfactions with the areas presently lived in. Often, "plans" given in Question 23 sounded like "hopes" in Question 24. Five of those expecting to return someday stated it would be for retirement. In general, the answers to Question 24 suggest less return movement back to Hawaii than those for Question 23. In fact, the personal interviews suggest that most are unlikely to return (see Section 14.10). For reasons

discussed earlier, those still in college or in the military are the most likely to return in the foreseeable future.

Representative answers to Question 24 are given below.

Planning to Return to Hawaii in the Following Year

Hawaiian Male serving in the military who planned immediate separation. "Quite pleased" with move to the Mainland.

My sense of "home" is still very much tied to Hawaii. It's an inner spirit that I cannot describe, a longing of some sort, to return to the peace of mind and tranquility I felt as a child.

Caucasian-Japanese Male finishing medical school in Texas. "Quite pleased" with move.

I have a job offer in Hawaii and I look forward to living close to relatives again.

Will Return to Hawaii Someday

Japanese Female in New Jersey. "Mixed feelings" about move.

When my husband (also local) completes his master's program we feel that job opportunities will be somewhat better for him in Hawaii but not until his schooling is completed.

Japanese Female in California. "Very pleased" with move to Mainland. Move back to Hawaii made a week after personal interview.

No place like home! Beaches, Hawaiian hospitality, informality, blue skies, Chunky's, W&M Burgers, Kenney's, Hawaiian food, Chinese food, Japanese food, Orientals, family.

Hawaiian Male from Kauai in California. "Very pleased" with move.

The old saying "There's no place like home." I usually spend my vacation in Hawaii (Kauai) and every year it becomes harder and harder to return to the Mainland.

Good Chance of Eventual Return to Hawaii

Japanese Male in Maryland. "Mixed feelings" about move.

My parents and brother do not live in Honolulu. I have three sisters who live there. We may all someday return to the West Coast if not Hawaii.

Chinese Female in California. "Very unhappy" with move.
We (she and her California-born husband) are planning to start our own business and hopefully expand rapidly in the future. This will enable us to financially move.

Japanese Male in California. "Very pleased" with Mainland move.
"Someday" means anytime in the future. I do like Hawaii and one of these days I may decide that a better opportunity exists there.

Don't Know

Japanese Female in California. "Quite unhappy" with Mainland move.
I would like to return there to live--very much. We have been back, but my husband never had the opportunity to look for a job. If the time is right and the opportunity is there, we will. But as of now, once a person here buys a home, it's hard to break ties. Jobs are hard to find in Hawaii, too.

Japanese Male in California. "Mixed feelings" about move.
It would be hard to find a job with similar pay in Hawaii. More important, however, is the current job situation. I feel it would be extremely difficult for me to find a job in Hawaii after being away so long.

Hawaiian Female in Arizona. "Quite pleased" with move.
Things are so costly in Hawaii, I don't know if we (she and her local husband in the air force) could afford to buy a house in Hawaii or live as comfortably as we are now.

Japanese Female in California. "Mixed feelings" about move.
As much as my husband and I want to return to live in Hawaii, we keep thinking of Hawaii's high cost of living, low wages, overpopulation, etc. and have second thoughts. Therefore, I really don't know.

Doubt Move Back to Hawaii

Japanese Female in California. "Quite pleased" with Mainland move.
Except for my parents--everything and everyone else that's important in my life are with me now.

Japanese Male in Illinois. "Very pleased" with Mainland move.
I like Hawaii; however, real estate prices and the population growth makes it undesirable at this time.

Hawaii-born Haole Male in California. "Very pleased" with Mainland move.
Job opportunities are not as good in Hawaii, wages are much lower, cost of living much higher; cost of housing unbelievably high. It would be unlikely that our children could live in Hawaii since these conditions can only worsen.

Japanese-Caucasian Female in California. "Very pleased" with move.
Depends on circumstances. If husband were transferred there of course I would go. If strictly own choice then I would say absolutely NO. No jobs, poor pay, houses and cost of living to[o] high!

Will Not Return

Mainland-born Haole Male in Florida. "Very pleased" with Mainland move.
Hawaii is a good place to visit but I don't want to live there any more.

Japanese Female in New York. "Very pleased" with move.
Because I am perfectly content with my life and all my opportunities and surroundings. I'm learning new things everyday whereas in Hawaii I think I'd fall into a rut.

In summary, a large share of the Mainland residents retain strong desires to return to Hawaii. Satisfactions with the Mainland tend to be economic whereas dissatisfactions are usually social. Many still envision returning to Hawaii someday; only in the future can it be determined whether most of the hopes and plans become reality. Except for persons still in the military or graduate school (as of 1975), the author believes the actual return rate will be low. Reasons of this belief lie in the weakening ties with Hawaii which for most are certain to occur with increasing duration of residence on the Mainland.

12.7 Perceptions of States Preferred for Residence if Money were no Restraint

In Question 43, all respondents were asked what state they would prefer to live in if they had no financial restraints. The distribution of responses by migration status is shown in Table 12.8.

Table 12.8

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Question 43, "If You Had Enough Money and Could Live Anywhere in the United States, What State Would You Choose?"

	First Choice		
State	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Hawaii	32 (82)	43 (90)	71 (60)
Other	7 (18)	5 (10)	47 (40)
California	5	3	27
Northwest State	2	1	9
Non-West Coast	0	1	11
Total	39	48	118

	Second Choice if First Choice Hawaii		
State	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
California	16 (50)	21 (49)	46 (65)
Northwestern State	8 (25)	10 (23)	8 (11)
Non-West Coast	3 (9)	7 (15)	7 (10)
None	5 (16)	5 (12)	10 (14)
Total	32	43	71

Source: See text.

As is evident from Table 12.8, both the nonmigrants and returnees overwhelmingly prefer Hawaii. That the returnees have an even stronger preference for Hawaii than the nonmigrants (although the difference is not statistically significant at the 95 percent level) is not unexpected as all but two returned to Hawaii by personal choice.[6] Even among those still on the Mainland, three-fifths preferred Hawaii. Of the 24 Haoles

[6]The two who returned because of family obligations preferred California.

on the Mainland, 15 (63 percent) preferred a Mainland state; of all others on the Mainland, only 32 (34 percent) expressed a like preference. An examination of the Haoles on the Mainland shows that 13 or the 16 who were born on the Mainland, but only two of the eight Hawaii-born preferred a Mainland state. That two-thirds of the Hawaii-born residents on the Mainland continued to prefer to live in Hawaii even though most had been on the Mainland many years shows the continuing attraction of Hawaii for local outmigrants. That all but two of the 31 Mainland residents with mixed or negative feelings about moving to the Mainland expressed a preference for Hawaii is not surprising; but the fact that more than 40 percent of both those with moderately or strongly positive feelings about moving to the Mainland nevertheless preferred Hawaii residence were there no financial restraints is impressive evidence of continued loyalty to Hawaii.

Of all persons listing a Mainland state as either a first choice or a second choice after Hawaii, about two-thirds specified California and an additional fifth listed either Oregon or Washington. Less than a sixth (29 of 177) mentioned a non-west coast state. This preference for the west coast in general and California in particular is present among persons in all three migration groups. Colorado (choice of six) was far more popular than any other non-west coast state. The choice of Mainland states, however, has the most influence in the future movement of persons already living on the Mainland. Of sixty-two persons in California who expressed a Mainland preference, 56 listed California, four voted for a northwestern state and only two preferred to live in a non-west coast state. Of the seven in the northwest, four voted for

the state they were living in and three opted for California. Of the 38 persons living elsewhere (including the five residing abroad), sixteen opted for California, nine for a northwestern state, and only 15 (including eight listing the state they presently resided in) for non-west coast states. Thus, there is a strong west coast preference even among those living in non-west coast areas. This preference has manifested itself in a drift to California and a much smaller movement to the northwest among persons who originally moved to areas outside the west coast. To the extent that the preference can be acted upon, there will be continued return to Hawaii from all parts of the Mainland and a drift from non-west coast areas (especially the south and northeast) to the west coast, particularly California.

12.8 Summary

In this chapter, the assessments of past moves and future plans of both returnees and Mainland residents have been discussed. In general, both Mainland residents and returnees evaluated their moves to the Mainland in positive terms. However, whereas the Mainland residents usually cited economic reasons for satisfaction, returnees stressed the mind-broadening aspects of residing on the Mainland. Social reasons predominated among reasons given for returning to Hawaii. Most returns were viewed positively, with social justifications usually given for rating the returns a success. Most of the minority of returnees who viewed a future move to the Mainland as quite possible or planned were, for a variety of reasons, not firmly rooted again in Hawaii. Although most Mainland residents did rate their move to the Mainland as

a success, there was nevertheless a large number, perhaps a majority, who had wishes to return to Hawaii sometime if conditions were favorable for a return. Of the major ethnic groups, only the Mainland-born Haoles were characterized by a lack of desire or plans to return to Hawaii.

Return to Hawaii is unlikely for most living on the Mainland, notwithstanding a majority preferring to live in Hawaii if money were no consideration. However, there has been a drift to the west coast among the Mainland residents and based on present preferences for Mainland residence, this trend should continue although at a much slower rate than previously.[7] The fact that many Mainland residents still have their "hearts" in Hawaii at the same time their "stomachs" are on the Mainland reinforces the argument made earlier that the rate of return is very sensitive to economic conditions in Hawaii.

Attitudes of the nonmigrants, returnees, and Mainland residents to aspects of living in Hawaii and the future of Hawaii, and their relevance to understanding changes caused by migration and future migration patterns from Hawaii will be discussed in Chapter XIII.

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[7]The justification for this statement lies in the declining interstate migration rates once the Mainland residents become "settled." See Chapter XI.

CHAPTER XIII

PERCEPTIONS OF HAWAII AND ITS FUTURE

13.1 Introduction

Migration to the Mainland is affected by perceptions of what it "has to offer" vis-à-vis Hawaii. As we have seen, the outmigration of local residents to Hawaii is undertaken for a variety of ostensive reasons, but common to most migrants is a desire to experience "what is on the big rock." Most persons who return do so because of family or friendship ties, or a perception that Hawaii is a superior place to live. Those staying on the Mainland, by contrast, are most attracted by economic opportunities there. This raises the questions of to what extent do outmigration and return migration change the participants and to what extent did they differ from the nonmigrants to begin with. In addition, how persons in the different migration groups (as defined in the survey sample) view changes taking place in Hawaii and their impact is relevant not only in terms of predicting future moves (or nonmoves), but what types of political demands one can expect from persons still in Hawaii.

Questions raised above are broadly addressed in Questions 41, 42, and 44 through 56 in the questionnaire. The first two mentioned questions concern the perceptions of Hawaii vis-à-vis the Mainland on given attributes and the importance of those attributes in deciding where to live. The latter thirteen questions address perceptions of changes taking place in Hawaii and their import for the future.

13.2 Perceptions of Hawaii Vis-à-Vis the Mainland

In Question 41, all persons were asked to compare Hawaii to the Mainland on items perceived by the author to be important determinants in migration considerations. Mean scores by migration group are presented in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1

Mean Scores by Migration Group to Question 41 in Which Respondent was Asked to Compare Hawaii to the Mainland on Specific Items

4 = much better in Hawaii
3 = somewhat better in Hawaii
2 = about the same in Hawaii
1 = somewhat worse in Hawaii
0 = much worse in Hawaii

Attribute	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Friendliness of People	3.63	3.40	3.04††**
Climate	3.51	3.55	3.11††**
Air Quality	3.43	3.61	3.20**
Race Relations	3.31	3.28	2.91†*
Recreation	2.26	2.66	2.35
Crime	2.15	2.17	2.10
Public Schools	1.76	1.98	1.85
Job Opportunities	1.55	1.43	.78††**
Wages	1.46	1.30	1.17
Cost of Other Things	1.12	.63††	.79††
Cost of Food	.94	.53††	.71
Cost of Housing	.44	.28	.24†
Average Score	2.21	2.07	1.86
Total Number of Respondents	36[a]	47[b]	118

†Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
††Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error less than .01.
*Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
**Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error less than .01.

[a]Three did not answer this question. [b]One did not answer this question.

Source: See text.

All groups ranked the items similarly by order (Table 13.1). There is widespread agreement that the friendliness of people, air quality, climate and race relations are superior in Hawaii. There is also widespread agreement that economic opportunities are not good, wages are below average, and the cost of living is high. The means for all groups in the "middling" items; i.e., recreation, crime, and the public schools are similar.

However, there are marked differences among the groups as well. Although evaluations of returnees on social and environmental issues are similar to those of the nonmigrants, the returnees are more negative about costs. The fact that returnees as a group did not evaluate job opportunities or wages significantly lower than the nonmigrants may be related to the fact that the majority of returnees were not gainfully employed in civilian occupations while on the Mainland. As a group, the Mainland residents are far more negative about job opportunities than either the returnees or nonmigrants. Furthermore, although they have generally positive perceptions of the social aspects of Hawaii as compared to the Mainland, their aggregate evaluations of the friendliness of Hawaii's people, air quality, climate, and race relations are well below those of the other two groups.

How much of the differences noted are due to Mainland residence and how much are due to differences existing among the groups before any migration took place? This question cannot be answered directly, but most of the persons who went to the Mainland did so soon after the completion of high school and undoubtedly then had only vague notions as to how the Mainland compared to Hawaii in the items listed in Question

41. The one group among the Mainland residents who can be expected to have had different perceptions than both the non migrants and other migrants is comprised of the non-Hawaii-born. Within the Mainland group, the non-Hawaii-born gave substantially lower evaluations than the Hawaii-born on the following items: friendliness of Hawaii's people (2.42 vs. 3.16), race relations (2.68 vs. 2.96), and education in the public schools (1.42 vs. 1.93). However, those differences explain only a very small part of the variation between the Mainland and other groups concerning the attributes of Hawaii compared to the Mainland.[1]

Evidence that the differing views of the Mainland residents have evolved largely from residence on the Mainland is offered by the fact that there are differences according to region lived in. This is to be expected if Mainland residents are inclined to answer Question 41 in terms of area lived in. The most notable variation is in the evaluation of wages; mean scores by area lived in are as follows: Los Angeles County .63; San Francisco metropolitan area, .71; other areas of California, 1.06; northwestern states, 1.14; and elsewhere, 1.83.[2] These averages are accurate in that on the conterminous west coast wages are highest in Los Angeles and San Francisco and lowest in Oregon and Washington, and wages on the west coast in general are substantially higher than in the balance of the United States.[3] Likewise, mean scores

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[1]Only 18 of the 118 Mainland residents were not born in Hawaii.

[2]The level of significance of these differences as measured by an analysis of variance is .9999.

[3]In comparing Hawaii to the Mainland, the large majority of non-migrants undoubtedly responded in terms of what they perceived west coast conditions to be.

on air pollution varied by area lived in. They are as follows: Los Angeles, 3.67; San Francisco, 3.38; other California, 3.06; Northwest, 2.71; and other areas, 2.91.[4] These evaluations again reflect objective reality by region, especially when it is realized that a large proportion of persons living in non-west coast areas were not residing in close proximity to any large metropolis.

That there are no significant differences among the Mainland residents by area lived in concerning the friendliness of persons and race relations, but their overall evaluation on these items is considerably less favorable to Hawaii than those of the nonmigrants and returnees is significant in itself. This suggests that a change in attitudes concerning the attributes of "Mainlanders" occurs with continued residence on the Mainland. The personal interviews to be discussed in the following chapter indicate this is indeed the case.

In summary, the ratings of Hawaii vis-à-vis the Mainland on various general items suggest that changes in attitudes occur with Mainland residence. Differences in perceptions were most marked between Mainland residents and nonmigrants, but the returnees as a group differed substantially from the nonmigrants on evaluations of relative costs.

13.3 Evaluations of the Importance of Various Considerations in Deciding Where to Live

Items listed in Question 41 were again listed in Question 42. In Question 42, however, the respondent was asked to assess their importance

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[4]The probability of these differences occurring by chance is .0174.

in deciding whether to live in Hawaii or on the Mainland. Mean scores by migration status are given in Table 13.2.

Table 13.2

Mean Scores by Migration Status on the Evaluation of the Importance of Given Items in Determining Whether to Live in Hawaii or on the Mainland

4 = very important
3 = quite important
2 = not very important
1 = not at all important

Item	Mainland	Returnee	Never Left[a]
Job Opportunities	3.75*	3.47	3.67
Wages	3.58*	3.30	3.59
Cost of Housing	3.44**	2.94	3.33
Cost of Food	3.28**	2.82	3.31
Education in Public Schools	3.28**	2.82	3.31
Cost of Other Things	3.19**	2.79	3.28
Crime	2.95	3.11	3.43
Friendliness of People	2.91**	3.34	3.56
Climate	2.90**	3.34	3.49
Air Pollution	2.89	2.94	3.44
Recreation	2.87	3.09	2.79
Race Relations	2.74**	3.30	3.13
Average Score--All Items	3.14	3.13	3.37
N	117[b]	47[b]	38[b]

[a]"Never Left" group not included in significance tables for reasons discussed in text.

[b]One in each group did not answer the question.

*Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
**Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error less than .01.

Source: See text.

Table 13.2 is revealing in several respects. Notable are the similar scores given by nonmigrants on 10 of the 12 items listed; most

did not discriminate between the items. It was common for the nonmigrant respondent to list all items as "very important" or "quite important." For most nonmigrants, the question has no meaning in that no move is contemplated and therefore the above items insofar as they pertain to deciding where to live have no meaning, at least on the conscious level. In the respect that Question 42 did not elicit meaningful responses from the nonmigrants it was a failure; in the sense that it demonstrates the lack of responsiveness in the nonmigrants it is informative about the migration process.

About a quarter of the returnees (largely those serving six months of active duty in the armed forces) and less than a tenth of the Mainland residents also seemed to show a lack of discrimination between the items in answering this question. Nonetheless, a sufficient proportion answered in each group so that a direct comparison between the two groups is valid. The Mainland residents as a group evaluate economic considerations as very important, and social and climatic considerations as being of less importance. Among the returnees, by contrast, social and climatic considerations are of great importance whereas costs of various items are considered to be of least importance. It should be recalled that it was precisely on the issue of costs that the returnees tended to rate Hawaii more poorly than did the nonmigrants; the two groups were almost identical in perceptions of social and climatic considerations. This again reinforces the argument that returnees have been attracted back to Hawaii for social reasons; items in which Hawaii is rated highly are viewed by the returnees as more important than those in which Hawaii receives poor ratings. Among the Mainland residents the

reverse is true; this in itself argues against a high rate of return among the Mainland residents in the future. Increasing residence on the Mainland appears to induce an increased economic orientation.

Unfortunately, the item "nearness of close relatives" was not included in Question 42.[5] The proximity of close relatives is obviously considered an attractive attribute of Hawaii by the large majority of local nonmigrants and returnees. The extent to which the Mainland residents respond differently from the nonmigrants and returnees on this item would give an idea of how kinship ties are altered by continued Mainland residence.

In summary, Question 42 was not meaningful to most of the nonmigrants. Returnees stressed the importance of social items whereas Mainland residents rated economic items to be of the most importance. The net effect of those differing perceptions will be to retard movement of local residents to and from Hawaii in the future.

13.4 Perceptions About Changes Taking Place in Hawaii; an Introductory Note Concerning the Three Groups

In Questions 44 through 56 the respondent was asked about changes occurring in Hawaii, whether these changes are good for Hawaii, and whether problems that exist in Hawaii are causing large numbers of people to leave. Seven of the questions were open-ended. Although a small minority did not answer the questions that required an open-ended response and three on the Mainland argued reasonably that they had been

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[5] The reason it was not included was to keep all items identical to those listed in Question 41.

away from Hawaii for many years and did not know what changes were taking place, the large majority answered all questions conscientiously. The detail and personal feelings put into most of the open-ended answers belie the common attitude of University of Hawaii faculty that local residents tend to be inarticulate and unconcerned about things not immediately affecting them. In general, a reading of the answers was quite depressing to the author because local residents are concerned about changes taking place in Hawaii and for the most part are extremely unhappy with these changes.

The above having been said, there were broad differences by migration group in the way questions were answered. Nonmigrants tended to be the least articulate and also to be the most inward looking in addressing the open-ended questions. In terms of these characteristics, returnees tended to be intermediate between nonmigrants and Mainland residents, although males serving six months of active duty tended to be similar to the nonmigrants. Mainland residents, irrespective of why they originally went to the Mainland, tended to be quite articulate and with a "world view" in the sense that the "self" and personal experiences did not figure prominently in the responses.[6]

These differences are not a function of differing educational levels. There were many in the Mainland group who had never attended college, but yet expressed ideas far more articulately than most of the college graduates in the nonmigrant sample. The more adventuresome and

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[6]The above paragraph represents a value judgment in that the observations made are not directly measurable. However, the author is confident that almost everyone taking the trouble to read and evaluate the responses would arrive at the same conclusion.

less conventional are more likely to migrate to the Mainland, but the author believes that the Mainland stay itself is more important in explaining the differences in articulateness. The majority of returnees and a large proportion of Mainland residents explicitly state that the Mainland has been a mind-broadening experience and even if there is an element of self-congratulation in the assessments, there is little reason to discount them. In addition, even those who went to the Mainland more or less involuntarily and whose previous history as revealed by the questionnaire suggested they were quite "average" tended, with the exception of the persons on the Mainland only to serve six months of active duty, to be similar in terms of articulateness to the Mainland or returnee counterparts who went voluntarily. Another reason the author believes this comes from personal experience; his high school friends who never left the city of rearing (Houston in this case) seem to him to be much more narrow in outlook than his friends who went elsewhere. This was not true of the given individuals at the time of high school graduation.

These observations help explain the paradox of why certain places such as New York City have a reputation for being "cosmopolitan" and "sophisticated" at the same time the "locals" are reputed to be "narrow." It is largely persons from elsewhere who give an area a cosmopolitan flavor. Furthermore, it is largely through the act of moving that the "outside" residents are different.

13.5 Perceptions of Changes Occurring in Hawaii

Questions 44 through 48 were designed to measure perceptions of changes taking place in Hawaii in the immediate past and future and

whether these changes are "good" for Hawaii. The distribution of responses by migration status to Questions 44 and 46 are given in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Questions 44 and 46

Q 44. Compared with 10 Years Ago, Is Hawaii Now as Good a Place to Live In?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland	Total
Better	4 (10)	4 (8)	7 (6)	15 (7)
As Good	12 (31)	13 (27)	23 (20)	48 (24)
Poorer	23 (59)	31 (65)	85 (74)	139 (69)
Total	39	48	115*	202

Differences significant at .03 level according to Kendall's Tau Test.[7]

Q 46. Compared with Now, Do You Think Hawaii Will be as Good a Place to Live 10 Years From Now?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland	Total
Will be Better	1 (3)	6 (13)	6 (5)	13 (7)
Will be About the Same	19 (49)	11 (23)	31 (27)	61 (30)
Will be Worse	19 (49)	31 (65)	77 (68)	127 (63)
Total	39	48	114**	201

Chi-square = 11.1. P = .026. d.f. = 4
Kendall's Tau p = .044

*Three did not answer the question. **Four did not answer the question.

Source: See text.

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[7]Whereas the chi-square test only measures differences without assuming any scaling, the Kendall's Tau Test does assume responses and respondents are scaled by category. In these two tables "better" is scaled two, "same" is scaled one and "worse" is scaled zero. "Never Left" is scaled zero, "Returnee" is scaled one and "Mainland" is scaled two.

Responses in all groups to the questions of whether Hawaii has changed for the better in the past and whether it will do so in the future indicate strong dissatisfaction with perceived past and future trends. Approximately two-thirds believe Hawaii has become a worse place to live in and an almost equal proportion believe living conditions will get worse in the future. In contrast, less than a twelfth believe conditions have improved or will improve. By groups, the nonmigrants are the most sanguine; the Mainland residents are the least so.[8] This may be largely a result of the fact that changes in an area are easiest to perceive for one who has been away for many years and has then returned for a visit.

Perceptions of why Hawaii has changed for the better or worse are strongly linked to perceived changes that have taken place since the respondent was born or first moved to Hawaii. Distributions by migration status on the questions of the biggest changes that have taken place and why Hawaii was believed to have changed for the better or worse are given in Table 13.4.

As is apparent from Table 13.4, Questions 45 and 48 elicited largely negative responses. In all groups there is a strong concern about population growth and perceived environmental deterioration. Indeed, in the 10 years between 1965 and 1975 Waikiki and many other areas in Honolulu were transformed from largely single family to high-rise areas.

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[8] By the scaling discussed in the above footnote, means scores of the nonmigrants, returnees, and Mainland residents on Question 44 are .52, .44, and .32, respectively. On Question 46 the mean scores are .54, .48, and .38, respectively. All scores represent basically negative perceptions.

Table 13.4

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Questions 48 and 45

(Expressed as percentage in each group who gave the listed answer)

Q 48. What do You Think are the Biggest Changes That Have Taken Place in Hawaii Since You Were Born or First Moved to Hawaii?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
More Construction	59	56	54
Environmental Deterioration	31	15	20
More Population	28	38	31
More Crime	18	13	5*
Higher Cost of Living	10	8	7
More Tourists	13	25	20
More Persons Moving to Hawaii	13	20	13
Higher Cost of Housing	10	17	7+
More Hotels	8	17	13
People Becoming Less Friendly	8	13	6
Education has Improved	5	6	4
Statehood	3	4	6
Local Population getting a "Bad Deal"	0	2	8
Commercialism	0	0	15++**
Other Given	8	6	14
None Given	3	0	5
N	39	48	118

Q 45. Why Did You Answer the Above Question (Compared with 10 Years Ago, Is Hawaii Now as Good a Place to Live) as You Did?

Positive Response:	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Economic Situation Improving	10	4	2*
There is Now More to do	10	0*	0*
Education has Improved	5	4	1
Wages have Improved	5	2	1
Neutral Response:			
Life has not Changed Much	26	21	8+**

Table 13.4 (continued) Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Questions 48 and 45

Negative Response:	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Hawaii is Getting Overpopulated	39	40	37
Costs are Increasing	31	32	26
Too Much Construction	26	33	49**
Environment is Getting Worse	26	21	23
Aloha Spirit is Disappearing	18	31	20
Crime is Increasing	18	15	11
Housing is Harder to Get	18	13	16
Too Many Come to Hawaii to Live	13	15	13
Too Much Tourism	8	19	25**
Unemployment is Increasing	8	10	6
Too Much Commercialism	3	10	20+**
Other Response:	13	8	14
No Response:	5	6	12
N	39	48	118

*Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
**Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error of less than .01.
+Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
++Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error of less than .01.

Source: See text.

The tourist boom and accompanied frenzied hotel and condominium construction began on the outer islands during this period. In general, persons in the sample viewed tourism negatively. Only one person, a Japanese female returnee to Maui, observed that "because of the hotels there are more jobs for everyone. Job availability is what attracts people back to Hawaii." All others who mentioned tourism did so in a negative manner. Although most if queried further would also admit that tourism brings undeniable economic benefits, they nevertheless view it as a double-edged sword at best. Population growth was invariably mentioned in a pejorative sense; no one expressed the view that it is good for the economy.

Economic and social concerns are evident as well, but are mentioned less often than population and related environmental considerations. Adequate housing and general costs were the largest economic concerns in all groups. Large numbers express the views that people in Hawaii are getting less friendly and that crime is on the increase. Returnees, most of whom had returned for social reasons, believed especially strongly that the "aloha spirit" is disappearing.

Approximately a quarter of the nonmigrants and a fifth of the returnees, but less than a twelfth of Mainland residents gave responses to Question 45 (Table 13.4) which indicated a perception that little had changed in the 10 year period up to 1975. Most who gave this used individual experience (a common answer being "life hasn't changed much for me" or some variant) as a reference point. However, it would be

almost impossible for someone gone from Hawaii for several years not to notice changes taking place.[9]

Most answers to the question of whether Hawaii had improved during the past ten years were so negative and pessimistic that it was frankly a relief to the author when a positive response was encountered. Positive answers were almost nonexistent among Mainland residents and although the nonmigrants tended to be the most positive, only a small portion stated views that the economy had improved (this is debatable at best, although the economy improved greatly in the period from 1955 to 1965) or that there was "more to do in Honolulu" (as measured by the number of night clubs, bars, theatres and other cultural creations this is certainly true).

Most persons gave similar responses to Question 44 concerning whether Hawaii had changed for the better in the past and Question 46 concerning whether it would continue to do so in the future. Most often, reasons given were, as one Mainland resident put it, "sheer extrapolation" from answers given in Question 45. Those who answered "worse" on Question 44 and "the same" on Question 46 generally answered in the vein of the nonmigrant Japanese male who said "Afraid to say worse!", or the Japanese female nonmigrant who opined "Things can't get worse," or the Japanese female returnee who believed "Don't think things will get better, hoping they won't get worse," or the numerous persons for whom "same" in the future meant a continuation of past trends which were

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[9] Of course, whether the changes are "good" or not depends largely on one's value orientation.

perceived to be bad. Many persons expressed cynicism concerning the ability of the state government to cope with the problems.

Although the results of the survey have uncovered a large amount of pessimism concerning changes taking place and whether they are "good" for Hawaii, it is possible that the sample, especially the nonmigrants in it, is biased towards the more articulate and dissatisfied. Even allowing that this may be the case, the author nevertheless believes there is a large amount of underlying local discontent with the way Hawaii has changed. This discontent appears to be quite general in the United States and many of the concerns expressed in the sample are widespread on the Mainland, but it is nevertheless notable that these concerns are also strong among local residents in the "paradise state." It is also notable that the discontent is strongest among those now on the Mainland. The effect these negative perceptions may be having on outmigration will be addressed at the conclusion of the chapter.

13.6 Perceptions of Migration Changes and Whether Migrants are "Good" for Hawaii

In Questions 49 through 54, all respondents were asked their perceptions of whether inmigration of Mainlanders and the outmigration of locals is increasing or decreasing and whether these migration streams are "good" for Hawaii. Responses to the Questions 49, 50, 51 and 53 are presented in Table 13.5.

The distribution of answers to Questions 49 and 50 (Table 13.5) is of interest, especially as the empirical evidence on both questions is not straightforward. The author would have answered in the affirmative on Question 49, but the airline surveys suggest a rapid increase from

Table 13.5

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status
to Questions 49, 50, 51 and 53

Q 49. Since Statehood, do You Think More Persons are Moving to Hawaii from the Mainland than Before Statehood?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
No, Fewer Persons	0	0	5 (4)
About the Same Number	2 (5)	4 (8)	16 (14)
Yes, More Persons	36 (95)	44 (92)	95 (82)
N	38[a]	48	116[b]

P as measured by Kendall's Tau Test < .009.

Q 50. Since Statehood, do You Think More People Who Grew up in Hawaii are Leaving to Live on the Mainland than Before Statehood?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
No, Fewer Persons	2 (5)	2 (4)	2 (2)
About the Same Number	17 (45)	15 (31)	34 (30)
Yes, More Persons	19 (50)	31 (65)	79 (69)
N	38[a]	48	115[c]

P as measured by Kendall's Tau Test < .03.

Q 51. Do You Think it is Good for Hawaii to Have People Coming from the Mainland to Live Here?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
No, is Bad for Hawaii	15 (40)	9 (19)	43 (37)
Both Good and Bad for Hawaii	21 (55)	38 (79)	62 (53)
Yes, Is Good for Hawaii	2 (5)	1 (2)	11 (10)
N	38[a]	48	116[b]

$X^2 = 10.8$ $P < .03$. d.f. = 4

Table 13.5 (continued) Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Questions 49, 50, 51 and 53

Q 53. Do You Think it is Good for Hawaii to Have People Who Grew Up In Hawaii Leaving to Live on the Mainland?

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
No, is Bad for Hawaii	10 (26)	10 (21)	39 (34)
Both Good and Bad for Hawaii	26 (68)	35 (73)	58 (50)
Yes, is Good for Hawaii	2 (5)	3 (6)	18 (16)
N	38[a]	48	115[c]

$X^2 = 9.9$ P = .04 d.f. = 4

[a]One person did not answer.

[b]Two persons did not answer.

[c]Three persons did not answer.

Source: See text.

1959 to 1970 and a decline thereafter (Figure 4.2). On Question 50, the author would have answered "fewer." Between 1959 and 1970 the yearly number of locals going to the Mainland remained about constant, but the yearly number returning to Hawaii increased during the period. Since 1970, the yearly number of local persons going to the Mainland has dropped because of the end of the military draft and rising expenses of attending college on the Mainland. The overwhelming majority in all migration groups believe more persons are moving to Hawaii from the Mainland, but the nonmigrants hold this view the most strongly and the Mainland residents the least so. Approximately half of the nonmigrants and two-thirds of both returnees and Mainland residents believe that the number of local residents moving to the Mainland has increased. Virtually none in any group believe the number has declined. However, the Mainland residents as a group tended to feel most strongly that the numbers have increased; the nonmigrants were least inclined to believe this. The differing perceptions of the Mainland residents and nonmigrants concerning the numbers entering and leaving Hawaii are undoubtedly colored by the fact that the former have migrated and the latter have not.

On the questions concerning whether people moving to Hawaii from the Mainland and local people leaving Hawaii for the Mainland are "good" for Hawaii, there is a great amount of ambivalence in all groups. However, the responses, especially on the question of whether the inmigration of Mainland residents is good for Hawaii, were weighted towards the negative. On the question of whether the inmigrants are good for Hawaii, returnees as a group were most inclined to take a

"middle-of-the-road" attitude. On the question of whether local persons leaving Hawaii are good for Hawaii, the Mainland residents were much more likely than either the nonmigrants or returnees to reply either "good for Hawaii" or "bad for Hawaii." The distributional differences by migration status to the two above questions are puzzling.

In Questions 52 and 54 all respondents were asked why they believed what they did concerning whether inmigration and outmigration were good or bad for Hawaii. The distribution of responses by migration status is presented in Table 13.6.

Approximately an eighth in all groups argued that the inmigration brings economic benefits. More than a quarter of the returnees but only a small proportion in other groups mentioned that persons from the Mainland bring in new ideas. The propensity of the returnees for giving this response undoubtedly derives from the new perspectives many felt they gained on the Mainland. However, in the sense that some ideas were believed by many to be bad, they constituted a double-edged sword. A small minority also believed that the mixing of different types of people is good.

On the other hand, a third of the nonmigrants, a seventh of the Mainland residents, but only one-fifteenth of returnees argued that the inmigrants "take away" jobs from the local residents. More than a tenth in all groups also viewed them as a cause of higher prices. Hence, a far greater number believed that inmigrants are economically more detrimental than beneficial. However, the leading concerns of both the returnees and Mainland residents as well as the second and third most negative perceptions of the nonmigrants were the beliefs that Mainlanders are "bad" socially and contribute to overpopulation. In regard

Table 13.6

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status
to Questions 52 and 54

Given as a percentage of all persons in migration category.

Q 52. Why did you answer the question "Do You Think It is Good for Hawaii to Have People Coming from the Mainland to Live Here" the Way You Did?

Positive Responses	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Mainlanders Bring Economic Benefits	13	13	14
Mainlanders Bring New Ideas	5	27**	9++
Mixing with Others is Good	3	6	9
Negative—Mainlanders . . .			
Take away Jobs	33	6**	15*
Are Bad Socially	28	31	31
Contribute to Overpopulation	28	31	26
Cause Higher Prices	13	15	10
Hippies are Terrible	10	13	6
Other Responses	18	21	12
No Response	15	13	9
N	39	48	118

Q 54. Why did you answer the question "Do You Think It is Good for Hawaii to Have People Who Grew Up in Hawaii Leaving to Live on the Mainland" the way you did?

Positive—Outmigrants . . .	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Personally Benefit from Move	23	23	20
Help Relieve Overpopulation	13	8	10
Are Good Public Relations	3	6	13*
Returnees Help State	3	2	4
Discontented Leave	0	2	2
Negative--Outmigrants . . .			
Are a Social Loss to Hawaii	31	23	42+
Best People Leave	5	10	2+
Are an Economic Loss	0	4	7*
Other Responses	15	19	6
No Response	21	29	21
N	39	48	118

*Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error of between .01 and .05.
**Different from "Never Left" at risk-of-error of less than .01.
+Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05.
++Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error of less than .01.

Source: See text.

to the former concern, the alleged unfriendliness, cold manners, self-perceived racial superiority, and criminal habits of newcomers were mentioned most often. The latter concern is the major overt justification of the present governor's inmigration limitation proposals, but the widespread belief that inmigrants corrupt the "Island way of life" is a strong underlying stimulus. Most mentioning "transients" in a pejorative manner are from the outer island high schools. The transients are much more visible on the outer islands than on Oahu and are especially numerous in the areas served by Kapaa and Maui high schools.

The most common reaction of those stating that outmigration is good for Hawaii was that the outmigrants themselves benefit. Although outmigrants reduce the population, the proportion stating that local outmigration reduces overpopulation was only a third of those expressing the view that inmigrants contribute to overpopulation. Views of many migration scholars with a strong economic bent notwithstanding, the local residents in the main do not view newcomers from the Mainland and local outmigrants as interchangeable cogs, even if the job skills of both are identical. More than an eighth of the Mainland residents believed that the outmigrants are "good public relations" in that they are the best demonstration of the virtues of the Hawaii lifestyle. A small number in all groups mentioned the contributions the returnees can make for Hawaii.

Given the assessments of the respondents concerning the inmigrants, it is predictable that the negative responses concerning whether the local outmigration from Hawaii is "good" for Hawaii concentrate on the alleged social loss the outmigrants represent to Hawaii. A commonly

expressed view was that "a little of the Hawaiian (or Aloha) spirit leaves with the outmigrants." Less commonly expressed views were that the most able people leave Hawaii or that the outmigrants represent an economic loss.

In general, feelings in all groups are weighted in favor of less inmigration from the Mainland and less outmigration of local residents. Vociferous answers given by many constitute a demonstration that this is a deeply felt issue. The twin issues of limiting inmigration and at the same time creating enough jobs so that "local people do not have to leave" that were enunciated by the present governor in his bid for reelection certainly address the concerns of a large portion of the local population. To what extent the two above goals are compatible is another issue, to be addressed in the concluding chapter.

13.7 Perceptions of the Major Problems Facing Hawaii and Whether They Will Cause Many Persons to Leave Hawaii in the Future

In Question 55 all respondents were asked to list the three major problems facing Hawaii in the next five years. The distribution of responses by migration status is presented in Table 13.7.

There is a considerable degree of concensus among the three groups concerning the major problems facing Hawaii. In each group the same seven problems were listed as the largest concerns, with all other concerns ranking well below this group. These major concerns are the economic problems of adequate housing at a reasonable price, the lack of jobs and high general living costs, the perceived environmental problems of overpopulation and resulting overbuilding and environmental deterioration, and the social issue of controlling crime. That almost half of

Table 13.7

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to Question "What do You See as the Three Biggest Problems Facing Hawaii in the Next Five Years?"

Given as a percentage of all persons in migration category

Problem Given	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
Lack of Jobs	44	42	29
Overpopulation	41	40	40
Cost of Living	41	33	36
Housing Problems	36	48	31+
Environmental Deterioration	31	19	21
Overbuilding	26	29	27
Crime	24	27	20
Poor Public Schools	10	6	3
Too Many Inmigrants	8	4	7
Racial Problems	5	6	12
Lack of Economic Diversification	5	2	9+
Too Many on Welfare	5	2	2
Government Inaction	3	8	4
Too Much Tourism	0	4	8
Wages too Low	0	2	5
Other Problems Listed	5	2	7
No Problems Listed	5	6	10
N	39	48	118

+Different from "Returnee" at risk-of-error between .01 and .05

Source: See text.

returnees listed housing as a problem undoubtedly derives from the low rate of homeownership in this group. These concerns are certainly not unique to Hawaii and a similar survey conducted in most places on the Mainland would likely yield the same major concerns. However, the author suspects the economic and environmental problems are perceived more acutely by Hawaii residents than by people in most other places. Economic problems listed have been endemic since World War II and were

much worse in the early 1950s than in 1975; however, a similar survey conducted circa 1965 undoubtedly would have uncovered a much lower concern for environmental problems.

In Question 56 the respondent was asked if the problems listed could cause many persons to leave Hawaii in the future. The distribution of responses by migration group is given in Table 13.8.

Table 13.8

Distribution of Responses by Migration Status to the Question "Will the Problems You Mentioned in Question 55 Cause Many People to Leave Hawaii in the Future?"

Response	Never Left	Returnee	Mainland
No	6 (16)	6 (12)	6 (5)
Yes	32 (84)	41 (88)	107 (95)
N	38	47[a]	113[b]

P as measured by Tendall's Tau is .015.

[a]One person answered "don't know."

[b]Three persons gave a qualified answer, one answered "don't know" and one gave no answer.

Source: See text.

Mainland residents were most inclined to believe that the problems given would lead to a substantial outmigration whereas the nonmigrants were least inclined to believe so. There is nevertheless such a substantial agreement on Question 56 (Table 13.8) as to constitute almost a consensus. Most of the responses either stressed the role of the problems listed in making it difficult for persons to stay in Hawaii or the belief that the answer was so obvious as to deserve little elaboration.

However, the best answer to this question is not at all obvious to the author. In the first place, there are locals and inmigrants from the Mainland and the two groups can be expected to be influenced differentially by the problems listed and to react differently as well. In this regard, five persons observed or hoped that it would be mainly Mainland inmigrants who will depart. Further, persons in different age groups are affected differentially by the problems and have differing levels of commitment to Hawaii. Five Mainland residents stressed (correctly in the author's view) that it would be mainly the young adults in the local population who would leave. Furthermore, the Mainland is not free of the problems listed. Five persons observed that the problems listed exist on the Mainland as well. Hawaii does have its attractions in spite of existing problems, but only one person mentioned that Hawaii is still an attractive place to live. Concerning the local population, there is another important consideration which has been a central argument in this dissertation: why people initially leave and why some of those leaving do not return may be caused by entirely different considerations. It can be argued that these problems will not in themselves stimulate local persons to leave, but may discourage persons on the Mainland from returning. Thus, the problems listed may be mainly an indirect source of population loss. In fact, information provided in this dissertation lends support for this viewpoint.

Some of the more perceptive responses to the question under discussion are given below. All show insights into the migration process that the author could have benefited from prior to the beginning of the study.

"Yes" or Qualified Answer

Japanese female nonmigrant.

Maybe yes because of high costs, but if this is where you want to be you will make ends meet somehow and as for crime and pollution, a lot of Mainland cities are in worse shape than we.

Japanese female living in California.

I don't think families would pack up and move out but students who came to the Mainland to go to school or look for a job might. Cost of living is easier here with more to do, higher wages. If they're here long enough to find that out, and long enough to overcome homesickness.

Japanese female who lived six years in California.

Housing is the prime factor to many people who would like to move back. If we didn't have parents to live with, we would not have returned even if there was a job available.

Japanese female living in California.

Although it may not include very many "native" Hawaiians, I feel these problems will cause many to leave Hawaii. For one thing, many Mainlanders move to Hawaii to get away from the "rat-race." If Hawaii gets that way, why stay there, too?

"No"

Japanese female living in California.

I know students in college on the mainland (referring to teacher occupation) who do not find a job in their profession eventually settle for something else--because they want to stay in the Islands. Regardless of the high cost of living, Hawaii people still manage to "survive" it--people still manage to buy houses (Those on the mainland wonder how they do it--of course, the husband and wife must work for all times).

Japanese male living in California.

The natives will move or stay for other reasons (generally) and they are probably the only significant population base.

Korean-Caucasian female living in California

They [the local population] will make ends meet and continue to accept things as they are.

Hawaiian female who lived for two years in Illinois and California.

No, because Honolulu (Hawaii!) is a big city and these problems affect all big cities and most people grow right along and adjust to these problems!

The views of the persons above express a number of themes far better than the author could; the differential reaction of locals and recent inmigrants to problems, the importance of economic conditions for local outmigrants who want to return, the sacrifices local people routinely make to cope with existing problems in Hawaii, the fact that problems are everywhere, and the role of established local families in helping their children obtain their housing. It should also be noted that problems notwithstanding, most persons in other parts of the questionnaire gave Hawaii high ratings as a place to live. Only one of the outmigrants gave any evidence in the questionnaire that worsening environmental problems played an important role in the initial move to the Mainland. Even among the Mainland residents more than three-fifths expressed a preference to live in Hawaii if money were not a problem.

Because of the above considerations, the author believes that problems mentioned will not, in the immediate future, lead to a larger local outmigration than has characterized the recent past. However, if Hawaii eventually becomes another Los Angeles or "Manhattan," as many local residents fear it will, a substantially increased outmigration of locals could occur. Much of Hawaii's attraction derives from the perceived lifestyle it offers; if living in Hawaii (especially on Oahu) becomes like living in a typical large Mainland city in terms of congestion and personal tensions, there will be less reason to stay.

13.8 Summary

In this chapter we have seen that in comparing Hawaii to the Mainland, all three migration groups broadly agree that Hawaii offers social

advantages over the Mainland, but that economic conditions are superior on the Mainland. However, the Mainland residents as a group are most negative about economic conditions in Hawaii and, in addition, place the highest values on economic conditions in evaluating whether to live in Hawaii or on the Mainland. On the questions concerning changes taking place and the future of Hawaii, the generally different orientation of answers by migration status provide strong evidence that the act of moving and living in a different place does broaden personal perceptions. All groups are pessimistic as to whether Hawaii has improved during the previous ten years and whether it will do so in the next ten years. Environmental, economic and social problems were all mentioned frequently in the evaluations. Most persons in all groups viewed the inmigration of Mainlanders and outmigration of locals with mixed to negative feelings. For both groups the concerns were largely social, rather than economic. The overwhelming majority in all groups believed that major problems facing Hawaii could cause many persons to leave Hawaii in the future, but the author does not foresee an upsurge of local persons leaving Hawaii in the near future.

This ends the evaluation of the questionnaire results. If there are any outstanding conclusions to be derived, they are that barring economic collapse, the outmigration of local residents is largely insensitive to economic conditions; in contrast, the rate of return to Hawaii is sensitive to economic conditions in Hawaii. In the following chapter, results of personal interviews with those in the sample who resided on the west coast will be discussed.

CHAPTER XIV

MOTIVATIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE MIGRANTS AS REVEALED BY PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

14.1 Introduction

When this study was first envisioned, the author hoped to interview 25 nonmigrants, 25 returnees and 50 migrants who answered the questionnaire. However, only seven of the 30 nonmigrants and nine of the 48 returnees answering the questionnaire volunteered to be interviewed. In contrast, 73 of the 118 Mainland respondents indicated a willingness to be interviewed.[1] As a result, a decision was made to interview only the migrants. Although the exclusion of the nonmigrants and returnees was unfortunate from the standpoint of the study, the interviews with the Mainland respondents nevertheless in themselves yielded a wealth of information concerning why other people did not move to the Mainland and considerations involved in a possible return to Hawaii.

Those willing to be interviewed were geographically scattered from the Philippines on the west to Alaska in the north and Maine on the east

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[1]This marked contrast in willingness to be interviewed deserves comment. The author believes it was due to three factors. Undoubtedly, those in Hawaii tended to be much more self-conscious of their English and worried about making a bad impression on a presumed (correctly) Mainland-born Haole. (A number of those interviewed reported being self-conscious and defensive about their English when they first moved to the Mainland.) A second consideration is that generally the topic held considerably more interest to the migrants. The third factor was simple curiosity; many wondered if the crazy researcher was actually going to travel to the Mainland to conduct the interview, and others wanted current news on what was occurring in Hawaii.

coast. A decision was made by the author to interview those in Washington, Arizona and California. There were 49 in these areas who indicated a willingness to be interviewed. Of this number, one person subsequently decided she did not wish to be interviewed, another who lived in a remote rural area literally could not be located on the day of the scheduled interview, and three moved to a new area before the interview could take place. Interviews were conducted with the remaining 44 persons.

A brief description of each person interviewed is contained in Appendix G. Persons cited in the text are referred to by the number assigned to each person listed in the appendix. Appendix G shows the marital status of those interviewed: married, 32; divorced, two; separated, one; and never married, nine. Of the 25 born in Hawaii who were ever-married, 15 were married to persons born in Hawaii. Eleven of the latter number first met their mates on the Mainland. This is an indication of the tendency of local outmigrants to seek the company of other local outmigrants after arriving on the Mainland, a phenomenon that will be discussed in Section 14.5.

Of those interviewed, half were male. The breakdown by race is as follows: 12 Japanese, 10 part-Hawaiians, 10 Haoles, five Chinese, two Filipinos, one Portuguese, and four of mixed Asian and Caucasian ancestry. This distribution is similar to the percentage distribution of all Mainland questionnaire respondents (Table 9.6). All non-Haoles and three of the Haoles were born in Hawaii. At least in terms of educational attainment, ethnicity and attitudes expressed in the questionnaire concerning Hawaii and the Mainland, those interviewed seem to have been similar to others living on the west coast who answered the questionnaire but were not interviewed.

In general, those interviewed were at least middle class financially. Most owned the houses they lived in; several were palatial by Hawaii standards and most were larger and more solidly constructed than the average house in Hawaii. In terms of attitudes as well as income, most seemed to be "middle class" with conventional social and political beliefs and high occupational aspirations for their children.

Without exception, all interviewed were extremely courteous, friendly and eager to be of assistance. With the exception of one who wanted to impress the author with his material success on the Mainland and two who had specific grievances against Hawaii which they wished to express, the author never detected even a subconscious motive to distort accounts of past events. One attribute that characterized those interviewed was a general unpretentiousness. Many stated during the interview that Hawaii's people are "real" in contrast to the "plastic" denizens of the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas; the demeanor of those interviewed did nothing to dispel their favorable self-images. All appeared to have lost their Island speech patterns to at least some extent. Among those interviewed who were born in Hawaii there was a positive relationship of adoptions of Mainland speech patterns and assertive behavior with expressed happiness concerning living on the Mainland (see Section 14.7).

In the balance of the chapter discussion will focus on the following insights from the interviews: memories of growing up in Hawaii, circumstances surrounding the initial move to the Mainland, why the initial locations on the Mainland were chosen, why those interviewed are still on the Mainland, whether moves back to Hawaii to live are expected, and various considerations contributing to adjustments made on the Mainland.

14.2 Memories of Growing Up in Hawaii

Of the 44 interviewed, 37 were born in Hawaii. More than three-quarters recall growing up in Hawaii as an overwhelmingly positive experience. The very question "What did you enjoy most about growing up in Hawaii?" usually elicited rhapsodic discussion of the joys of childhood in Hawaii. Typical was the response (no. 10):[2]

> Hey! You wear your zories and your shorts. Walk around town, the informality of it. Now that I live (on the Mainland) I can think of a million things I enjoyed about growing up in Hawaii, but when you live there you just take it for granted. The various foods. . . . People are marvelous, warm and friendly. . . . They genuinely care about you.

Most who gave positive responses mentioned the people of Hawaii specifically as being more "genuine," "real," and "caring" than those on the Mainland. About half mentioned relatives outside their immediate family as being important to them when they were growing up. Not surprisingly, the beaches, ocean and mild climate were also frequently mentioned although most said it was mainly the "people" that made Hawaii a special place to grow up in. There was general agreement that children grow up "more slowly" in Hawaii than on the west coast. Hawaii was generally perceived to be a less competitive place where children learn less about "worldly things," and initiate dating and sexual relations at a later age than those on the Mainland. Most, although not all, believed this "slowness" was something to be desired. Many who personally preferred to live on the Mainland believed Hawaii was the ideal place to raise children. Typical was the attitude expressed

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[2]The number given matches the identification number given in Appendix G. Identification numbers are used for all persons cited in this chapter.

(no. 37) that "Hawaii is a lousy place for adults to make a living but it is the best place in the world for children."

Only three of the Hawaii-born respondents thought that there was little difference between growing up in Hawaii or the Mainland. There were a few voices of dissent to counteract the generally rosy picture of childhood in Hawaii. One female (no. 13) recalled being stoned by classmates on the way to school because her mother would not permit her to speak pidgin English. A part-Hawaiian male (no. 29) remembered being humiliated by "Oriental teachers who favored their own kind." Another (no. 40) believed that having a large number of relatives living nearby was a disadvantage because "we couldn't walk down the street without running into relatives. I felt too crowded." A Japanese (no. 32) recalled racial cliques in school and accompanying snobbishness. Several who did remember growing up in Hawaii as being a positive experience nevertheless believed they would have benefited by having more exposure to the outside world. These negative views, however, are far outweighed by positive memories.

Although the childhood memories may be generally idealized, they are strongly believed and therefore an animating force in the "Hawaiian distinctiveness" that most of the respondents still feel. What is of most significance for this study is the fact that the recalled childhood, whether happy or unhappy, appear to have not influenced any of the decisions to move to the Mainland. However, the perceived memories have a relationship to the desire for return to Hawaii. Those most positive about their childhood had the strongest desires for return, although some expressed the view that Hawaii had changed for the worse since

their childhood. Both the questionnaire responses and personal interviews suggest that memories of a pleasant childhood and a desire to recapture them for their own children if not for themselves is an important consideration motivating return migration to Hawaii.

The seven not born in Hawaii all recall looking forward to moving there. Their views of the Hawaii part of their childhood were generally positive but unlike the Hawaii-born they stressed the climate, beaches and beautiful surroundings, rather than the "people." They tended to be much more critical than were the Hawaii-born concerning the quality of the schools and the "narrowness" of Island living. All were isolated from relatives to the extent that only the immediate families lived in Hawaii.

The Haoles interviewed were asked whether they ever felt uncomfortable about being in a minority or were ever discriminated against. All could recall both feelings on specific occasions, although being Haole in Hawaii was not considered in general to be a serious social handicap. The Hawaii-born Haoles encountered fewer problems than those born on the Mainland, undoubtedly in part because they did not have to adjust after a major move. Two of the males (nos. 3 and 19) recall being assaulted by local toughs at school after their arrival in Hawaii. Another (no. 7) remembers that in the first week after starting school in Hawaii "(My sister and I) were refused seating at the lunchroom table because we were Haole." All, however, agreed that their problems lessened with increased length of residence in Hawaii. One grievance was a belief that locals were favored for summer jobs. One Haole whose father was born and raised in Hawaii (no. 36) recalls, "A

lot of Kailua Caucasian locals had trouble when looking for jobs. My father's Aiea boyhood was a savior in getting service station jobs. I would have had more trouble finding summer jobs if I had acted like a Mainland Haole." A female who was born in Hawaii and had generally positive childhood memories (no. 28) recalls:

> When it came to jobs they definitely hired non-Caucasians first. I had a devil of a time getting a job in the cannery and all my friends who were non-Caucasian were getting jobs there right and left. My grandfather called someone over there and I was in just like that. . . . On the job I wore this dark mask and looked superdark and my arms were covered. The Japanese boss thought I was Portugee. That's why he treated me real nice. After he found out I wasn't Portugee he still treated me nice but it was different.

Not all the problems Haoles encountered can be attributed to local attitudes. For example, one Hawaii-born female (no. 11) who was virtually the only Haole attending her high school remembers being socially isolated because her father would not permit her to date non-Caucasians. Mothers of at least two of the Haole respondents wanted their children to attend Mainland colleges because of desires that they marry Caucasians. To the extent that such attitudes occur, perceptions by local nonwhites that Haoles are "stuck-up" and race-conscious certainly have a basis in fact. It must also be kept in mind that recalled childhood experiences of the Haoles interviewed were generally positive. For Haoles, as well as the others, perceived memories of growing up in Hawaii appear to have had no influence on the original decisions to move to the Mainland.

Of those born in Hawaii, less than a third had visited the Mainland before graduating from high school. Almost all visits were either to the west or east coasts. Memories most commonly recalled were of tall

buildings, vast distances, the awesome beauty of certain west coast areas, white faces everywhere, and unfriendly people. In practical terms, however, exposure to the Mainland via visits does not appear to have motivated any of the moves. One reason is that memories of the Mainland had little practical impact on their lives after they returned to Hawaii. Another factor was that those visiting as children in general are not compiling information that is useful in determining where to live. One may have vivid memories of Disneyland, for instance, but those memories hardly provide a useful guide for determining living preference. Most important, however, was the fact that those interviewed began to assemble information about the Mainland as a place to live only after a desire to leave Hawaii developed.

What the above shows is that outmigration of the local residents is probably not related to exposure to the Mainland as children. Only 41,450 Hawaii residents were estimated to have visited the Mainland in 1961 (Hawaii Data Book, 1971, p. 80) and the average yearly number was certainly much less during the 1950s. By 1969 the number of Islanders visiting the Mainland increased to 131,835 (Ibid.). Yet, the yearly outmigration of locals during the 1950s and 1960s appears to have been fairly constant. This is consistent with the argument presented in the previous paragraph. If a desire to leave Hawaii is there, information concerning living on the Mainland will be solicited. Apparently since the mid-1950s, this information has been sufficiently widespread that the yearly volume of local outmigration has leveled off.

All but eight of those born in Hawaii recall having at least one relative living on the Mainland when growing up in Hawaii. Perhaps

three-quarters of this number were in California. Only two (one Portuguese and one part-Hawaiian) recalled relatives who moved to the Mainland prior to World War II; most moved to the Mainland between the early 1950s and early 1960s. All stated that at the time they were growing up, these relatives on the Mainland were not important sources of information about the Mainland. Either the relatives did not talk about the Mainland in their letters or those interviewed were themselves not interested in evaluating information received in terms of deciding where to live. The latter again is an illustration that available information about a given area was not important in motivating moves until a desire to move was already established.

All persons born in Hawaii were asked what their impressions of the Mainland were at the time they were sophomores in high school. Almost all recall having only vague notions as to what the Mainland was like and regarded it as essentially irrelevant to their existence. The most common recalled perception was some variant of "it seemed so far away and like a foreign country." Stereotypes of wide open spaces, Haole people, cold weather and equally cold residents were recalled, but these views were in the main quite murky. Such impressions as were gained were generally from television, movies and newspapers. Those who visited the Mainland did not consider the visits informative in evaluating Mainland living conditions. For most, fellow students from the Mainland were not important sources of information as they tended to be in "different circles."

While it may be argued that much of the recalled "haziness" resulted from "hazy recall" rather than the then existing hazy notions,

the author believes from his own observations in Hawaii that the majority of children growing up there today have exactly the same perceptions concerning the Mainland as those generally expressed in the sample. Existing information concerning the Mainland was generally not absorbed because it was not then relevant to everyday life. In addition, many things in life must be experienced to be comprehended. For example, a description of a North Dakota winter to someone who has lived in Hawaii all his life cannot carry the same impact as having that person spend a winter there.

Excluding three Mainland-born Haoles whose parents planned for a Mainland college for them, only one recalls a desire to move to the Mainland before the junior year of high school. This person (no. 29) had a well-formulated career desire to "play football with the best. This meant Haoles on the Mainland." This general lack of interest in living on the Mainland is certainly reasonable when one considers the pressures of everyday adolescence and the fact that living on the Mainland was hardly a viable alternative before graduation.

In summary, most persons remember their childhood in Hawaii as being a positive experience that could not have been obtained on the Mainland. However, these experiences, whether pleasant or not, do not appear to have been important motivations in the initial moves to the Mainland. They are, however, a factor influencing return migration. In general, those born in Hawaii did not absorb a great deal of information about the Mainland, at least on the conscious level, when they were growing up. Notably absent among the Hawaii-born were both a curiosity about, or a desire to live on the Mainland. One can conclude

that asking a local sophomore in high school about attitudes concerning the Mainland would yield virtually no useful information in predicting whether a move to the Mainland will eventually be made.

14.3 Circumstances Involved with the Original Moves to the Mainland

In spite of their lack of interest in the Mainland during childhood, those interviewed by definition were living on the Mainland at the time of the interview. Obviously, changes in attitudes occurred between those in growing up and at the time of departure. In order to understand why the departures took place, the following four factors must be considered: (1) the year first moved to the Mainland, (2) the overt purpose for which the move was made (e.g., college or the armed forces), (3) underlying motivations connected with the move, and (4) influences of friends and relatives.

Table 14.1 contains a cross-tabulation between the first year moved to the Mainland and the overt purpose for which the move was undertaken.

Half of those interviewed initially went to the Mainland to attend college. Most in this group left immediately after completion of high school. Another fifth (including three-eighths of the males) left when joining the armed forces. All left between late 1964 and 1966. Those leaving for immediate employment or because husbands were moving tended to move at a later date than those leaving because of college or the armed forces. Overall, what is most notable concerning these moves is the early date in which most were undertaken. Nearly half left by the end of 1964 and more than five-sixths left by the end of 1966. On the average, those interviewed left earlier than the Mainland respondents

Table 14.1

Year First Moved to the Mainland by Overt Purpose of the Move

Moved	Initial College	College Transfer	Graduate School	Armed Forces	Job	Marriage	Parents Moved	Total	(%)
1964	15			5		1		21	48
1965		2		2	3		1	8	18
1966		3		2		3		8	18
1967		1			1			2	5
1968			1		1	1		3	7
1970 or 71						2		2	5
Total	15	6	1	9	5	7	1	44	100
% of total	34	14	2	21	11	16	2	100	
% Male	60	50	0	89	40	0	0	50	

Source: See text.

answering the questionnaire (Table 10.3A). However, according to the questionnaire responses of those interviewed, the distribution by departure date was as follows: 15 in 1964, five in 1965, 10 in 1966, two in 1967, four in 1968, and 10 after 1968. The percentage distribution of the above is similar to that given in Table 10.3A. It is evident that some answered the question in terms of when a decision was made to stay on the Mainland. According to the questionnaire responses of those interviewed, only five originally went to the Mainland because of military service. Many apparently do not consider military service as having constituted living on the Mainland. Assuming the sample interviewed to be representative of the questionnaire sample as a whole, it appears that the large majority of initial moves were undertaken within

two years of completion of high school. It is evident that the timing of the move was related to its overt purpose.

Of the fifteen who moved to college immediately after high school graduation, four were from private high schools. All reported that counselors strongly recommended attendance at Mainland colleges. The remainder from public schools reported no such pressures. Only two left to attend a Mainland college in 1964 in order to obtain degrees (in law enforcement and industrial design) not available in Hawaii. Another went to junior college on the Mainland after failing the entrance exam for the University of Hawaii. For the others, neither the supposed superiority of a Mainland college nor necessity imposed by not being accepted to the University of Hawaii motivated the choice of attending a Mainland college. The dominant motivations, rather, were to experience new things and acquire a measure of personal independence. Most reported first feeling the desire to leave Hawaii to attend college toward the end of the junior year or the beginning of senior year of high school. An important influence was that of friends and relatives who were planning, or had already decided, to attend a Mainland college. As one person (no. 34) remembered, "The idea first occurred to me when I saw many friends were talking of going to Mainland colleges. I thought, 'if they can do it, so can I!'" Another (no. 9) recalls a brother already on the Mainland who told her, "Come up here to go to school. You'll get a living experience you can never get in Hawaii."

For the most part, the parents were supportive of those who wanted to attend a Mainland college. Several respondents believe their parents exerted subtle pressure on them to attend college and were glad for them

to attend any college. Several of the Haoles reported that their parents urged them to go to a Mainland college. In the case of one person vaguely considering military service,

> After I graduated from high school, dad asked me if I would like to go to college in California and live with my aunt and uncle. It boiled down to a chance of having a brand new car and going to the University of Hawaii or going to a California college. I decided California would be nice to visit, so naturally I picked the California college! (no. 22)

The support or at least acquiescence of the parents is to be expected as all but one who went to college had a Mainland college education that was at least in part financed by the parents. In Hawaii, there have undoubtedly been many in the past who desired to attend a Mainland college but never did so because their parents were unwilling or unable to "foot the bill." In the interview sample, five who wished to attend a Mainland college immediately after high school did not do so because parents lacked the financial means (or so they said).

Six transferred to Mainland schools after attending the University of Hawaii. In one case (no. 21) the transfer was largely dictated by a father who put pressure on his son to be a dentist. No school of dentistry existed then or now in Hawaii. The other five transfers have the following elements in common: poor school performance at the University of Hawaii, in large part because of extensive socialization with friends from high school days; and a feeling that the only way to escape this was to attend college without the distraction of old friends. Typical are the following two memories:

> It was getting harder to study at the University of Hawaii. I was running around with friends. I needed a change of pace badly; to be able to study without distractions. I decided it would be a good time to see the Mainland and started to apply to Mainland schools (no. 42).

> I was really bored with the University. I spent all my time in social life. I met an East-West Center student and he taught me a different perspective of the world. I found there was so much over there. He would discuss international affairs with me. None of my friends did. I saw my friends were narrow. All they cared about was parties and stupid things. I thought "I have to get out of this rut." (no. 31)

In general, parents supported or acquiesced in the planned transfers. As one person (no. 17) observed, "It was obvious my grades were terrible. They were relieved it was a Mainland college instead of the military." However, all said they would have transferred whatever their parent's views. A strong motivation to succeed is obvious; however, the motivation in transferring was not to go to a better college per se, but to be in a social atmosphere more conducive to academic success.

The one person who initially went to the Mainland to attend graduate school did so because the University of Hawaii had a poor M.A. program in her field of study.

With only two exceptions, all going to the Mainland to attend college expected to return. The two exceptions were the person choosing an occupation for which no openings existed in Hawaii and the person transferring to a Mainland dental school. In the latter case, the father desired he stay on the Mainland to escape the economic demands of relatives and for better economic opportunities.

All nine in the sample who initially went to the Mainland via the armed forces enlisted of their own volition. In one case (no. 25) enlistment was seen as an alternative to being drafted. For the others

the motivations were mixtures of boredom, a wish to "see the world," a desire for personal independence, a chance to learn a trade, and to stall for time while deciding what direction life should take. These motives can be seen in the following recollections.

> A lot of my friends were still around and we stayed out late and played pool and never studied and dropped by the wayside. We all ended up joining the army. . . . The recruiter showed me catalogues of all these jobs and for a kid groping around for something to do, all these job opportunities were sort of overwhelming. (no. 20).

> All of my high school friends were joining the service. There were five of us from the same area. We decided to join. We just joined. [Q. Why did your friends join?] There was nothing else for us to do. None of us, I'm speaking of the Hawaiian boys I grew up with, thought of continuing their education. As for the Orientals, they figured on continuing their education. (no. 41).

> I went into the military because I wanted to be on my own. I wanted to live in a different environment and not be a burden on my parents. . . . I wanted to be stationed away from home and become psychologically independent. (no. 6).

> I felt sick when the University of Hawaii did not give me a football scholarship. I got one from [a midwestern university] but didn't want to leave the Islands. Me and my friends were hanging around and getting into trouble. Someone said "Man, we're getting nowhere, let's enlist." Four of us (all from the same high school) enlisted together. (no. 37).

It was noted in Chapter IV that Hawaiians are disproportionately represented among Islanders serving in the armed forces. Five of the nine initially going to the Mainland via the military route were of Hawaiian ancestry. In four of the five cases, the fact that other Hawaiian friends were also joining were primary motivations for enlistment. The influence of friends was important in all types of migration except those taken for marriage reasons, but whereas the

Orientals generally used college as the vehicle for getting to the Mainland, it was the armed forces for half the Hawaiians in the sample.

Parents were unhappy about the enlistments in all but two of the cases. In most instances, parents were told after the enlistments were a fact. Besides concern about the obvious dangers of serving in the military, it was undoubtedly apparent to most of the parents that their children were drifting, rather than attending college or settling into careers.

The dominant motifs among those enlisting were the lack of long-range goals and a relatively short consideration of enlistment before it became a fact. None of those enlisting expected to stay on the Mainland after completion of military service.

Of the five who moved to the Mainland for immediate employment, one had motivations similar to the majority of those joining the armed forces.

> I didn't do well at the University of Hawaii. I was on probation. I decided in my freshman year at the recruiting table to join VISTA. It seemed an escape from school and a chance to get my head together. Anyway, I had developed "rock fever" and wanted a new environment. (no. 3).

The other four moving to seek employment had the following elements in common: increasing boredom, a desire to experience change, a reliance on information from friends either on or returning from the Mainland, and a delay in departure to accumulate sufficient savings for moving to the Mainland. Most notable was a sense of boredom.

> I was getting restless living with my parents. I had two girl friends who went to the Mainland after finishing high school. They were making good money and seemed to be doing a lot of things there. I really first thought about going when my girl friends wrote and said they had a good time going to Disneyland and Hollywood. I thought it would be exciting and different. (no. 43).

> I fumbled around three jobs. All I knew was I was bored and wanted to leave. I met this Japanese guy from here (i.e., Hawaii) who lived on the Mainland and said he was going to San Francisco. He said I could go with him. I had a few hundred dollars. Since he was going I decided to go with him. I had no idea how I would do it (i.e., make a living). I would just get in the plane and go. I probably would have gone eventually, but I went then because I could go with a friend. (no. 35).

That the available information from friends was selectively filtered is illustrated by the comment below.

> I had many friends come up to California to work and experience the Mainland. Some liked the faster way of life and a chance to travel. Girls would return to Hawaii and say they didn't care for Los Angeles. I didn't listen to this side, though. (no. 33).

In none of the cases was dissatisfaction with Hawaii salaries a prime source of discontent, although those who wanted to leave perceived that wages tended to be higher on the Mainland. There were several females in the sample who were satisfied with their jobs in Hawaii but who later moved to the Mainland with husbands. The typical reaction on being asked whether the pay in Hawaii was adequate was that of a former cashier (no. 14) who observed "The pay seemed fine then. Actually, it was lousy. Much lower than I got on the Mainland." Although the Hawaii wages did not create the original dissatisfaction, the fact that wages were perceived to be higher on the Mainland may have induced one or two of those interviewed to take the risk and move.

The importance of friends and relatives as sources of assistance as well as information is illustrated by the following person who did not move until marriage.

> I had wanted to get away from the smallness of the Islands. I wanted to see different things and do different things. I got antsy around business school. What finally

> made up my mind to leave was another girl friend and I decided to come up in two years. Then she decided not to. I wasn't independent enough to just pack up my bags and leave and come up here alone. I had no relatives or friends up here. (no. 10).

In all cases the parents were not happy about the proposed move. Prominent was a concern about how the migrants would manage financially. In all cases except for the person who joined VISTA, however, enough money had been saved that the parents could not block the move by withholding financial assistance.

In all but one case, those going to the Mainland to seek employment expected to return after a maximum of four years. This in itself is an indication that adventure, rather than a desire for better wages provided the major stimulus for the initial move.

The only element the seven females moving for marriage reasons have in common is that their moves were dictated by moves of their husbands or husbands-to-be. In two cases their husbands decided to attend college on the Mainland. Another married a serviceman who surveyed wages and living costs in Hawaii and decided to move to the Mainland after separation. One married a serviceman who was transferred to the Mainland. In one instance, the husband was in a naval reserve unit activated and sent to the Mainland. In another case the husband was not able to find a suitable job in the restaurant business and returned to his father's business on the Mainland. In the remaining instance the former boy friend was transferred from Hawaii to the Mainland and soon after proposed marriage.

One person cited earlier had previously been eager to move to the Mainland for employment and adventure, and another who had married a

serviceman had been a military dependent in Hawaii and was psychologically prepared to move since high school days. The remainder were characterized by strong local family ties, satisfaction in low paying jobs, and no desire to experience the Mainland. In this group it seems unlikely any would have moved to the Mainland on their own initiative. However, as the following account indicates, love can conquer emotional obstacles to moving.

> When my husband asked me to marry him he was already back in Virginia and buying a townhouse. He was worried I would miss the Islands so he brought me over to see if it (i.e., the Mainland) was all right. I wanted to get married so I couldn't tell him I hated this place! I said, "so this is neat. I can live here." I would have gone to Timbuktu to get married. (no. 12).

The reaction of the parents to the Mainland moves made because of marriages varied, but were generally ones of sadness and resignation. In none of the cases could the parents have blocked the move if that had been their wish.

The two married to Hawaii-born mates and the one who had married a Mainland-born Hawaii high school graduate fully expected to return when college or military service were over. The other four who married persons from the Mainland realized at the time of the moves that return would be highly unlikely.

The remaining person who moved when her parents moved (no. 43) was Mainland-born and had stayed in Hawaii after high school graduation only to continue orthodontic work on her teeth. She would almost certainly have moved even if her parents had stayed in Hawaii.

Several themes emerge from this section. All but one who moved for reasons other than marriage were single and without family responsibilities. With the partial exception of those made for marriage

reasons, almost all moves took place within two years of high school graduation. However, there were differences in timing of the moves which were related to overt purposes. Those who went to the Mainland to begin college did so immediately after high school graduation. Enlistment in the armed forces generally following several months of "drifting." College transfers followed a year or more of poor academic performance at the University of Hawaii owing to oversocialization with peers from high school. Moves to the Mainland for employment followed a period of working and accumulating capital with which to make the move. No one who moved for any reason owned a house or otherwise had a large number of fixed assets.

Notable is a general absence of economic motives for moving. For the most part, Mainland colleges were not chosen because they were deemed superior academically or because they offered programs not available at the University of Hawaii. Neither was the draft a primary motivation for enlistment in the armed forces. Excepting the moves dictated by the husband, the dominant themes are desires for "change," "adventure," "see new things," and to acquire personal independence from parental control. The overt purposes were generally the mechanisms by which the underlying wishes could be accommodated. That these attitudes did not portray a general rejection of Hawaii is shown by the fact that the large majority assumed they would return to Hawaii within a few years.

All persons interviewed were asked where their siblings were living, whether they had previously lived on the Mainland, and if so, why they moved. Admittedly, individual recollections are subject to

considerable error, but reasons given for the moves of siblings were much the same as those of the interview sample. For only a small minority of the siblings were economic motives for moving considered important. Common adjectives used to describe siblings moving the Mainland were "restless," "adventuresome," and "independent." For those never moving, common adjectives used were "unadventuresome," "Hawaii-bound," "family oriented," and "simple." Some who went to the Mainland but later returned were described as "not ready to break Island ties" or some such variant. These adjectives used to differentiate movers and nonmovers reflect the biases of those who have moved and not returned, but the personality types conveyed do receive support from the questionnaire results.

It is interesting to compare the above observations with the migrant personalities described by Taylor (1965). According to Taylor, the "aspiring" migrant is characterized by dissatisfaction with his present existence and a desire to experience a less restrictive social setting and a better economic existence, especially for the children. "Resultant" migrants are motivated by stark economic necessity. "Dislocated" migrants have been separated by their friends and relatives through marriage to one from another area, or some other reason. A small minority of moves can be termed "epiphemonenal" and are caused by reasons so unique and scattered that further classification is impossible.

Although those in the interview sample who married persons from the Mainland can easily be classified as "dislocated," most do not really fit any of Taylor's categories. In order to understand why, it

is worthwhile to note that Taylor developed his types on the basis of an English village in which coal mines were being closed. There was an obvious strong economic incentive for migration and most of the migrants were married men with children.

In contrast, unemployment rates in Hawaii were low in the late 1960s and although wages tended to be low and the cost of living high by Mainland standards, living standards were nevertheless sufficient that there was little stark economic hardship. Locals who left tended to be young, unmarried, and without long-run fixed aspirations. The most accurate description for most is not "aspiring," but "restless," or perhaps "adventuresome." Once marriage takes place and children are born, the web of social obligations for the individual increases greatly and individual latitude for making bold, gambling moving decisions decreases considerably. Furthermore, one can judge from the comments of the nonmigrants and returnees in the questionnaire sample that these ties are generally emotionally satisfying. This increasing web of obligations is probably especially true of the Japanese and Chinese (see Chapter II for a description on social structure of Hawaii's various ethnic groups) and help explain the extreme concentration of young adults without children among the Japanese and Chinese outmigrants (see Section 5.3).

One lesson to be drawn from the above is the need to distinguish motives underlying long distance moves by age of the mover and whether the moves are undertaken independently. Evidence was presented in Chapter XI that later moves made corresponded much more to explanations

generally given for moving (better economic conditions, better climate and the like) than initial moves made as young adults.[3]

14.4 Why the Initial Locations on the Mainland were Chosen

Many of those interviewed originally moved thousands of miles away from where their residences were at the time of the interview. Those who enlisted in the military followed a pattern of three months basic training in California followed by assignments in the south or midwest. Several then went to Europe or Vietnam. In these cases the mover's initial and subsequent moves in the military were not determined by the individual. The same is also true for the initial move made by the female who moved to California with her parents after the father was transferred.

All seven individuals who moved for marriage resided in California at the time of the interview. However, two originally moved to east coast states and another initially moved to a Rocky Mountain state. In all but the following case, the person interviewed did not have any input into the destination of the initial move.

> I married a G.I. from Chicago. He wanted to move back to Chicago because he felt there were no good jobs in Hawaii and it was too expensive. I said "It's either California or Hawaii." I wanted to move to Los Angeles because I had three half-brothers and a sister there. He didn't really care too much whether we went to California or Chicago so we moved to Los Angeles. (no. 23).

All five who initially moved to assume a job were living in California. The person who joined VISTA was assigned to a midwestern

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[3]This was also shown by the responses given in the interviews, especially for moves made from midwestern and eastern states to California and from the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas to less urban areas of California.

city; the remainder moved to California and at the time of the interview lived within 30 miles of the places originally moved to. These four never considered living away from the west coast at the time they were contemplating leaving Hawaii because California was the only area they felt they knew anything about. No one mentioned moving costs as a barrier to moving to a non-west coast area; all left with the clothes they were wearing and two suitcases. The psychological barrier of distance is illustrated by the following statement from one who did not initially move when he had an opportunity to do so but who later moved to look for a job.

> When I was a high school senior I won a scholarship to (an eastern school of photography). Then I looked at a map and said "Jesus Christ (the eastern city) is halfway around the world. I made an excuse and said, "Sorry, family problems." I think if it had been California I might have accepted it. (no. 35).

For practical purposes, Los Angeles and San Francisco were the only areas considered by those seeking jobs in California. In all cases, whether Los Angeles (the choice of three) or San Francisco was chosen was determined by the location of friends and relatives. The importance of the Mainland location of friends and relatives for persons seeking jobs on the Mainland was aptly illustrated by the responses to the questionnaire (see Section 10.7) and will not be elaborated here.

Of the 22 who originally went to the Mainland to attend college, 18 were living in California at the time of the interview, with an additional three in Washington and one in Arizona. Of those in California, 11 originally went to college in California, compared to two each from Oregon and the mountain states, and one each from Washington, the south and the midwest. One each living in Washington at the time

of the interview originally went to college in Washington, California, and the midwest. The single person in Arizona attended college in the midwest. This original scattering of locations is significant in that in contrast to those who originally went to the Mainland to seek employment, a large share of those leaving to attend college were living quite distant from their original destinations. Also apparent from the sample is the net gain to California that accrues from the exchange of college students between California and the northwest.

It was observed in Section 10.7 that concerning original destinations, the motivations for choosing specific colleges were least illuminated by the questionnaire responses. Thus, the author was particularly interested in responses given for why specific colleges were chosen. Reasons given are listed below.

A. Colleges in California

> My brother had moved to Los Angeles the summer before so I packed my bags and moved in with him that summer. (no. 17)

> My aunt and uncle (the only relatives on the Mainland) lived in Fresno. They told my father I could live with them. (no. 22)

> I was accepted to a small school in Oregon, and Claremont college. I didn't want to go to a small school or an all-boys school. Maybe the counselor recommended the University of Southern California. (no. 39)

> I never thought of going anywhere but California. I could have gone to Los Angeles, but my sisters were here (in San Francisco) and the older one said I could stay with her. (no. 5)

> I never thought of anywhere but the west coast. The main reason I chose San Mateo was my aunt was a cafeteria dietician there. Otherwise, I didn't care what school I went to. (no. 44)

> The east seemed too far away. The best school for my field on the west coast was in Oakland. (no. 18)

Friends were going to school in Wisconsin and other mid-western states. That seemed too far away for me. Whittier recruited Hawaii kids. I went there because my best friend was going and there were a lot of Hawaii people and a Hawaii club there. (no. 11)

I applied only to the University of Southern California. It had a good dental school and my brother was going there. (no. 21)

I went to San Mateo because I had friends going there. (no. 34)

I think my concept of the Mainland was the west coast. I really wanted to go to school in Los Angeles but I had relatives in San Francisco so my mother pushed me to come up here. (no. 1)

I got a scholarship to go to any college I wanted. I picked Los Angeles Community College because it was on the Mainland, but closest to Hawaii. Also, my sister was here and I could stay with her. (no. 40)

I went to San Francisco State because I had visited San Francisco once and felt I knew it. I never even considered anywhere else. My friend and I went there together (no. 31)

B. Colleges in the Northwest

After looking at college catalogues, I applied to Oklahoma State because my brother went there. It seemed so far away. I thought about Colorado State but couldn't transfer credits from a semester to a quarter system. The out-of-state tuition for the University of Oregon and California was high. That left Washington and Washington State. I didn't want to go to a big city (Seattle) so I went to Washington State. (no. 42)

I had relatives in Washington and my mother went to Pacific Lutheran. Therefore, I went there, too. (no. 28)

My friends were going to the University of Puget Sound. The four of us just went up there together. (no. 28)

I didn't want to go further than the west coast. I wanted to get away from home, but not that far (laugh). The cost and distance were best at the University of Oregon. (no. 9)

C. Non-West Coast Colleges

> I got a football scholarship from Brigham Young. They suggested I go to a junior college first and since I was not prepared academically, it was good advice. I went to the junior college they told me to. (no. 29)

> My mother had a very close church friend in Nebraska. She had me go there since the friend could look after me. (no. 38)

> I applied to the University of Colorado, Baylor, Dartmouth and a small school in Oregon. I got turned down in Oregon. I knew Colorado was a party school. I applied to Dartmouth because it was Ivy League, but it seemed too far away. I applied to Baylor because my brother told me it had a good medical school. (no. 36)

> My father was in the 100th Division during the war and thought it would be a good idea for me to go to the Mainland and see the world. He felt there were too many Orientals on the west coast and wanted me to go to the midwest to mix with other types. I went to school in Indiana because my uncle went there and liked it. (no. 15)

> My brother talked about going to school in Wisconsin. He said it was a good school. I wanted to find out what it was like to be in a minority so I ruled out the west coast. Out of curiosity I went to Wisconsin. (no. 4)

Apparent in the above recollections is the deterent effect that distance played in the choice of many who went to west coast colleges. Also evident is the role of friends and relatives either attending the college of choice or living in the general area of the college. Again, this is especially true for persons going to west coast colleges. College quality did not seem to be important in most deliberations; for most it was the Mainland experience that was considered to be of the most importance. Also notable in almost all cases was the narrow range of choices to begin with. Given the vast number of colleges on the Mainland, this can hardly be otherwise. There was no evidence that the University of Hawaii was avoided because of perceived academic weaknesses;

even those who transferred from the University of Hawaii did so not because they were dissatisfied with its academic quality but, rather, to escape social situations unconducive to good academic performance. Although the sample of persons going to non-west coast colleges is small, it does appear that persons going to them were in the main more "adventuresome" than persons attending west coast colleges.

In summary, most moves not dictated by marriage or military considerations were strongly influenced by information provided by and/or the physical presence of friends and relatives. The distance deterents in the main are psychological or impediments to receiving information rather than financial, although a few stated that one reason to move to the west coast was that relatives in Hawaii could be visited most easily from there. Inasfar as the Mainland was thought about, it was essentially a west coast perception for most. Whereas information from others was often sufficient to determine a particular college choice, the physical presence of others at the destination was needed to stimulate a move for employment purposes. For the above reason, migration to the Mainland for job-related purposes is strongly directed to the San Francisco and Los Angeles metropolitan areas and it is unlikely that it will, in the near future at least, become large to other areas.[4]

14.5 First Impressions of and Adjustments Made on the Mainland

All persons interviewed vividly recalled their first impressions of the areas first moved to on the Mainland. This is hardly surprising

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[4]However, the relative proportions going to Los Angeles and San Francisco could shift. The author believes, for reasons stated in Section 11.3 that San Francisco is probably gaining at the relative expense of Los Angeles.

as it was the first time on the Mainland for most, and the movers realized then that life would change abruptly from the past. Occasionally, the initial reaction was one of excitement.

> When I was on the airplane I was sort of scared. I got off the plane in Los Angeles and sniffed the air and looked around. I then had a feeling, "you're going to like it." (no. 32)

> I thought I would freeze to death because everyone said how cold (Oregon) was. In fact, it was the most beautiful weather I ever experienced. I could not believe it when I walked off the plane. (no. 9)

More often, however, the reaction was one of shock and trepidation.

> I was shocked when I flew into San Francisco and it was all foggy, dead looking and gray. I called my parents at the airport and said, "I don't think I can live up here." They said, "Stay in college and see how you like it--after a while the place grows on you." (no. 18)

> I came into Los Angeles at 7:00 in the morning. It was gray and cold. There was a metallic taste in the air. I saw smog. I said, "How can people live like this?" Weather alone impressed me when I got off the plane. (no. 22)

> Coming in (to San Francisco) from the airport I was nauseated. It was foggy and wet and smelly with industrial wastes. I said, "Jesus Christ, what am I doing?" It was unbelievable. I was freezing my ass off. I regretted it right away. It was so bleak. (no. 35)

Almost all believed that either their prior expectations concerning the first area moved to were grossly in error or, if adequate, still could not substitute for the practical experience of living there. For those in the military, the experience of basic training (universally detested while in "boot camp") was much more vividly recalled than the area itself. Those in small town colleges in the northwest and midwest tended to have all their social life on campus. However, friends and

relatives in California were invaluable in providing places to stay, knowledge of California customs and dress habits, a general orientation to the area moved to, and sometimes financial assistance. The extent to which this support was depended on is illustrated by the shock of one respondent when expected help did not materialize.

> I wanted to go back home. The day after I arrived I felt lost. My sister wasn't living with a bunch of girls. She was living with a guy. I thought I would be living with my sister and her friends and it wasn't going to be that way. What was I going to do? Catch the next plane home? (no. 40)

Those who moved to the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas were most impressed by the vastness of the two areas and the many "things to do." In general, however, there was shock at the perceived unfriendliness of the residents of the two cities. This reaction was usually more muted for areas outside these two cities. Otherwise, reactions of persons moving outside these two areas were as various as the types of areas moved to. For most, whether they were in Los Angeles or Wisconsin, winter came as an unpleasant shock. Those going to colleges outside California lived on campuses and were insulated from the towns the colleges were located in. Their reactions tended to be to fellow students and the college programs themselves.

Most persons were characterized by homesickness during the first year on the Mainland. For those working in large cities, it tended to be muted by a whirl of activity to see the "hot spots." College students reported their homesickness was worst during the holidays when other students left campus to visit their families. Homesickness tended to be acute both among those in the military and others moving for

marriage reasons. In the former case the military life itself was generally disliked and there was little interaction with persons living off base. Several who were sent to southern military bases had unpleasant memories of racial attitudes there. With one exception, those marrying nonlocals found themselves in isolated social situations with no relatives or Hawaii-born friends in the vicinity.

Most who moved to non-east coast areas had Hawaii-born friends and relatives nearby during the first year on the Mainland. At colleges the Hawaii clubs played important roles in introducing the Hawaii students to each other and organizing social events. At schools that had large numbers of Hawaii students (notably Los Angeles City College), it was possible to experience a social life that was almost a continuation of high school days. Females who came to California for employment were likewise surrounded by friends and relatives from Hawaii. In the Gardena and surrounding areas, Hawaii-born residents were sufficiently numerous to support various Hawaii social clubs and a number of Hawaii specialty stores. The most isolated tended to be those in the military. One recruiting tactic was to tell potential enlistees that if they joined the army, they would be assigned to an all-Hawaii battalion. That was indeed true for basic training, but those who had joined would then be sent to different bases and only rarely did friends in basic training see each other afterwards.

Excluding those in the military and those moving to non-west coast areas, those having little interaction with other Hawaii-born individuals during the first year on the Mainland tended to be either socailly isolated or desirous of new experiences. The former (two in the sample)

perhaps had the roughest adjustments of all interviewed. Three persons fell into the latter group. One person (no. 32) recalls:

> (My friends my first year on the Mainland were from the Mainland) only because I did not want to associate with people from Hawaii. I wanted to experience new types of people. Friends from Hawaii just like to stick together in a little group. Why come to the Mainland to be with friends from Hawaii? It just didn't make sense.

Dissatisfactions with the first areas moved to tended to be social, rather than economic in nature. Only one reported any difficulty locating a job (it took her two months) and even in this case the husband found a job immediately. Many reported locating jobs immediately. For most, the salaries and cost of living were pleasant surprises. Typical was the reaction of the person who moved when her husband's reserve unit was activated (no. 30). "At my first job in San Diego I got $50 a week more than I got in Hawaii. I thought, 'wow,' and our rent was way, way lower."

Even though the adjustments were painful for most, the only person who made plans for immediate return (and did return for a short while) was the person with the one year contract with VISTA. For most, the presence of friends and relatives helped immensely in adjustment. Some even met their future Hawaii-born spouses during their first year on the Mainland. Almost all recall that homesickness eventually abated, usually after about six months to a year on the Mainland. Yet, even after a year on the Mainland, most still assumed that they would return to Hawaii. However, the obvious fact is that all persons were still on the Mainland at the time of the interview. Why they stayed on the Mainland will be the focus of the following section.

14.6 Why Those Interviewed Stayed on the Mainland

The question of why those interviewed were still on the Mainland in many cases defies easy explanation although most listed financial reasons prominantly. For most, both individual personalities and circumstances unique to the individuals played roles. For many, it can be said that staying on the Mainland "just happened."

Several came home for a long anticipated visit and suddenly discovered that Hawaii or their friends were not as they remembered. Typical are the following:

> When I came home, Hawaii seemed a different place. I visited my best friend in high school. When I returned, I didn't even know her. It seemed I had changed so much. I thought I hadn't changed, but I had changed. I had expanded my life, but she hadn't.
>
> Hawaii seemed small. I had never thought of it as being small. I started really seriously thinking of staying on the Mainland at this time. There seemed so much more to do. So many more interesting people to know. (no. 11)

> After I got out of the army I came back to Hawaii to look for a job. Things didn't look promising jobwise, but that isn't the real reason I didn't stay. I got bored after a week. There seemed to be nothing to do except to go to the beach. I realized that there was so much more to do in the Bay Area I couldn't do in Hawaii. After two weeks I was happy to leave. (no. 37)

Six persons actually returned to Hawaii for varying lengths of time after residing on the Mainland. Reasons for return to the Mainland a second time were varied. One (no. 38) stayed in Hawaii while her Mainland-born husband served in Vietnam. Return to the Mainland was fully expected in this case as the husband expected to settle in his home town. Another (no. 9) returned to Hawaii from college for financial reasons. Return to the Mainland was envisioned after graduation from the University of Hawaii because "partly I wanted to get away from

home and the protective environment my mother gave me and partly I didn't function well in warm weather." The third person (no. 44) was discharged from the military in Hawaii. He checked out policemen's salaries in Hawaii and determined there was no way to "survive" in Hawaii unless his Mainland-born wife was gainfully employed. This led to a successful search for employment on the west coast.

Another (no. 20) drew his last army assignment in Hawaii and decided to continue his education at the University of Hawaii as he could then live at home and receive money under the G.I. Bill. He then returned to the Mainland to attend graduate school because "I was pushed into graduate school by a professor, there are limited job opportunities in chemistry in Hawaii and I loved the southwest when in the military." The fifth (no. 4) returned to Hawaii to teach in high school, taught for three years and then went to library school in Seattle because "I wanted to to to a good library school not too far away from home; I wanted the degree to work at a (local) research center; also I wanted to get away from home for a while."

The sixth person (no. 3) moved back to Hawaii twice; the first time to continue at the University of Hawaii after a stint in VISTA. After encountering the same motivational problems that inspired the VISTA experience, he enrolled in a college of photography in California. His plans were to work in photography in the Bay Area, but meanwhile his Hawaii-born wife (whom he met at the Mainland college) found a job for him in Hawaii. The move worked out poorly because

> I didn't realize how Hawaii had changed for the worse. There were buildings and crowds and ugliness everywhere. (My wife) liked California and did not want to move back, anyway. She was always having hassles with her mother.

> Hawaii was confining in marriage, especially since my wife didn't like the beach that much. The company experienced a recession and I was stuck with lab work. We weren't even getting off Oahu to visit the outer islands. After two years I had a friend in California who was opening up a studio in the Bay Area. He asked me to join him. We were thinking of moving to the Bay Area at this time, but the friend's business made the move possible at that time.

In the above case the reasons for discontent were so varied that one can hardly point out a single cause as being predominant in motivating the final move to the Mainland. Although a "trigger" existed that caused the move to occur when it did, it probably would have occurred eventually. The above example is noteworthy in that it is the only case among those interviewed in which environmental considerations appear to have played a role in a move to the Mainland. This supports the observation that although the presumed environmental deterioration of Hawaii is a topic of frequent conversation among local residents, its role in stimulating the outmigration of locals is minimal.

In four cases a decision was made to stay on the Mainland after a check of job opportunities in Hawaii. Two cases among persons returning to Hawaii have already been cited. Another person after release from the military

> . . . checked out job possibilities in Hawaii. Several jobs were available but salaries were considerably below what they were in California or Colorado. In Hawaii the starting salary for a pharmacist was $6.00 an hour or less. In Colorado it was $6.50 an hour but in California it was $8.50 an hour or more. I had visited San Diego when on leave from the army and it seemed to be beautiful and not overbuilt. I wrote to several places there and we moved after I got a job offer. (no. 8)

In nine cases a decision was more or less made to stay on the Mainland either because a determination was made that job opportunities and salaries were better on the Mainland or because a job offer by a

Mainland firm was made immediately after graduation. Two respondents were still attending college at the time of the interview and the real decision concerning whether to stay on the Mainland occurred after completion of college. Three females did not wish to remain on the Mainland but were unable to return because of marriage with Mainland-born husbands with no desire to return to Hawaii.

In twenty-three cases, representing slightly over half of all persons interviewed, there was no obvious time in which a conscious decision was made to stay on the Mainland. A common sequence was starting at the bottom of the job ladder, receiving a rapid promotion or finding a satisfying job, marriage, children, and the buying of a new house. All of these events tended to cement attachment to the Mainland, but at no particular time was a determination made to stay on the Mainland. Typical is a couple in which the husband transferred from a non-west coast college to another in central California for the specific purpose of completing college.

> I had a very good job. Our daughter was doing very good in school and getting local recognition in swimming. My husband became very fond of my boss, who has introduced us to other nice people. We settled down without realizing it. Suddenly, (this town) was home. (no. 13)

In several instances the stay on the Mainland was more or less involuntary and dictated by circumstances. An extreme example is a male (no. 15) who came to the Mainland to attend junior college. At the time he started college he was hired by the U.S. Postal Service. After two semesters he quit college and the job was converted into a fulltime one. Two years later he married a native of California who did not want to move to Hawaii. He has requested a transfer to Hawaii but

until someone in Hawaii requests a transfer to San Francisco such a transfer is impossible.[5] The response to the question of whether the job was enjoyed was "I'd rather be doing something else but I don't know what. But it is security and I make pretty good money." The response to the question of why no move back to Hawaii had been made was "My job is here. Her family is here. She would rather stay in San Francisco. Also, we have no money to move." Although the general tenor of responses was closer to the person cited on the previous page than the one discussed above, it is nevertheless true that for most the increasing job and other attachments to the Mainland were greeted with mixed feelings.

Irrespective of reasons given for deciding to stay on the Mainland or when the decision (really, nondecision in many cases) to live on the Mainland was made, almost everyone cited economic reasons when asked "Why have you not moved back to Hawaii?" After several interviews the litany about lack of jobs, low pay and the high cost of living in Hawaii became predictable. A few examples will suffice to summarize feelings on this subject.

> The pay for a policeman in Hawaii is ridiculous. I get almost twice as much up here. The cost of living is also ridiculous. How do Hawaii guys do it? The policeman's exam in Hawaii is super-easy but they cannot get qualified people at what they pay. (no. 44)

> I make $11.25 an hour. We just visited our parents in Hawaii. My parents are both pharmacists and they are both making between six and seven dollars an hour. We have our own home and it is very comfortable. With the difference in wages and housing costs we see no reason at all to return to Hawaii. (no. 8)

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[5]One reason for the lack of enthusiasm for transferring from Hawaii to San Francisco is that federal employees in Hawaii receive a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) that has varied between 15 and 20 percent of base pay in recent years. There is no cost-of-living allowance in San Francisco but San Francisco is the most expensive of all west coast cities to live in.

> Jobs in my field (electrical engineering) are scarce in Hawaii. A couple of the guys I know who graduated with me went back to Hawaii and could not find jobs in their field. They are now working as policemen and are having a rough time financially. . . . I have also known several engineers in the department on levels higher than myself who have gone back to Hawaii, for perhaps family reasons, and are making the same or less than I am and are trying to live on the economy that exists there. They are living in homes that could not compare with the home I just bought for $41,000 and they are paying $83,000 for something like a 55 year lease. How can I give all this up? I love it here. (no. 17)

Many cited examples of siblings who stayed in Hawaii or friends who returned to Hawaii and were suffering financially as a result. If the stories were to be taken as literally portraying economic conditions in Hawaii, one would conclude that Hawaii is an economic "disaster area." Yet, it is obvious to anyone living in Hawaii that many are doing quite well financially. Most of the returnees and nonmigrants who answered the questionnaire did not perceive themselves to be in economic distress. There is undoubtedly an element of rationalization in the stories related to the author. Yet, the differences in the general economic well-being of residents in Hawaii and the west coast is real enough that the perception of better economic well-being on the west coast was universal among the migrants interviewed.

Other reasons were given for not returning to Hawaii, the most common being marriage considerations, positive attributes of the area lived in, and perceived worsening environmental or social conditions in Hawaii. However, in almost all cases these considerations appeared to be secondary to economic ones. Those who had mixed feelings about living on the Mainland invariably stressed economic considerations to the exclusion of everything else whereas those who were basically pleased to

be living on the Mainland mentioned positive aspects of Mainland living. This theme will be elaborated in the following section, in which present perceptions of Hawaii and the Mainland will be discussed.

In summary, reasons for deciding to stay on the Mainland were varied. In more than half the cases it can be said "it just happened." For some, it is easy to visualize that a return to Hawaii might have been made under slightly different circumstances. Common to all persons, however, was a perception that their financial situation on the Mainland was much better than it would have been had they stayed in Hawaii. With the exception of the person (no. 10) who observed "Money is not important to me anymore. I would rather be poor and happy living in Hawaii than have money and be miserable living here in California," no one was willing to immediately give up an obtained standard of living on the Mainland to move back to an uncertain future in Hawaii.

14.7 Present Perceptions of Hawaii and the Mainland

Respondents were asked the following questions concerning perceptions of Hawaii and the Mainland.

1. What do you like best about the area you live in now?
2. What do you like least about the area you live in now?
3. What do you miss most about Hawaii?
4. Do you often wish you were back in Hawaii?
5. If money were no consideration where would you prefer to live? Why?
6. (If person answers "Hawaii" to Question Five above) If you had to live on the Mainland and money were no consideration, where would you like to live? Why?

Questions five and six will be considered here first because responses to these two questions proved to be good predictors as to how the other four questions were answered.

Of the 44 respondents queried, there was the following distribution by living preference: Hawaii, 26; either Hawaii or a Mainland state, four: the area in California presently lived in, three; an area in California other than the one lived in, four; Oregon, three; Colorado, three; and Wyoming, one. Among persons listing Hawaii as the preferred area, the distribution of preferred Mainland states were as follows: the area of California presently lived in, 13; the area lived in Washington, one; an area in California other than the one lived in, six; and state not lived in, six (three for Oregon, two for Colorado, and one for Florida). One notable difference between persons expressing a preference for Hawaii and the Mainland is that the former were much more likely to give the area presently lived in as the Mainland choice.

Based on the content of the interviews, the author classified the respondents into three broad groups: those who have acquired a Mainland orientation and appear unlikely to return to Hawaii under any circumstances, those who have made a satisfactory adjustment to the Mainland and appear content there but who nevertheless have retained strong positive feelings about Hawaii, and persons who would clearly be happier if they could live in Hawaii and enjoy a standard of living comparable to what they have obtained on the Mainland. Although the classification may seem arbitrary, the author believes that with two exceptions the respondents fall clearly into one of the three categories. The two

persons in question indicated strong ambivalent to negative feelings about Hawaii and positive perceptions of where they were presently living, but nevertheless insisted they would prefer to live in Hawaii for retirement because their "roots" were there. With reluctance, the author classified both as being equally attached to Hawaii and the Mainland. A total of 13 were classified as having a Mainland orientation, 14 seemed to be content on the Mainland but with strong positive feelings toward Hawaii and 17 appeared to be "out of place" on the Mainland.

Five of the 10 Haoles but only seven of the 34 non-Haoles interviewed had a definite Mainland orientation. With two exceptions, those with a Mainland orientation were characterized by ambitiousness, an appreciation of economic opportunities on the Mainland, a "non-people" personality, and basically indifferent to hostile attitudes towards Hawaii. If they were born in Hawaii, their speech was closer to Mainland than Hawaii patterns. It may be significant that all four who reported that growing up speaking "pidgin" was a handicap on the Mainland came from this group. If aspects of Hawaii were missed they were generally the food and climate and parents, but not Hawaii people in general or relatives beyond the immediate family. Negative feelings were often expressed that Hawaii was becoming overcrowded and overcommercialized. Most enjoyed the Mainland "faster way" of life. Typical was the statement (no. 17) "After a week or two in Hawaii I'm half dead. I've done everything and there is nothing more to do." Another (no. 35) said

> Up here people are not afraid to try different things and people admire you for your daring. In Hawaii people are cliquish and they try to cubbyhole you. If you're from (the area grown up in), you're automatically second rate. I'm appreciated here. They know my skills. They are open minded and receptive to new ideas.

The two exceptions to the personality characterization given in the second sentence of the above paragraph are examples of dislocation. One (no. 26) was a military dependent while in Hawaii. At the end of her high school year she married a serviceman and "I was no longer a student, I was a military wife. People started avoiding me." Such negative feelings were undoubtedly reinforced by her husband, who strongly felt discriminated against while stationed in Hawaii. The other was a housewife who left Hawaii when she married someone from the Mainland. Why she strongly preferred the Mainland at first was a puzzle to the author as she had never thought of leaving Hawaii prior to the marriage proposal and her demeanor during the interview seemed to suggest a Hawaii orientation (see following description). However, it was eventually revealed that she had been married previously and "I have bad memories there; I just want to stay away." Although lacking the strong ambition that characterized most in this group, she averred that she was becoming more aggressive, that her husband and children were the only family that mattered to her any more, and that she hoped a sister would not make a contemplated move from Hawaii to her area because "I don't want to babysit." In most Hawaii local families it would be considered treasonous to express such sentiments openly.

On the question of where the respondent would like to live if money were no consideration, all gave a Mainland location but only two listed the area presently lived in. What is most significant is the fact that no one listed either the "friendliness of people" or the location of friends and relatives as considerations. Rather, considerations focused on climatic and scenic considerations as well as "things to do." Several

listed places they had never been to but had heard positive things about. Many expressed an interest to see more places on the Mainland when asked about living choice. Choices given and justifications given for the choices reflect the basic personality profile discussed above.

Those characterized as having a dual orientation (i.e., having favorable attitudes about both Hawaii and the Mainland) were, without exception, well adjusted to where they were living. However, in contrast to the first group described, they thought often about Hawaii and still had emotional attachments to it. If one were to characterize the two groups, it would be that whereas those with a Mainland orientation probably would not move back to Hawaii even if offered a salary increase equal to the difference in the cost of living, those with a dual orientation would not move back to Hawaii if offered the same job at the same salary but would strongly consider it if offered a salary increase equal to the difference in the cost of living. Five in this group specifically mentioned that Hawaii is a better place for children if not for adults. In contrast, none in the Mainland group made this observation. Two had definite plans to return to Hawaii once a specific goal on the Mainland was accomplished, but the others appeared to be exercising no direct action (such as checking for jobs in Hawaii) that would facilitate an eventual return to Hawaii. In this group there was a strong sentiment that the Hawaii people were "special" and that it was unfortunate that Mainland residents were not as friendly. If one were to characterize this group, it is that in the main they are outgoing, people oriented, socially adaptable, and without the strong career ambitions apparent in the Mainland-oriented group.

When asked where they would prefer to live if money were no consideration, five gave a Mainland location, four answered that it was a toss-up between Hawaii and a specific area on the Mainland, and five answered "Hawaii." There was a marked ambivalence in the answers and the author received the impression that many of the responses might have differed given a different mood of the respondent. Most missed in Hawaii tended to be the parents and the friendliness of Hawaii's people, although climatic and scenic attributes were not overlooked. However, the large distances, "things to do," and economic opportunities on the Mainland were appreciated, although the economic advantages on the Mainland tended to be emphasized much less than among those with a Mainland orientation. Only one picked the area lived in as the preferred residence if money were not a consideration. However, four chose thier area lived in as being equally preferred with Hawaii or, if Hawaii was given as the first choice, the preferred location. Persons in this group, in common with those with a Mainland orientation, did not mention the location of friends and relatives or the attributes of people as justifications for the Mainland choices. However, persons with a dual orientation showed little interest in visiting new areas on the Mainland.

Only two of the 10 Haoles, but 15 of the 34 non-Haoles interviewed could be termed "Hawaii oriented." Both Haoles were born on the Mainland and missed the "sun and surf" and warm ocean. The non-Haoles had a number of elements in common: strong Hawaii speech inflections, modest demeanor, a reticence, and a social alienation from the Mainland. In common with those having a Mainland orientation, they stressed the economic benefits of living on the Mainland. However, they were

otherwise unimpressed or negatively impressed by other attributes of the Mainland. The prevailing sentiment was summarized by the woman (no. 7) who expressed the view that "I hate to think that I will spend the rest of my life over here, but yet I think it will be too hard to move back home." An extreme view of the alientation from the Mainland is provided by the person (no. 10) who observed, "I've been here in California for six years and I've always considered Hawaii home. I've no roots here." In contrast to those in the other two groups, a majority living in California insisted that many or most of their friends on the Mainland were from Hawaii. In fact, in four cases the return of former friends to Hawaii was a source of discontent. Those without friends from Hawaii stated they did not have many friends.

All with a Hawaii orientation expressed a desire to return to Hawaii to live if money were no consideration. Almost all stressed the friendliness of the Hawaii residents in contrast to the "coldness" of persons on the Mainland, the longing for friends and relatives still in Hawaii and the "easy pace" of life in Hawaii. The following is typical.

> What do I miss about Hawaii? Sometimes the food. The beaches and sitting around on sand. The ocean, everything. I really miss the people the most. People in Hawaii are so much friendlier than up here. I feel uprooted in personal relationships. I'm used to being away from the family now, but I still miss them. Living without relatives is sort of like living in a vacuum. (no. 18)

When asked about living preference on the Mainland if money were no consideration, 10 gave the area they presently lived in. This appears ironic in view of the fact that few could find positive things to say about the area they lived in beyond the abundance of economic opportunities. Of those who did list the area lived in, four stated it was

the only Mainland area they were familiar with and the other six were attracted by Hawaii-born friends and relatives in the area. As one (no. 23) observed, "With so many Hawaii friends and relatives here and the Hawaii food stores in Gardena, it's not so strange even though it's somewhere else." Two of the seven outside choices were also influenced by "people considerations"; one listed Colorado because she had once lived there and remembered people being much more friendly there than in Los Angeles, and the other considered Illinois because she had a sister living in a small town there who reported people there were much friendlier than in California. People with a Hawaii orientation seemed totally uninterested in exploring places not previously visited on the Mainland.

One person interviewed returned to Hawaii to live the week following the interview, but the remainder of persons with a Hawaii orientation had no immediate plans for return. In fact, most did not envision returning to Hawaii before retirement. For most it was a matter of economics; they were earning salaries much higher than they believed were possible in Hawaii and buying houses they could not afford to buy in Hawaii. Seven stated that their types of jobs either did not exist or were in very limited supply in Hawaii. Most in this group have acquired job seniority that is nontransferable to Hawaii. Obviously, those who have stayed do not want to move back so badly that they would risk a substantial decline in their standard of living or getting a less satisfying job. Undoubtedly, many would return to Hawaii if economic considerations there improved.

Needless to say, the perceptions concerning the areas lived in varied greatly. As observed earlier, those with a Hawaii orientation

tended to be negative about almost everything except job opportunities, whereas those with a Mainland orientation were generally quite pleased with the area lived in, even though other areas were preferred if money were no consideration. The extremes in attitudes are shown by two persons describing the same general area.

> You want to know what we like about this area? We really hate it here. The kids are mean and foul mouthed, there is no parental concern, most mothers work and their children run wild. It is good for (husband's) job. He is ready for a raise. He hates California as a place to live. The moral code here is bad. Our neighbors are materialistic and unfriendly.
> (Is there anything nice about this area?) No. Not as a place to live. At least the smog where we are is not too bad. (no. 27)

> I love it here. The area is central and livable with air conditioning. I love skiing, sailing, scuba diving. I can go to San Diego, Marina Del Ray. The location is great. If I go north I can go hunting. Mexico is to the south. East is other states, Disneyland, Vegas, etc., all for the cost of gas. I understand the people here now. Once you get to know them they are warm, outgoing and friendly. I was shy when I came here so I didn't realize it then.
> (Is there anything you don't like about this area?) Sure. Mobs of people, traffic, smog and crime rate. But these are problems in Hawaii. I've weighed Los Angeles on a cost-benefit analysis against everywhere, especially Hawaii. In the dollar area Hawaii is lousy. I have what I want here. (no. 5)

In spite of the obvious differences in perception, which reflect personal attitudes more than objective reality, there are several perceptions on which all agree. California's beaches and "cold" ocean were universally abhored and avoided for swimming. Los Angeles's smog was noted and disliked. The above quotation notwithstanding, there was virtually a consensus that the people in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas were much less friendly and outgoing than those of Hawaii. However, those with a Mainland orientation hardly cared whereas those with Hawaii orientations believed this to be the most damning

observation that could be made about these areas. From the reports of those in Washington, Arizona, and those parts of California outside of the Los Angeles, Orange County and San Francisco areas, the people in these areas are friendlier than in the large metropolitan areas of California, although not as friendly as those in Hawaii. That these observations are made by those previously living in the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas as well as those who never lived in these areas gives them credence.

All but those bitterly unhappy on the Mainland appreciated the "things to do" in the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas. Most agreed that San Francisco was in a beautiful setting, but the same observation was not made about Los Angeles. The three in San Diego liked the climate there but opinions concerning the weather among persons living in other areas were split. Those liking the area lived in generally liked the climate whereas those with negative feelings about the area lived in tended to feel the climate was too cold in the winter, too wet, too dry, or too hot in the summer. Considering the reputation of Hawaii's climate, it is noteworthy that approximately half of those interviewed believed the climate in the area lived in was as good or better than the climate of Hawaii.

In summary, attitudes concerning the Mainland and Hawaii were very much a function of personal orientation rather than objective economic conditions. Those with economic orientations were much more positive about the Mainland and negative about Hawaii than the others with social orientations. In fact, the personality differences between these two

types was so marked that it was generally easy for the author to accurately surmise the orientation after a couple of minutes of casual conversation.

14.8 Husband-Wife Attitudes Concerning Living on the Mainland

The questionnaire did not reveal marked differences by sex concerning satisfaction about living on the Mainland. However, in the fifteen cases here where both the husband and wife were from Hawaii, the wife was much more positive than the husband about the Mainland in seven instances, and the husband and wife held similar views in the remaining eight instances. Although the sample is admittedly small and may not be generalizable for local outmigrants in general, this greater Mainland orientation of the wives in the sample is notable because census data show that prior to the 1950s most of the Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland were male but that in recent years the number of females on the Mainland has grown faster than that of males.

In all cases in which the wife had a more positive attitude than the husband, the reason was at least partly economic. All were pleased with their jobs and said the pay was much better than they would receive in Hawaii. Although all but two were then working, all said they would have to work in Hawaii just to keep up with payments whereas working was an option on the Mainland. The wives also stated they would consider moving back to Hawaii only for the benefit of the husband. A common occurrence in the interviews involved a husband talking about how he missed his friends and the Hawaii lifestyle; the wife would then enter the conversation and say something to the effect of "We could never afford to move back; we would live a hand-to-mouth existence." The most

hair-raising of disaster stories concerning the economic fates of couples returning to Hawaii were told by cynical wives of homesick husbands. One (no. 30) put it baldly, "My husband is terribly homesick for Hawaii. I like nice things, though. Hawaii can't support my standard of living. My husband might move back but I don't think I would."

In at least three cases, the reluctance to move back was related to discontent concerning the perceived sex roles in Island families.

> I'm glad I didn't follow the pattern of my friends who stayed in Hawaii. From what I saw at the 10th year reunion party, the majority of girls married and a lot of them were divorced. A lot of those who were still married had husbands who wouldn't let them go out. The majority of Oriental guys are like that--yet they do it on the side. Stay home, cook, cleanup and have a couple of kids. (no. 32)

> I much prefer to be on the Mainland. Back in Hawaii the Hawaiian men drink beer together, chase other women and play "who's a man" games. I hated it when I went back to Hawaii. I got into fights with all (my husband's) friends. They lounged around the house and expected to be served at their call.

> . . . His way, the family is the Hawaiian way. That means grandma interference. My way is the mother raises the kids. I would get into fights in the Hawaii visits. The "family" there is more important than husband and wife in Hawaii. There is so much interference that families break up. If we had gone back to Hawaii our parents would have fought (our mutual problems) out. Here we do it ourselves. Everything here is the way we want it to be. We don't go to grandma or grandpa for anything. (no. 10)

There was evidence of dissatisfaction with sex roles in Hawaii among at least two of those married to Mainland-born husbands. In both cases the husbands were enthusiastic about moving to Hawaii and the wives were opposed in part because of satisfaction with Mainland jobs and the perception as one (no. 38) put it, "Females in Hawaii have a rough time getting a good job and the pay is terrible." One observed

that her husband helped with the housework whereas this was unthinkable for Oriental males in Hawaii. The other, of Japanese (on the mother's side) and Haole ancestry gave the following devastating evaluation of traditional Oriental males and females.

> I've always dated Caucasians. I guess I was brainwashed by my mother into thinking Oriental men were real pigs. I remember my mother telling me, "Be sure to marry a Haole. He'll treat you right." She told my brother, "When you grow up be sure to marry a Japanese. She'll take care of you." (no. 9)

The inference here that dissatisfaction with sex roles in marriage may be stimulating the net outmigration of nonwhite Hawaii-born females is admittedly speculative and based on scanty evidence. The widespread feeling among the females that wages and job opportunities are much better for females on the west coast than Hawaii is based on solid evidence and this is a factor stimulating loyalty to the Mainland among many of the females interviewed. The author cannot resist the observation that any stereotype of the Island local women as being basically attractive ornaments pliant to the wishes of husbands and lovers is shattered by the personalities of the women interviewed. On the average, they were tough-minded, ambitious, and energetic. While husbands talked of memories of friends, sun and surf, and Primo beer, the wives concentrated on prosaic economic realities, the quality of Island schools, and potential conflicts with relatives should the Isles be returned to. In a number of cases where both the husband and wife were from Hawaii, the husbands by their own admissions could not have completed college or obtained their present job status and salaries without a strong push from the wives. A majority of the wives but few of the husbands stated an indifference to sun and surf activities. The influence of sex roles on

the outmigration and satisfactions of Islanders deserves considerably more attention than was given in this study.

14.9 Husband-Wife Discussions on Returning to Hawaii

All married respondents were asked whether they and their spouses ever discussed the possibility of moving back to Hawaii. Where the husband and wife were in disagreement (with the wife almost invariably preferring to stay on the Mainland) the subject was usually not discussed as it created conflicts. Likewise, the topic was not discussed often among spouses with Mainland orientations. However, the subject was sometimes discussed among spouses with dual or Hawaii orientations. Among persons of both orientations the tenor of the conversation tended to be as follows: "It would be nice to move back. . . . Yeah, but what will we live on, how can we ever afford a house there? Even if we got jobs the pay would be much less than what we're getting. . . . Yeah, that's really too bad." No formalized action to faciliate an eventual return seemed to result from any of the discussions. One person actually did move back to Hawaii after the interview and her perceptions on why her and her husband's discussions did not result in a decision to move undoubtedly apply to a number of persons who say they want to return to Hawaii.

> We talked about moving back all the time. In fact, we'd planned to return as soon as we saved enough money to ship everything back. But it was just an excuse. If we had wanted to (return) badly enough, we'd be gone by now. Moving back was a long term goal, really. (no. 10)

Although the interviews did not reveal which spouse generally exercises the most influence in a decision to return to Hawaii, it does appear that wives in several instances exercised effective veto

power on proposed moves suggested by husbands. It may be that when spouses disagree on whether to make a move, the usual result is that no positive decision is made to move. Campbell and Johnson (1976) noted a number of studies that showed a large proportion of divorced females among returnees. They suggested this was due to the divorced wife's need to return to her parents for comfort and financial assistance. Although this is certainly a plausible explanation for some returns (a few of the siblings of respondents interviewed returned to Hawaii after a divorce in order to be with the family), of equal or greater importance may be the opportunity to exercise individual living preference unencumbered by consideration of the spouse's preferences. This is what happened in the one instance in which a return move was made after an interview.

In summary, the subject of returning to Hawaii was generally avoided when the spouses were of different opinions concerning the desirability of returning to Hawaii. Even in families where it was often discussed and both spouses wished to return to Hawaii, the idea of returning was generally dismissed as impractical, at least for the time being. At least among the families interviewed it seemed unlikely that the husband and wife would return unless both agreed that a move back to Hawaii would be wise.

14.10 Perceptions on Whether a Return to Hawaii to Live is Likely

In Section 12.5 (see especially Table 12.7, Q23) it was noted that two-fifths of the Mainland residents responding to the questionnaire believed that a return move to Hawaii was at least likely. Nineteen of those interviewed also stated on the questionnaire that a return to

Hawaii was at least likely. When the question "Do you think you will someday return to Hawaii" was asked during the interviews, however, the general tenor of the respones was that a return to Hawaii was problematic at best (Table 14.2).

Table 14.2

Correspondence of Interview and Questionnaire Responses to the Question "Do You Think You Will Someday Return to Hawaii to Live?

	Questionnaire						
Interview	Yes, Next Year	Yes, Someday	Good Chance	Don't Know	Doubt It	No	Total Interviews
Yes, Next Year		1					1
Yes, Someday		6					6
Good Chance		2	1				3
Don't Know		2	3	4	1		10
Doubt it		1	3	11	5		20
Will not Return				1	3		4
Total-Questionnaire	0	12	7	12	9	0	44

Source: See text.

The fact that the interviews suggest that in general there is less likelihood of a return to Hawaii reflects to a considerable extent the fact that persons were voicing their hopes in the questionnaire whereas they responded in terms of perceived actual probabilities in the interviews. This was especially true of persons who insisted in the questionnaire that they would retire in Hawaii. Several in the subsequent interviews stated that given their present financial conditions, they could not afford to retire in Hawaii. In a number of cases females

answered the question in the questionnaire according to the husband's wishes whereas they were much more considerate of their own feelings in the interviews.

Reasons why most believed a return was problematic to impossible have been given earlier in the chapter; basically, those with a Mainland orientation did not want to return, those with a dual orientation had adjusted well to the Mainland and were pleased with a Mainland standard of living, and those with a Hawaii orientation felt "trapped" by their jobs and/or marriage and did not visualize that a return could be made without considerable economic sacrifices. It is of note that four of the six who in the interview stated they would definitely return to Hawaii had a dual orientation. These were persons who believed that the Mainland was presently serving their economic and psychological needs better than Hawaii could, but envisioned that Hawaii would be better suited for future psychological needs.[6]

How likely is a return to Hawaii for most? The fact that one returned to Hawaii shortly after the interview is itself a manifestation that future return migration will take place among those interviewed. However, virtually all returnees in the questionnaire sample came back to Hawaii within six years of the initial move. The fact that all but two had resided on the Mainland for at least seven years suggests that few of those interviewed will return during the foreseeable future.

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[6]Reasons given by persons with a dual orientation are as follows: (1) "My children will have a better chance to exercise leadership in Hawaii," (2) roots are in Hawaii but the Mainland is a much better place to raise children and give them opportunities (two answers), and (3) "When graduate school is completed I would like to be of service to my people."

Most of those interviewed were "settled," owned their homes and were pleased with jobs and financial situations. Few were engaged in any activity (such as actively checking on job possibilities in Hawaii) that would facilitate a return. Among the six who said they would return, it seemed probable to the author that three probably would return as they had well-formulated plans for return and were actively checking job opportunities in Hawaii. For the other three the possibility of return seemed problematic. None of the others interviewed appear to the author to be likely to return at any time before retirement.

In summary, most persons interviewed did not believe that a return to Hawaii to live was likely. The author's own feelings are that no more than a handful will eventually return, even if economic conditions were to improve in Hawaii. The general content of the interviews provide a demonstration of how return becomes increasingly difficult after a migrant settles down in a new environment and develops social and economic ties to the new area.

14.11 Other Questions Asked

All nonwhite respondents were asked whether they ever felt uncomfortable about being in a minority on the Mainland and whether they believed they had ever been discriminated against on the Mainland. Chinese and Japanese were additionally asked if their Mainland-born counterparts were different from Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii. Those involved in white-nonwhite marriages were asked whether it was better to be an interracial couple in Hawaii or the Mainland. All persons were asked whether many Hawaii-born lived in the area lived in, whether many

friends were Hawaii-born and if they had membership in any Hawaii organizations. Finally, all were asked what their attitude would be if they stayed on the Mainland and their grown children expressed an interest to move to Hawaii, and what their attitude would be if they went back to Hawaii and their grown children wanted to move to the Mainland.

On the question of whether being in a minority group was a source of discomfort on the Mainland, the overwhelming majority of nonwhites stated it was either no problem or only a very minor one. Many said that when they first came to the Mainland they felt "strange" because of the lack of Oriental faces but that this feeling disappeared within a few years. Three females gave answers to the effect that they enjoyed minority status because "I don't like competition." Those few who felt any discomfort (and it was minor in all cases) had a Hawaii orientation.

On the question of whether they had been discriminated against, all stated that this had been only a minor problem or, to their knowledge, had not occurred. Several Orientals said it was good to be an Oriental in California because employers had favorable stereotypes of their work habits. The biggest discrimination problems were encountered by part-Hawaiians who were mistaken as Chicanos. They encountered hostility not only from prejudiced Anglos, but also from Chicanos who thought they were "stuck up" when they did not respond to questions in Spanish. Those facing these problems, however, all agreed that persons became friendly to them upon learning they were from Hawaii. One person (no. 13) observed, "When you say to people you're from Hawaii, it's like a magic word--it's special." There was universal agreement among the interracial couples that prejudice against them was not a serious

problem either in Hawaii or on the Mainland. In short, being in a minority group on the Mainland did not seem to entail serious problems for anyone.

The question "Are the Mainland Japanese different from Hawaii Japanese?" typically elicited the response "Oh, you mean Katonks" and an accompanying laugh. Mainland Japanese were believed to be more "Haolefied" or more traditional or both by those Japanese interviewed. Both observations are undoubtedly valid; whereas the Japanese in Hawaii take their identity for granted, those on the Mainland are confronted with identifying with the dominant white community or retreating into the traditional Japanese community. The same observations concerning Mainland Chinese were made by those Chinese interviewed although their images of the California Chinese tended to be less clear-cut than those of the Hawaii Japanese concerning their Mainland counterparts. All persons interviewed agreed that one can tell a Mainland Oriental immediately by his dress ("formal"), speech patterns ("Haolefied") and general demeanor ("they're not friendly or generous, unlike us local folks").

Most of the Japanese and one of the Chinese interviewed believed that the Mainland Japanese and Chinese "look down" on their Hawaii counterparts, although one (no. 13) qualified her statement by observing "You don't know if they are less friendly to you because you are from Hawaii or that is the way they are to strangers. They don't tell you." Two contrary views of the supposed superiority complexes of Mainland Orientals are given below.

> The Japanese up here are terrible. They're not as friendly. They look down on the Hawaii Japanese. Maybe it is because they have more cultural background and a lot even speak Japanese. Some turn their noses at you. People

> in Hawaii are very friendly but sometimes too loud and Mainland Japanese don't like it. I don't like them, either. (no. 32)
>
> I don't have much of an accent so people here think I'm a Mainland Chinese. (From the remarks of the Mainland Chinese he knows) they definitely look down on Hawaii Chinese. Pidgin English at best sounds somewhat illiterate. People from Hawaii are socially naive.
>
> Look at it from the other side. Here is this guy who speaks pidgin English. He doesn't sound like he's very intelligent at all, he has this baggy colored shirt, he looks like some kind of queer. I mean the ones who wear the flowered shirts and white slacks. Informal, dullard, dubious sexual background, can't speak English. (no. 17)

From the interviews it seems apparent that it is not the presence of Orientals *per se* that attracts a large share of Hawaii's local Oriental outmigrants to the two major metropolitan areas of California. Rather, it is the presence of Hawaii-born friends and relatives who have previously migrated to these areas.

With the exception of those living in the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas, all persons agreed there were few Hawaii-born living in their areas. The majority stated that most or all of their present friends were Mainland-born. Not surprisingly, the half dozen who said most of their friends were Hawaii-born lived either in Los Angeles County (five) or San Francisco (one) and had Hawaii orientations. The four who belonged to Hawaii clubs had Hawaii orientations. Those who belonged to them felt they were important for meeting others from Hawaii and for social activities such as bowling, baseball or picnics. Approximately half of the remainder knew of Hawaii clubs in their areas, but most had no interest in joining one.

The fact that those having mostly Hawaii-born friends and belonging to Hawaii organizations had strong Hawaii orientations raises the

question of whether having Hawaii-born friends and belonging to Hawaii clubs hinders adjustment to the Mainland and contributes to personal unhappiness as a result. Based on personal observations, the author believes this is definitely not the case. Those with a Hawaii orientation who seemed most content on the Mainland were those with many Hawaii-born friends and/or close relatives in the general area lived in. By contrast, those who were the most unhappy on the Mainland either had had Hawaii friends who returned to Hawaii or had been isolated from other Hawaii-born persons since moving to the Mainland. This corresponds with the findings of the study (Beijer et al., 1961) which showed that the Dutch emigrants who were the most maladjusted were those with few social contacts either with other Dutch emigrants or native residents in the host communities. In Section 14.4 it was shown that most of the outmigrants originally relied strongly on the emotional support provided by others after first arriving on the Mainland. The usual pattern was for Hawaii-born friends to be replaced by Mainland-born friends as adjustments to the Mainland were made. Those who continued to have mainly Hawaii-born friends did so not because of the lack of opportunities to change their friendship patterns, but because they did not want to.

In response to the question of how they would react if they stayed on the Mainland and had children who upon high school graduation wanted to move to Hawaii, virtually all said they would either encourage it or at least would not discourage it. Some with a Mainland orientation did say they would warn the children of the high costs and limited job opportunities. To the question restated "If you were to move back to Hawaii and your child wanted to move to the Mainland" the reaction was

virtually the same although a few (all with a Hawaii orientation) said they would prefer to have their children nearby. The prevailing attitude to both questions was that their move to the Mainland had been mind-broadening to them and they would not deprive their children of the experience of living in a new area simply to keep them nearby. The prevailing attitude is expressed in the following statement.

> It is good experience to move away from where you lived all your life, even if only for a short while. I often wish my brothers would express an interest to get away. They are stifled by being in the same place. There is a great big world beyond Hawaii. You have a certain degree of variety, yet there is also a certain degree of sameness. I don't know. You feel stagnated if you stay there all your life. (no. 11)

14.12 Summary

Perhaps the most significant finding from the interviews was the fact that economic considerations were minor among the reasons for moving to the Mainland. The major motivations appear to have been restlessness and a desire to experience something different. In almost all cases, the initial move to the Mainland was not intended to be permanent. Motivations for moving in almost all cases appear to have been derived independently of any information received about the Mainland. Once the desire to move occurred, the availability of information concerning potential destinations became important. Original locations moved to were very much influenced by the sources of information and the circumstances under which the moves took place.

Whatever the motivations for moving, the initial year of adjustment was painful for most. Given this fact, it is no surprise that many of the returnees who answered the questionnaire said they returned because

of homesickness. With increasing length of residence on the Mainland, however, these feelings generally lessened. In the majority of cases no formal decision was ever made to stay on the Mainland; rather, it "just happened."

Persons interviewed had three basic orientations. Those with a Mainland orientation tended to be assertive, ambitious, and energetic. To them the Mainland offered greater economic opportunity and a faster pace of life. Those with a dual orientation tended to be extroverted, "people oriented," and socially adaptable. Those with a Hawaii orientation to a large extent were introverted and seemingly "out of place" on the Mainland. None of the discontent of the Hawaii-oriented persons with the Mainland was economic. The question that cannot be answered here is to what extent these personality types existed before migration and to what extent they developed because of chance occurrences after the move to the Mainland. Based on the content of the interviews, the author believes that chance occurrences on the Mainland in many instances were important factors in whether a satisfactory adjustment to the Mainland was made.

Where both the husband and wife were from Hawaii it was generally the husband rather than the wife who wanted to return to Hawaii. Perceived sex roles in Hawaii and the job market for women in Hawaii both contributed to the many wives who were reluctant to move back to Hawaii. However, this husband-wife dichotomy was not evident in the questionnaire sample and the findings here are speculative. In many of the families it was apparent that the wife's views were preventing a return to the Mainland.

The subject of decision making on moves within families needs to be explored further.

Among those interviewed it does not appear that many will return to Hawaii in the foreseeable future. Most had been on the Mainland for at least eight years prior to the interviews and had developed considerable economic and social ties to the areas lived in. The economic quandary faced by many who wanted to return to Hawaii helps illuminate why return probabilities in general are quite low after several years in a new location.

Concerning other issues, it is evident that most Hawaii Orientals who move to the Mainland do not identify culturally with their Mainland-born counterparts. Nonwhites interviewed do not perceive discrimination against them as being a severe problem on the Mainland. Most no longer have a large number of Hawaii-born friends on the Mainland and only a few belong to a Hawaii club. For persons with a Hawaii orientation, however, the Hawaii-born friends and Hawaii clubs contribute to their personal happiness on the Mainland. Finally, almost all stated having a permissive attitude concerning children who grow up and want to move far away; this is related to the fact that they themselves have made a long distance move and have been changed by it.

A discussion of the relevance of this study to Hawaii population policy and migration studies in general will be presented in the following concluding chapter.

CHAPTER XV

PROPOSITIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

15.1 Introduction

In this dissertation the outmigration of local residents from Hawaii has been studied with the use of historical sources, published and public use census data, a questionnaire distributed to 1964 graduates of Hawaii high schools, and interviews of outmigrants living on the west coast. Each of the levels of information yielded valuable information that contributes to understanding migration on varying levels of generality.

In this chapter, propositions concerning the nature of initial outmigrations from given areas are provided. Implications of the findings for population policies in Hawaii are then dealt with. Concluding the dissertation is a discussion of the implications of this research for migration research in general.

15.2 Propositions Derived from the Study

Based on the insights gained from the 1964 high school graduates and the other information available about outmigration from Hawaii, what generalizations can be made that add to our understanding of the migration process? It must be kept in mind that motives underlying short distance moves are in general quite different from those of longer distance moves. In this case, the shortest possible move from the area of origin (i.e., Hawaii) is more than 2,000 miles. Also a relevant consideration is the fact that Hawaii is an economic unit with a dominant

urban center to which outlying areas are socially, politically, and economically linked. Persons leaving the outer islands because of the lack of a variety of economic or educational opportunities there have an option of moving to a fairly large urban area (i.e., the Honolulu S.M.S.A.) with a diversity of both occupational and educational opportunities.

This study is most relevant for formulating propositions about the nature of long distance outmigration of local residents from areas which have a sufficient population and a large enough urban area that there is a diversity of economic and educational opportunities in it. Therefore, those migrants moving out of a part of the area because of a felt deprivation can move to another part in which greater opportunities exist. This would involve an area of perhaps at least 250,000 persons with an urban center with a population greater than 100,000. A long distance move is defined here as one involving a move to another economic unit and a distance of more than 200 miles. A move of this distance would involve a different place of employment and the severance of daily person to person contact with old friends and relatives at the former place of residence.

Given the conditions specified above, the author believes that several propositions can be made concerning the volume and nature of outmigration of those raised in a given area in the United States. These propositions are given below.

FACTORS INFLUENCING OUTMIGRATION

1. Barring an economic collapse in the origin and much better economic conditions elsewhere, economic considerations motivate only a minority of the first-time outmigrations of local residents.

Those who have been born and raised in an area tend to view economic conditions in their areas as normal. They have the capacity to adjust and make the best of whatever economic situations exist if they want to stay in the area. The lack of economic motivations in the initial outmigrations of the 1964 high school graduates in spite of better economic conditions on the west coast illustrates this point. Another consideration is that because of contacts in the area, the local residents tend to be best able to withstand the economic vicissitudes in the area.

By contrast, the rate of outmigration of recent migrants is very much tied to economic conditions. For example, among persons imported for plantation labor in Hawaii, the rate of outmigration to the west coast was initially heavy and the motivations for those departing were mainly economic. Likewise, a heavy outmigration of recent inmigrants to Hawaii resulted from the economic collapse during 1949-50 and the economically difficult conditions of the early 1950s. Recent inmigrants have not had time to develop strong social ties to the area and, furthermore, are most subject to economic recessions in an area.

2. Unless economic conditions in the area are poor in comparison to alternative destinations, most of the initial outmigration of local residents is motivated to a large degree by a desire for "change."

Most persons in late adolescence and early adulthood appear to experience a period of restlessness. They want to become independent of parents and others, and increasingly resent continuing influences on their lives. At the same time, a curiosity often develops about other areas. Moving to another area, at least for a while, is a means by which both the desire for an independent life and the experience of something

"different" can be accomplished. If the obstacles to moving are not great, a large number will move for these reasons. The author estimates that more than half of the Hawaii high school graduates during the 1960s moved to the Mainland some time after graduation. Most of their movement was stimulated by the above consideration.

3. In general, the desire to move is developed before information about an alternative area as a place to live is collected in a systematic way.

There is really no strong motivation to assimilate information about an alternative location as a place to live unless a dissatisfaction with the home area has already developed. Therefore, the amount of underlying dissatisfaction with an area is relatively insensitive to the amount of information available about alternative areas. Among the persons interviewed in this study, in no case was the initial desire to move stimulated by information about an alternative area. Once a desire to move developed, however, information about other areas was solicited.

4. Widespread information concerning alternative locations is necessary if a large local outmigration from a given area is to occur. This information comes largely from persons who have previously left the origin to live in the alternative locations.

Only the extremely adventuresome will leave an area raised in to go to another area in which economic, social and climatic conditions (or educational conditions if a move is made for a college education) are completely unknown. The best sources of information are friends and relatives who have previously moved. They have personally experienced conditions in another location and can disseminate information to the potential migrant in a meaningful way. In certain instances a labor

recruiter can serve the same function. A government circular or recruitment office, by contrast, cannot disseminate information as effectively as friends and relatives.

5. Barring severe economic conditions at the place of origin that promise to be chronic, most persons who initially move from their area of origin at the time of the move do not expect to be away permanently.

In this study, few of the outmigrants among the local 1964 high school graduates expected their initial moves to be permanent. Either they expected to return or simply did not give the matter of permanent residence serious thought. The desire to "get away and experience something different" was generally viewed as a way of broadening one's self rather than a rejection of the area lived in. Indeed, the main determinant in the initial outmigration was the resolution of the opposite pulls of experiencing something different and the security of staying in a place that was familiar and comfortable. Because of this, the author is skeptical of those who define migration as the moving away from an area with the intention of never returning. A more adequate definition of migration is based on the duration of the move as opposed to what is thought when the initial move is made.

DESTINATIONS OF LOCAL OUTMIGRANTS FROM A GIVEN AREA

1. In voluntary moves, the choice of initial destination is usually greatly influenced by the amount of available information and/or potential assistance offered by friends and relatives living or who have lived in a given area.

Of course, this proposition cannot be separated from that concerning the role of information in stimulating the move. However, the information tends to assume different forms, depending on the overt

purpose for which the move is made. For instance, this study indicated that information concerning a given college was often from someone no longer attending that college whereas information concerning an area in terms of job opportunities almost invariably came from persons who were currently living in the area under consideration. Furthermore, persons seeking immediate employment on the Mainland relied most heavily on the actual assistance of persons living at the potential destinations.

Because friends and relatives effectively communicate information concerning job opportunities, migration to specific locations for job purposes is sensitive to the economic conditions there. Trends in the inmigration of Mainland residents to Hawaii mirror economic conditions in Hawaii. From a very low number in the early 1950s, the volume rose to a peak in the late 1960s and declined considerably in the early 1970s. These fluctuations correspond closely to economic conditions in Hawaii. One can assume that whatever the underlying motives for migration, persons do not migrate with the expectation of failing economically! This fact and the effectiveness of friends and relatives in discouraging potential migrants from going to areas experiencing economic difficulties and encouraging them concerning areas experiencing economic expansion explain why migration generally acts to redistribute population to areas of expanding employment, even in the absence of economic motives for migration.[1]

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[1]That it is mainly friends and relatives at destinations who are the major sources of information for migrants wishing immediate employment is, of course, only a surmise. However, this is strongly supported by the study.

2. The distribution of initial destinations is linked to the overt purposes of the moves.

This is an obvious proposition; one would not expect the distribution of those attending college to be the same as those working as secretaries or others who are actors. Yet this obvious fact is generally ignored in migration studies. Because this is true, the gravity models and intervening opportunities models that are based on population at the destination often give poor predictions of migration to specific destinations.

One implication is that shifts in the destinations of migrants over time may be more a function of changing distributions of overt purposes connected with the moves than changing evaluations of places for specific purposes or "expanding horizons" concerning the range of potential destinations. In the case of Hawaii the distribution of destinations for given overt purposes has changed very slowly whereas marked shifts in the overall patterns of destination have occurred because the distribution of moves by overt purposes have changed through time.

3. The distribution of the original destinations of out-migrants may be markedly different from the locations they eventually settle in.

The above appears to be intuitively obvious, but the implications seem to be ignored in the migration literature. In the case of Hawaii, for instance, areas preferred for college are often quite different from those for permanent residence. Furthermore, different areas have differential retentive power for migrants; this is largely a function

of why individuals were attracted to them in the first place.[2] In the case of the Hawaii outmigrants, this has meant that the initial proportion of outmigrants in California is much lower than what one can expect ten years from the time of the initial moves and the opposite is true for especially the midwestern states. To what extent similar changes occur in the case of outmigrants from other areas has, to the author's knowledge, not been investigated.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF LOCAL OUTMIGRANTS

1. Barring poor economic circumstances at the place of origin, most first-time adult outmigrants are under the age of 25 and are unmarried or just marrying.

It is obvious that the average age of the first-time outmigrant should be younger than the average of those involved in repeat migration. The major reason why the initial outmigrants tend to be unmarried adults, however, is that restlessness seems to be greatest among them and constraints against moving are the least. Marriage itself acts as a "trigger" for some long distance moves as it is much easier to move immediately after marriage than to settle somewhere and then make a move.

2. The proportion of first-time outmigrants over age 25 and/or accompanied by children increases when economic conditions at the place of origin deteriorate relative to those of the destinations.

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[2] In the case of an area in which many of the inmigrants are in the military, for instance, it is evident that retentive power will originally be low.

Although it has been earlier stated that generally most first-time outmigration is not stimulated by economic conditions, it is nevertheless true that some who would not have migrated under ordinary economic circumstances may feel forced to in bad economic circumstances. Many will be older adults who did not previously contemplate migration because of strong social ties.

3. The age distribution of first-time outmigrants is linked to the overt purposes of the moves.

In this study it was shown that those attending college on the Mainland tended to be just out of high school and those joining the armed forces generally did not do so immediately after high school, but usually did so within the next two years. In contrast, those going to the Mainland in search of employment usually waited two years or more after graduation in order to accumulate sufficient capital, and those who married servicemen and others from the Mainland often did not leave for at least five years. In evaluating the age distribution of first-time outmigrants from a given area, it is important to consider the distribution of overt purposes connected with the moves.

4. Where social cohesion is the greatest, the first-time outmigrants will be most restricted to young unmarried adults.

The period of young, unmarried adulthood appears to be that in which persons are restless everywhere and the mechanisms of social control are the weakest. Therefore, the outmigration of young adults tends not to be greatly affected by the amount of social cohesion in the society. However, with marriage and children, the social ties in a society become a very influential force in discouraging migration. In Hawaii, this has

meant that the outmigration of local Orientals is especially restricted to young, unmarried adults.

5. When talking about those who leave the area of origin compared to those who stay, it is more relevant to focus on personality characteristics than on objective attributes such as educational levels.

One result of the reliance on census data in migration studies is the tendency to describe migrants in terms of education, occupational levels, income and other attributes and then make assertions concerning the "quality" of persons who leave as compared to those who stay in an area. Most students of the migration literature, for instance, are familiar with the bit of wisdom that "migration often lowers the quality of people both at the origin and destination."

There are several problems to this approach. One is that many at the time of migration have not completed their education or settled into the types of jobs they will hold later in their lives. Another is that differences shown by census data may arise more from the opportunities offered in different areas than from the "quality" of the migrants themselves. Another is that short of the fact that it is known that a person has migrated within a given time period, say within five years of the census, we generally have no idea from the census of when individuals migrated. Perhaps the most unfortunate result of the type of reasoning generally used is the migrants get labeled as "superior" or "inferior." By the criteria for quality that are employed, academics generally are quite superior indeed!

It is more productive to focus on the personality types who tend to migrate or stay in a given area and avoid labeling that implies value

judgments about what is "good." In the study undertaken it is clear that in general those local residents who did not move from Hawaii were more security oriented than those who left. However, in predicting whether a person with a given personality orientation will migrate in a given time period, objective circumstances that would assist or hinder a move must be considered as well. In Hawaii, for instance, persons in the more prestigious private high schools are strongly encouraged by counselors to attend Mainland schools whereas no discernible encouragement to do so is given in the public schools. Concentrating on the combinations of the personalities of those who migrate along the objective circumstances surrounding the move will tell us much about why people migrate and what the impact of the migration is likely to be in both the area left behind and the receiving area.

THE VOLUME OF OUTMIGRATION

1. Under favorable conditions the spread of information concerning alternative locations may be so rapid that the yearly rate of migration increases from virtually nothing to its maximum potential under given economic and social conditions within a few years.

In the case of Hawaii, the outmigration of local nonwhites was at a low level just prior to World War II. Except for those in the military, it came to a standstill during World War II. Yet, under the favorable postwar conditions it reached a level in the late 1950s yet to be surpassed.

Access to information concerning various areas of the Mainland is certainly much more abundant in Hawaii today than it was in the late 1950s. This suggests that once a certain level of information is

available, an increase in the amount of available information will not by itself result in increased outmigration.

Is there a minimum level of outmigration of local residents one can expect from a given area in the United States when information concerning other places is freely available and obstacles to moving are minimal? The author has estimated that by the late 1950s one could expect that at least half of the local high school graduates could be expected to move to the Mainland for at least six months within 10 years of graduation. This may be a realistic estimate for the long distance outmigration of local adults from a given area, even one as diverse as the New York City or Los Angeles metropolitan area.

2. Barring great economic hardship in the area of origin, the volume of local outmigration is relatively insensitive to economic conditions.

This proposition naturally follows from the proposition that under ordinary circumstances, most first-time adult outmigrants do not move for economic reasons. Of course, there are persons who can be induced to migrate when economic conditions worsen, but local residents for the most part will tolerate considerable economic adversity to be able to stay in the area of choice.

Institutional policies, however, can have a considerable affect on the volume of migration. The 1960s and late 1950s, for instance, were characterized by considerable military demands for bodies and low nonresident tuitions at state colleges. In contrast, nonresident college tuition today in most states reflects more accurately the real costs of education and the higher enlistment standards that characterized the all

volunteer army exclude many who would have been accepted in the 1950s or 1960s.[3] Therefore, fewer today are moving to the Mainland via the military or college route than was true 10 years ago.

RETURN MIGRATION

1. Under ordinary economic circumstances, most returnees return mainly for social reasons.

This study lends no support to the commonly held view (see Chapter III) that most returnees are economic failures. In fact, most in the questionnaire sample believed their goals on the Mainland had been met. The attitude of most was that their curiosity had been satisfied and the experience was a broadening one. Virtually none mentioned economic factors as motivating the return to Hawaii. Rather, once the goals had been met, the attractiveness of family, friends and the "local lifestyle" proved to be sufficient to motivate a return. The author assumes that findings would be similar for other areas.

2. The rate of return migration is very sensitive to economic conditions at the area of origin.

At first glance, this may seem a contradiction to the proposition stated above. However, the explanation is the same as that of why the economically well-off areas attract more than their share of migrants; people do not migrate in order to fail economically. A lack of economic

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[3] In 1976 an army recruiter was intervewed on local television. He was concerned that more than 40 percent of applicants in Hawaii could not pass the written test for acceptance. However, it was noted in the same interview that the enlistment quotas set for Hawaii by all military branches are easily reached.

opportunity in one's home area is a strong deterrent to return, whatever the social advantages there for the potential returnee. After all, the migrants have had the chance to experience what differences in general living standards mean in practical terms whereas these differences are largely abstractions for those who have never moved. In the case of the Hawaii migrants, it was those with a strong social orientation who returned whereas those with more of an economic orientation are still on the Mainland.

3. The rate of return migration is positively affected by the amount of social cohesion in the area of origin.

This is perhaps the main reason why the return rate of the local nonwhites was much greater than that of the local Haoles to Hawaii. In general, the nonwhites in the sample had stronger ties to their family and friends in Hawaii and the local lifestyle than whites and thus were willing to make greater sacrifices to return. The lesser identification of the whites with the local values also facilitated adjustment on the Mainland. The sense of "existential insideness" (see Chapter III) that local residents feel towards Hawaii was shown to be strong, even among many of the long-time outmigrants. However, it appears to have affected the rate of return migration much more than that of the original out-migration.

FIRST TIME VS. SUBSEQUENT LONG DISTANCE MOVES

1. Underlying motivations for initial moves tend to be quite different from those of subsequent movers.

This proposition is almost universally ignored in migration studies because the possibility of prior moves made by migrants is rarely

considered.[4] Yet there are several reasons why this proposition should be valid. It appears that for most young adults the initial move is related to the psychological needs for adult status, independence, and exposure to a wider world. For most in the study sample, the initial move to the Mainland fulfilled those functions quite well. This effectively negated the need for a second move to serve these purposes. Secondly, the initial move for most involves at least some degree of social dislocation. This in itself makes a subsequent move easier to make. The initial move itself often results in psychological changes that result in less of a security or social orientation. Living in more than one place in itself gives practical information on living conditions in different types of areas. Later moves tend to be made at later ages and are more likely to involve married couples with children and persons with well formulated long-range goals. Lastly, the simple fact of once having made a successful move may reduce psychological barriers to moving in the future.

In short, assumptions about the nature of migration that do not differentiate between first time and repeat moves may be largely inapplicable for explaining first-time moves. The fact that this was not fully realized when the study was initiated resulted in a number of faulty assumptions, which were reflected in many inaccurate tentative expectations (see Chapter III). In understanding the nature of long distance migration, it is essential that the circumstances surrounding the initial

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[4]A notable exception is Taylor (1969) who noted that the first-time outmigrants and the repeat migrants tended to have different motivations for leaving the villages in the study area.

moves and the changes engendered by them be understood because they are often the preludes to subsequent moves.

The propositions above merit testing with a variety of different populations with differing racial and economic characteristics. The author is confident that most propositions would be demonstrated by such studies to be both accurate and highly helpful in discerning patterns and motivations involved in the outmigration of local residents from given areas.

15.3 Implications of the Study Findings for Population Policies in Hawaii

It was noted in Chapter I that a great amount of concern has been expressed by the present state government concerning the supposed negative consequences of excessive population growth. At the same time, the Governor on numerous occasions has expressed concern about the loss of the local residents due to economic problems in Hawaii. Thus, the Governor has been publicly committed to maintain the economic growth needed to "keep our young people in Hawaii." Two well-publicized programs for keeping the skilled professionals in Hawaii have been the building of the local law and medical schools, both of which are characterized by high per capita training costs and disputes concerning their quality of training. At the same time, the Governor has advocated erecting legal barriers to the inmigration of persons from elsewhere.[5]

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[5]Concerning immigrants from abroad, the governor has proposed that they be distributed nationally in accordance to the resident population of each state. Hawaii leads the nation in the number of legal immigrants admitted per resident population and annually receives four to five times the national average. However, the number of illegal immigrants entering Hawaii annually is very small.

In response to proposals from the governor, the state legislature has passed measures setting residency requirements for state government jobs and more stringent criteria for welfare eligibility, especially for general assistance.

Undeniably, to have economic growth without accompanying inmigration is the "best of all worlds" if one is a zealot for "local" interests. However, the proposed laws to slow inmigration are of marginal relevance and those setting residency requirements may be unconstitutional.[6] The percentage of state jobs held by persons with less than a year's residence in Hawaii is minimal and if the law governing residency requirements for state government jobs stimulates an investigation into the informal hiring practices within the state government, the results could well backfire in terms of intended population policy. Most inmigrants from the Mainland are well-educated with specialized job skills and are not likely candidates for the welfare rolls. Most able-bodied unmarried males receiving general assistance welfare benefits before the law prohibiting their eligibility was passed were undoubtedly "transients" from the Mainland, but the proportion of all welfare recipients who were in this category were minimal. Far more effective in keeping down the number of "transients" have been the general hostility of local residents towards them and the predatory activities of organized thugs, such as the infamous "Primo Warriors."[7] In the same vein, it can be plausibly argued that the

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[6]The law setting a one year residency requirement for most state jobs has already been ruled unconstitutional in 1978 by a local judge.

[7]These insights were obtained in a personal communication (March 4, 1976) with Reverend Howard Corey who worked with the "transients" in Waikiki. Numerous articles in the Honolulu newspapers in the late 1960s and early 1970s reflect local hostility towards the "transients." The

hiring practices of local firms do far more to discourage inmigrants from staying than do residency laws concerning state jobs.

Since the volume of inmigration to Hawaii has been shown by this study to be highly sensitive to economic conditions, one can assume that in the absence of coercive and unconstitutional restrictions, economic growth will translate into a greater number of inmigrants. On the other hand, economic slumps have proved remarkably successful in both reducing the number of inmigrants to Hawaii and inducing many recent arrivals to leave.

In contrast, the gross outmigration of local Hawaii residents is relatively insensitive to economic conditions. This suggests that the best legal method of accomplishing population stabilization while retaining most local residents is simply to promulgate policies that will bring economic growth to a standstill. Those locals who earlier migrated to the Mainland would be discouraged from returning, but they can be regarded as expendable if one is single-minded about achieving a population balance. Given the fact that most local residents who leave Hawaii are young adults with expectations of returning within a few years, counselors in the public schools could be encouraged to instruct the high school juniors that those who leave Hawaii for schooling or any other reason can expect to have extreme difficulty in obtaining suitable jobs if they return, both because of the poor local economy (induced by no-growth policies) and the difficulties involved because local contacts

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author has met survivors of clashes with the Primo Warriors on the outer islands. Their attitudes concerning them can best be described as "bitter."

that could lead to employment are lost during one's absence. Such indoctrination would undoubtedly reduce the volume of local young adults leaving Hawaii.

The author is confident that the policies outlined above would greatly reduce inmigration without increasing the permanent outmigration of local residents. After all, the capacity of local residents for adjusting to economic adversity is impressive. Needless to say, these policies would also entail a great amount of suffering among the local residents, even though the recent inmigrants would suffer the most. The immediate political costs of pursuing such policies would be so great that it is unlikely that any state government would promulgate them.

Another question that can be addressed here is whether there are approaches to "keeping local talent" that would be less costly than those represented by the local medical and law schools.[8] One approach favored by the author is to facilitate the return of local residents receiving training on the Mainland. This study was begun with the view that the rate of local outmigration was an indication of existing problems in Hawaii. However, to a considerable extent it is a healthy manifestation of the desire to broaden one's horizons. The return rate is a much more accurate barometer of problems in Hawaii. The author has earlier stated his view that the returnees in many ways are a valuable resource for Hawaii.

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[8]This is not to deny that local professional schools serve other purposes such as providing viewpoints counter to those of the state professional establishments or attracting research projects of benefit to the state. Nonetheless, these benefits must be weighed against the high per capita operating costs and the danger that many students attending these schools in lieu of Mainland institutions may become "ingrown" as a result.

The main difficulty that those going to college on the Mainland have in returning is that they become isolated from contacts concerning local jobs. Many develop them in the area where they attend college and stay for that reason. Concerning those pursuing medical or law degrees, the state government would save money if it worked out an agreement with Mainland universities to pay tuition and stipulated that beneficiaries of this state largesse be committed to two years of service in Hawaii at public service projects or whatever. Under the guise of extracting services in return for financial assistance, the government would be getting the persons back to Hawaii where they can reestablish local ties and have increased chances of finding permanent employment in the state. Best of all, this program would not be obviously discriminatory and would almost certainly be legal. This type of program could be extended for other professions, such as dentistry, for which no professional schools exist in Hawaii. Certainly, other approaches can be devised to take advantage of the skills and insights of returnees.

All of the above is intended to show that population policies can be devised which are legal, will discourage inmigration, and at the same time will reduce the loss of local residents. Many, however, would involve considerable personal economic sacrifice from the local population. The relevant consideration here is how much local residents are willing to forego economically in order to maintain a given lifestyle and quality of life.

15.4 Implications of the Research for Migration Studies

Substantive findings and propositions concerning the nature of initial migration have been discussed. In terms of contributions to migration theory, the following findings are of the most importance.

1. There are major differences between the general motivations underlying initial and subsequent moves. Any migration theory that does not take these differences into account is incomplete.

2. The geographic distribution of all initial moves from a given area may be markedly different from those of the permanent locations. These shifts are predictable and may result in a lesser rather than a greater geographic dispersal over time.

3. The usual premise that return migrants are "failures" should be completely reassessed. This study offers strong support to the opposite premise that return migrants may in general be quite successful in terms of fulfilling the goals of the initial moves.

4. In terms of explaining the rate of initial outmigration from a given area, it is more important to understand the social context and the psychological characteristics of the local inhabitants than the objective economic conditions at a given time. In explaining the rate of permanent loss of the local population, however, an understanding of changing economic conditions is very important.

5. In understanding the geographic distribution of destinations chosen, it is essential that the distribution of overt purposes associated with the moves be understood. Shifts in the distribution of overt purposes may result in a markedly different distribution of destinations. In the past, geographers have routinely attributed these shifts to changes in "friction of distance" and the like. Explanations based on the deterent effects of distance have little applicability in explaining postwar shifts in the outmigration patterns from Hawaii.

The author believes that the multilevel approach taken has implications for the manner in which migration studies are generally undertaken. This is best illustrated by what this study would have revealed had only a single approach been used.

Had this study been based solely on the most common approach of manipulating census data, little of substance could have been reported. Changes in census definitions, the confounding influence of military-related movements, and biases in the data would have resulted in erroneous conclusions. Census data on migration appear to be especially bad for Hawaii, but problems mentioned above nevertheless exist in all census migration data. Beyond these problems is the fact that aggregate data on the numbers and demographic characteristics of migrants disguise the tremendous diversity of types of moves as well as motivations underlying the moves. As a result, the typical study using census defined measures of "opportunities" and "migration" and employing regression equations using these measures reveals little beyond a moderate relationship between distance and the intensity of migration to a destination of a given population size, and weak but positive correlations between net flows and various arbitrarily defined indices of economic and environmental attractiveness. In terms of discovering new insights, these studies have proceeded beyond the point of diminishing returns to a literal cul de sac.

Had this study concentrated entirely on direct information from the migrants and nonmigrants themselves, valuable information concerning stated motives would have been gathered. However, the larger societal and economic contexts in which decisions were made would have been overlooked. Furthermore, the time dimension, which is at least suggested by a comparison of census data for different time periods, would have been lost. Since such a study by necessity would have involved only a small proportion of eligible migrants and nonmigrants, it would have been subject to very legitimate questions concerning "representativeness" both in

the sample and the general applicability of the findings for those not sampled.

The multilevel approach taken here has surmounted problems inherent in a single approach and permitted an understanding of both the macro- and microcomponents of outmigration from Hawaii. One of the strengths of this study was that the "Hawaii context" and cultural, social and economic histories of Hawaii were thoroughly researched before it was initiated. This provided a "feel" which proved invaluable for interpreting findings from both the census and the 1964 high school graduates.

Once the underlying causes of the outmigration flows became understood, published census data become readily interpretable as well as valuable in terms of understanding the impacts of individual decisions on overall migration patterns. From the author's standpoint, one of the most satisfying aspects of this research was the degree to which the 1960 and 1970 censuses and the survey of 1964 high school graduates were mutually reinforcing in describing patterns and suggesting reasons for them.

Basing the study on satisfactorily addressing a number of broad research concerns was not without both advantages and disadvantages. The author believes that asking pertinent questions and being able to answer them contributes more to our understanding of "reality" than proving elaborately constructed hypotheses on very narrow or only marginally important questions. In addition, once hypotheses are advanced, there is a natural tendency for the researcher to have a vested interest in proving them, even at the expense of best pursuing the question that prompted the hypotheses. The major disadvantage in

the approach taken here was that it was time consuming and at times lacked the "direction" that is provided by hypotheses. All in all, the author believes that this research revealed more than it would have if it had been based on testing some well-formulated hypotheses.

Considering the fact that migration knowledge and theory are fragmented and largely unintegrated, the author believes that other studies of the type undertaken here would do much to expand our basic understanding of migration. This was also the belief of Thomas and Znaniecki when they undertook the study that culminated in the Polish Peasant in Europe and America (1920). In this monumental work, they argued that both statistical and case studies be used in migration studies. That their advice has been almost universally ignored and no subsequent migration study (including this one!) has matched their insights does not speak well for migration research. Hopefully, migration studies in the future will rely less on sophisticated quantitative methods that appear to give a "quick fix" to data and more on asking appropriate questions, hard work, and flexibility and imagination in the creation, processing and interpretation of research findings.

APPENDIX A

MORE DETAIL ON THE PRE-WORLD WAR II OUTMIGRATION OF THE VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS IN HAWAII

A.1 Introduction

A brief summary of the pre-World War II outmigration of the various ethnic groups in Hawaii was provided in Chapter IV. Appendix A provides additional information for those who wish to learn more.

A.2 Outmigration of Hawaiians

Hawaiians began to leave to the Mainland shortly after Cook's first visit in 1778. One of the early departees enrolled at Yale in 1809, converted to Christianity, and provided the initial stimulus for the American missionary effort. However, it was the growth of the whaling industry from the 1820s to the 1850s that first induced a substantial number of Hawaiians to leave the islands. Fluctuations in the numbers of Hawaiians away from Hawaii during the period from 1823 to 1940 are shown in Table A.1.

Of the 4,000 Hawaiians indicated to be "absent" in 1850, the large majority were males working on whaling ships. The number of whaling ships visiting Hawaii increased from 100 in 1824 to a peak of almost 600 in 1946 (Daws, 1968). Most recruited at least a few Hawaiian seamen during their visits in Hawaii. According to Daws (ibid.), the wages of the Hawaiian seamen became an indispensable part of the Hawaii economy.

Table A.1

Trends in the Number and Percentage of Hawaiians Residing Away from Hawaii, 1823-1940

Year	No. in Hawaii	No. away from Hawaii	% of Hawaiian Population not in Hawaii
1823	134,750	200	.1
1825	130,700	300	.2
1832	124,049	400	.3
1836	107,356	600	.6
1848	91,956	3,500	3.8
1850	82,593	4,000	4.8
1860	66,984	3,500	5.2
1866	58,765	1,500	2.6
1872	51,531	800	1.6
1878	47,500	400	.8
1920	41,750	126[a]	.3
1930	50,860	660[b]	1.3
1940	64,310	657[c]	1.0

[a]Number of Hawaiians enumerated in the U.S. and Alaska.

[b]Number of Hawaiians enumerated in U.S.

[c]Number of "Polynesians" enumerated in the U.S. Virtually all can be assumed to be Hawaiian as only six non-Hawaiian Polynesians were enumerated in the U.S. in 1930.

Sources: Romanzo Adams, unpublished manuscript, and 1920, 1930, and 1940 U.S. censuses.

However, the whaling industry was already in decline by the late 1850s. During the U.S. Civil War, many of the remaining whaling ships were converted for military use. After the Civil War, the use of crude oil for lighting purposes reduced the demand for whale oil. The whaling industry was almost destroyed in 1871 when 33 ships became trapped in ice in the Bering Strait. About 500 Hawaiians involved in this disaster were returned to Hawaii by rescue ships (ibid.). By the late 1870s, the whaling industry in the mid-Pacific had virtually disappeared.

During the 1840s, an increasing number of Hawaiians migrated to the west coast. Hawaiians composed important shares of the labor forces of the Hudson Bay Company in the Columbia Basin and the Russian trading monopoly in Alaska. Indeed, 1,070 Hawaiians were counted among the 9,273 residents living in Alaska in 1851 (Duncan, 1972). A significant but undocumented number went to California during the "Gold Rush."[1] However, increasingly restrictive laws passed by west coast states concerning the employment of Hawaiians induced most to leave by the late 1870s.[2] The last significant group migration to the Mainland occurred in the 1880s when Mormon converts were given permission to settle in Utah. A Hawaiian village (Iosepa) comprising about 80 persons was started there in 1889 and continued until 1917 when it was closed as the result of the completion of a Mormon temple in Laie, on Oahu. All Hawaiians living in the colony returned to Hawaii.

Although Hawaiians were not enumerated separately in the contiguous United States prior to 1920,[3] their numbers during the first decade of the twentieth century probably did not exceed 200. By 1920, their numbers reached a low of 110 in the contiguous states. A significant

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[1]In 1850, 319 Hawaii-born residents were enumerated in California. The large majority were certainly Hawaiians.

[2]In the 1850s, a heavy tax was placed on Hawaiian-owned gold mines in California. By 1860, the number of Hawaii-born in California dropped to 138. The number of Hawaii-born residents in Oregon dropped from 56 in 1860 to 14 in 1870 as a result of discriminatory labor laws passed there (see Duncan, 1972).

[3]However, the U.S. census in 1910 did enumerate 35 Hawaiians living in Alaska.

movement to the Mainland did occur in the 1920s; this is reflected in the 660 Hawaiians counted on the Mainland in the 1930 census. The 1930 census showed a sex ratio (males per 100 females) of 331.4 among the Mainland Hawaiians. Hawaiians were living in 31 states, but 69.1 percent (compared to 63.6 percent in 1920) were in California and an additional 7.9 percent (compared with 7.3 percent in 1920) were in the state of Washington. That there was little new outmigration between 1930 and 1940 is shown by the slight decline in the number living on the Mainland in 1940.[4] This decline is attributable to the Great Depression, which affected the Mainland more adversely than Hawaii. On the eve of World War II only one percent of all Hawaiians were living on the Mainland.

Approximately 12 percent of the Hawaiian male adults were either aboard whaling ships or elsewhere at the height of the outmigration in the early 1850s (Schmitt, 1968). Unfortunately, the available literature on the nineteenth century outmigration of Hawaiians is not enlightening on why such a large proportion of Hawaiian males left Hawaii for varying periods of time. However, several factors can be invoked to explain the movement. In 1850 there was a large surplus of males in the 18 to 44 age group.[5] As a result, there were a large number of "footloose" single adult males. Furthermore, the whaling vessels and fur trading companies on the west coast offered employment not completely alien to the sailing and hunting traditions in pre-contact

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[4]In contrast to the 1930 census, no breakdown by state or sex is given in the 1940 census.

[5]According to the 1850 census, the sex ratio of Hawaiians 18 years of age and older was 104.5. However, if the persons residing abroad had been counted, it would have been in the neighborhood of 120.

Hawaii. Besides offering adventure, these outside sources of employment paid money not available in traditional agriculture and generally offered considerably more than unskilled labor in Hawaii. For example, wages for unskilled labor in Hawaii in 1850 ranged from $2 to $6 a month; wages aboard whaling vessels averaged $12 a month, and $3.50 to $5.00 a day was the rate for unskilled labor in San Francisco (Duncan, 1972).

With the exception of the Mormon converts who went to Utah, available evidence suggest that few who left intended to stay permanently away from Hawaii. In the South Sea islands, European contact and resulting commercial exploitation often led to short-duration movements of native males to newly created employment opportunities. Chapman (1971) argued that these movements in Guadalcanal represented a new form of mobility that was superimposed on the traditional patterns of frequent short-term movements. Whether this was true of Hawaii cannot be determined by the available literature concerning pre-contact Hawaii, but it does appear to have been a common pattern in other South Sea islands.

The decline in the number of Hawaiians abroad during the late nineteenth century is partly attributable to the decline in the whaling and fur industries. The increasing discrimination that Hawaiians were subjected to on the Mainland undoubtedly discouraged migration as well. The rise of the sugar industry in the mid-1850s may have also played a significant role in reducing outmigration as the plantations provided a local source of monetary compensation. Indeed, approximately half of all able bodied Hawaiian males were employed by the sugar plantations at the peak of the Hawaiian participation in the sugar industry in the early

1870s (Daws, 1968).[6] The above factors reduced the Hawaiian population on the Mainland to a negligible proportion of all Hawaiians by the end of the nineteenth century.

A.3 Outmigration of the Japanese

Approximately 180,000 Japanese arrived in Hawaii between 1886 and 1924. Adams (1937) estimated that approximately 100,000 eventually returned to Japan. Prior to annexation in 1898, some 1,200 Japanese migrated to the Mainland (Lind, 1938). One factor that prevented more from leaving was the legally enforceable labor contract, but these contracts became nonenforceable after the Organic Act was passed by Congress in 1900. As a result, more than 3,000 Japanese moved to the Mainland in 1902. By 1905 the yearly outflow reached 10,000 a year and more than 40,000 Japanese moved to the Mainland before the flow was stopped in 1907 by the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement." More than counterbalancing this outflow was the arrival of 65,000 persons from Japan between 1900 and 1907 (Nordyke, 1975).

Demographically, the Japanese outmigrants to the Mainland were similar to the immigrants from Japan in that they were predominantly young male adults. In 1906 and 1907, for example, only 2.8 percent of the outmigrants were children and the sex ratio was 1591 among adults (Secretary of Labor Conditions, 1916). One labor investigator (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1905, p. 21) characterized the Japanese

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[6] In contrast to the owners of the fur companies and whaling ships, however, the sugar planters tended to be displeased with Hawaii labor. The author believes that the types of activity required on the ships and by the fur companies were more compatible with traditional Hawaiian work patterns than the regimented and constant labor required on the plantations.

immigrants as "a body of industrial excursionists and forms consequently an unusually mobile population, perculiarly responsive to any economic stimulus to further migration. They move freely to any new labor market offering better terms than Hawaii."

Better "terms" were certainly available on the Mainland. Whereas Japanese plantation laborers in Hawaii were receiving 70¢ a day, Mainland labor agents were offering them from $1.35 to $4.00 a day for contract work in California (Smith, 1948). Labor agents were extremely active in recruiting Japanese for jobs in California, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the territorial government.[7]

However, outmigration began to occur independently of the inducements of labor agents. One observer (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1905, p. 22) noted

> But once started, this migration is likely to continue without artificial stimulation. Plantation employees in Hawaii reported that they and their friends were constantly receiving letters from Japanese who had gone to California, telling them of the high wages and generally favorable conditions in that country and advising them to come over and share these advantages.

The increasing numbers of Japanese in California evoked an increasing nativist reaction, especially as large numbers bought agricultural land and began competing with Caucasian farmers. This reaction resulted in the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 in which the Japanese government agreed to prohibit the emigration of all laborers except relatives of those already living in the United States, and natives of

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[7] Examples of labor recruiting advertisements can be found in U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1905, pp. 22-23. Futile efforts made to discourage the labor agents are discussed in ibid., pp. 40-42.

Japan who were laborers in Hawaii were prohibited from migrating to the United States. This effectively stopped the large movement to the Mainland, especially as few Japanese born in Hawaii had reached adult age. Between 1908 and 1918, only 552 Japanese were recorded as departing to the Mainland as steerage passengers (computed from Hawaii Governor, 1908-1919 yearly issues).[8]

Fuchs (1962) mentions that several hundred Japanese migrated to the Mainland after a Japanese strike against the sugar companies was broken in 1920. However, the yearly steerage reports show an increase in Mainland departees from 64 in 1918 to 214 in 1919. Departures increased to 319 in 1920 and 312 in 1921 before declining to between 100 and 200 a year during the rest of the decade. Less than 10 percent of the departees were children, and males outnumbered females among the adults by about five to one. This outmigration must be viewed against the number of Hawaii-born Japanese who were adults.[9] The number of native-born Japanese in Hawaii who were 21 years of age and over increased from an enumerated 2,613 in the 1920 census to 13,062 in 1930. This is

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[8]Steerage data are biased in that cabin passengers are excluded. However, few Japanese (or any other plantation laborers) could afford to travel as cabin passengers. Although visitors were included in the statistics, their number among the plantation groups was minimized by the length of the trip (generally six days) and the steerage fare, which in 1915 was somewhat greater than the average monthly salary of plantation laborers.

All steerage data reported here and below are from the relevant reports of the Hawaii Governor to the Commissioner General of the U.S.

[9]The proportion of persons born in Japan among those departing to the Mainland is unknown. However, the agreement excluding aliens who were laborers from moving to the Mainland severely restricted the number of aliens moving to the Mainland.

evidence that the outmigration in terms of the proportion of eligible adults was declining in the late 1920s. Another 684 Japanese left between 1930 and 1934. Steerage records were not collected after 1934, but the number of Japanese moving to the Mainland during the remainder of the decade was probably minimal due to the effects of the Great Depression and rising anti-Japanese sentiment on the west coast.

Strong (1932) estimated that approximately 2,300 Hawaii-born Japanese were then living in California. This number appears to be reasonable in view of the steerage departure data, which showed 2,763 Japanese departures to the west coast between 1908 and the end of 1929. Few Japanese interviewed in California expressed a desire to migrate to Hawaii and of 107 Hawaii-born Japanese students at the University of Hawaii, only seven stated a desire to live on the Mainland (ibid.). Reasons most often given for not wanting to move to the Mainland were fears of racial prejudice[10] and a widespread belief that Mainland Japanese disliked Hawaii-born Japanese.[11]

Little is known about the Hawaii-born Japanese who migrated to the Mainland prior to World War II. Young (1931, p. 53) mentions "the peculiar Hawaii born (who reputedly, among the Japanese themselves

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[10]This fear was well justified. Anti-Japanese sentiment in California continued to increase after the Gentlemen's Agreement and was exemplified in a 1914 law that prohibited Japanese aliens from owning farmland. In the 1920s and 1930s, the generally well-educated AJAs reaching adulthood in California had extreme difficulty in finding suitable employment. This information was undoubtedly communicated to Hawaii residents by earlier Japanese migrants.

[11]Japanese who immigrated directly to the Mainland tended to be from the middle class whereas those coming to Hawaii tended to be from the poorest groups in Japan. See Kawakami (1921) for a discussion on the differences between the two groups of migrants.

resemble the Filipino in more ways than mere love of personal adornment)", thereby implying that the Hawaii-born Japanese were sharply differentiated from their Mainland counterparts. From a survey taken in 1948, Bloom and Riene (1949) estimated that 12 percent of the Nisei in the Los Angeles County labor force in 1941 were born in Hawaii. As the 1940 census enumerated 7,712 native-born Japanese in the labor force, this suggests that about 900 of the labor force participants were born in Hawaii. The Hawaii-born comprised 25 percent of the Nisei proprietors and managers in retail produce and 23 percent of the Nisei gardners. Bloom and Riene noted that during the 1920s there was a steady migration of Hawaii Nisei to Los Angeles and that many became gardeners.[12]

In summary, the Japanese who came to Hawaii proved to be quite responsive to perceived better economic opportunities on the Mainland and their movement there was stopped only by the Gentlemen's Agreement. It is doubtful, however, that these early departees had a significant influence on the later outmigration of the Hawaii-born Japanese as most were single, unrelated males who had not developed family ties in Hawaii. Available evidence suggests that most of the outmigration of the Hawaii-born Japanese was motivated by economic considerations and that it slowed considerably during the Great Depression because of the poor economic conditions and increasing anti-Japanese sentiment on the west coast.

A.4 Outmigration of the Filipinos

Approximately 120,000 Filipinos immigrated to Hawaii between 1908 and 1934. Of this number, approximately 40,000 returned to the

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[12] Implied in this statement is that the migration of Hawaii-born Japanese to Los Angeles declined considerably during the Great Depression.

Philippines (Adams, 1937). Prior to 1920, only 2,309 departed to the west coast via steerage passage. During the following fourteen years, however, approximately 20,000 took steerage passage to the Mainland. The Tydings McDuffy Act of 1934 that provided for the eventual independence of the Philippines specified that only 50 Filipinos a year were to be admitted to the Mainland United States and that all foreign-born Filipinos in Hawaii were considered Filipino nationals. This law reduced the outmigration of foreign-born Filipino residents in Hawaii to a trickle, but the outmigration to the Mainland after 1931 had already been reduced by the effects of the Great Depression.

Catapusan (1940) believed that the bulk of Filipinos in the United States (approximately 45,000 in 1940) prior to World War II had previously passed through Hawaii. Horante (1933) noted that Filipinos who went from Hawaii to the Mainland usually did so once their initial three year contracts on the plantations were completed, and that only in 1927 did a significant direct migration from the Philippines to the Mainland begin. Alcantara (1973) believed that the unsuccessful sugar plantation strike in 1924 induced many to leave and the steerage data do indicate an increase from 1,000 departures in 1923 to more than 2,000 in 1924. The latter level was maintained throughout the remainder of the decade.

The reasons for the high rate of Filipino outmigration appear to be similar to those responsible for the large Japanese outflow in the first decade of the twentieth century: lack of advancement opportunities on the plantations, vigorous recruiting by Mainland labor agents[13] and a

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[13]California vegetable growers preferred Filipino labor over that of Mexican aliens because of a widespread belief that plantation labor prepared the Filipinos for "stoop labor" in the fields (Catapusan, 1940).

general absence of family ties in Hawaii. Although the Filipinos, unlike the Japanese, generally continued to be agricultural laborers after arriving in California, they too met increasing hostility from Caucasians who feared their growing numbers, the competition of Filipino males for Caucasian women, and Filipino occupance of jobs that suddenly became desirable during the Great Depression.[14] Information is not available on the number of Hawaii-born Filipinos who migrated to the Mainland prior to World War II, but judging from the small number of children among the steerage passengers and the relatively late arrival of Filipinos to Hawaii, the total number probably did not exceed 500. As a result, those who migrated prior to World War II probably did not comprise an important source of information for those Filipinos who migrated after the war.

A.5 Outmigration of the Chinese

Approximately 46,000 persons came from China to Hawaii prior to World War II. Several hundred arrived in 1853, but the vast majority came between 1876 and 1885. Lynd (1938) estimated that approximately 1,000 Chinese departed to the Mainland prior to annexation. The Exclusion Act of 1882 prevented all persons born in China from moving to the United States. In addition, there was little reason for the bulk of Chinese to migrate to the United States as the local opportunities in small-scale commercial enterprise were great for those leaving the

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[14] These concerns culminated in a number of nasty anti-Filipino riots in California during the late 1920s and early 1930s. In contrast, Filipinos (and Japanese) in Hawaii were never victims of overt racial violence.

plantations whereas those migrating to the west coast were confronted with a virulent anti-Chinese prejudice as well as strong competition from entrenched Caucasian businessmen.

Only 1,371 Chinese were enumerated among those taking steerage passage to the west coast between 1906 and 1934. The fact that there is no mention of Chinese migration to the Mainland in the extensive literature on the Hawaii and Mainland Chinese is evidence that the volume migrating to the Mainland was indeed low. Indeed, considering the economic progress of the Chinese in Hawaii and the anti-Chinese prejudice existing on the west coast, there was little inducement for the Chinese to migrate to the Mainland.

A.6 Outmigration of Other Plantation Groups

Although the Japanese, Filipinos, and Chinese were the major groups recruited for plantation labor, numerous other groups were recruited as well. Approximately 7,000 Koreans were recruited in 1903 and 1904. Up to 1907, when the Gentlemen's Agreement prevented their movement to the Mainland, 1,163 departed to the west coast on steerage passage. Most went to California to work in the rice fields there, the major motivations being better wages and climate (Kim, 1937). Prior to World War II, virtually all Koreans in California had originally immigrated to Hawaii (ibid.). In the first decade of the twentieth century, 629 "Hindu" laborers were imported, but by 1915, 124 had returned to Asia and an additional 453 had taken steerage to the west coast.

Because of their fears of "Asian dominance," the planters experimented with importing laborers from various European countries. With

the exception of the Portuguese, these experiments were unsuccessful. The Hawaii Commissioner General of Immigration (1913) reported just prior to World War I that approximately 60 percent of white aliens imported for plantation labor had departed to the west coast.

Hormann (1931) believed that many of the 1,403 Germans brought in for plantation labor left for the Mainland as soon as their initial contracts expired. There was another large outflow resulting from anti-German actions of local residents during World War I. By 1920, little was left of the German community. Hormann mentioned that the major motivations for the outmigration were dissatisfactions with the lack of "independence" and opportunities for advancement offered on the plantations, lures of cheap land in Washington, and the growing industries in California.

Most of the 2,248 Russians who were imported between 1906 and 1916 had departed to the Mainland by 1920. The departures were motivated by dissatisfaction with plantation conditions, and the large majority who left went to California (McLaren, 1938).

Although 7,735 Spanish were imported between 1907 and 1913, the 1930 census uncovered only 1,248 Spanish in Hawaii and many in this number were undoubtedly Hawaii-born. Perhaps 6,900 Spanish departed to the west coast between 1911 and 1928 alone.[15] The Commissioner General of Immigration (1913) noted that the Spanish continually lodged

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[15]Prior to 1911, Spanish were included in the count for "Iberians." In 1911 they were included with "other Caucasians." A total of 6,325 Spanish took steerage passage between 1912 and 1928, after which date they ceased to be counted separately. As 651 "other Caucasians" were enumerated among the steerage passengers in 1911 as compared to 148 in 1912, this suggests that about 500 of those departing in 1911 were Spanish.

complaints of mistreatment by lunas to the Spanish consulate in Honolulu. Schneck (1936) interviewed 75 Spanish outmigrants living in the Santa Clara Valley in California, where most were employed as farmers or laborers. Reasons most often cited to leaving Hawaii were "economic opportunity," "dislike of plantation labor," and "to join relatives already in California." However, he concluded (p. 36) that the basic reason for the departure of most was that "the Spanish race is like a flock of sheep that unquestionably follows the leader." (!)

Approximately 17,500 Portuguese were imported, of whom 10,700 arrived between 1878 and 1884, with the balance arriving between 1906 and 1913. From the planters' viewpoint, the Portuguese proved to be satisfactory, in part because they were largely given supervisory positions, but also because they appeared to lack the intense desire for upward mobility that was prominent in most of the other groups. Nevertheless, the Portuguese went to the west coast in large numbers. Lind (1938) estimated that approximately 3,900 Portuguese migrated to the Mainland prior to annexation in 1898. Between 1900 and 1910, about 8,000 "Iberians," of whom the large majority were undoubtedly Portuguese, departed to the Mainland (ibid.). Another 4,901 Portuguese departed via steerage passage between 1911 and 1919, and an additional 2,471 departed to the west coast between 1920 and 1929. Between 1930 and 1934, however, the average outflow declined to less than 100 a year. All told, 17,000 to 18,000 Portuguese left for the Mainland prior to World War II. Due to a high rate of natural increase, however, approximately 27,500 Portuguese resided in Hawaii in 1930.

Reasons given by Brown (1944) for the outmigration of Portuguese are familiar: low wages and dissatisfaction with working conditions on the plantations. According to Lind, most of the outmigrants went to Alameda County in California.[16] This is undoubtedly due to the fact that a large number had migrated directly from Portugal to Alameda County (Brown, 1944). In contrast to Asians in Hawaii, the potential Portuguese outmigrants were not hindered by restrictive laws or any strong anti-Portuguese prejudice on the Mainland. As a result, the Portuguese migration to California was well established prior to World War II.

Some 5,000 Puerto Ricans were imported in 1901 and another 676 arrived during the summer of 1921 (Brooks, 1948). Although little has been written on their subsequent outmigration, Brooks (ibid.) noted that prior to World War II there was a steady loss to the west coast, but few returned to Puerto Rico.

Prior to 1911, Puerto Ricans departing to the west coast were included with "Iberians" in the steerage data. The 1910 census enumerated 342 Puerto Rican-born in California with an additional five each in Washington and Oregon. This is a good indication of how many Puerto Rican-born left Hawaii during the decade as few from Puerto Rico by this date had migrated directly to the Mainland.[17] Between 1911 and 1922, 829 Puerto Ricans departed on steerage passage. No fewer than

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[16] Talk given by Andrew Lind at the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. on March 15, 1975. Lind stated that the town attracting the largest number of Hawaii Portuguese was Hayward, immediately south of Oakland.

[17] The 1910 census counted 1,513 Puerto Rican-born in the U.S. With the exception of California, virtually all were on the east coast.

655 Puerto Ricans departed between 1923 and 1925, which suggests that most of those arriving from Puerto Rico in 1921 departed as soon as they saved the money for passage. Another 509 departed between 1926 and 1930, but only one departed between 1931 and 1934. All told, 1911-1934 steerage data indicate the departure of 1,994 Puerto Ricans, and at least 400 departed before 1910.[18] Apparently, few left during the 1930s because of the Great Depression.[19] The loss of Puerto Ricans on the Mainland is especially revealing about how plantation labor was viewed as a livelihood, since those who came to Hawaii had previously worked on sugar plantations in Puerto Rico.

A.7 Outmigration of those of Mainland Ancestry

Of Hawaii's major groups, the least is known about the outmigration of those of Mainland birth or parentage. Separate steerage records were not kept for this group and most, at any rate, were sufficiently wealthy to afford cabin accommodations. It is known that some of the early missionaries and their children returned to New England. The 1896 census uncovered only 2,266 Mainland-born residents living in Hawaii. However, annexation created a building boom and a subsequent inflow of

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[18] The 1930 census enumerated 1,795 Puerto Rican-born in California, with an additional 56 in Washington and 17 in Oregon. The difference between the number of Puerto Ricans who left Hawaii and the number of Puerto Rican-born on the west coast can be attributed to the death of some of the previous migrants as well as the Hawaii-born children among the steerage passengers.

[19] This assertion is supported by the 1940 census, which shows an increase of only 101 in the number of Puerto Rican-born in the three west coast states.

skilled labor from the west coast. This is reflected in the doubling of the Mainland-born to 4,284 residents by 1900. The Commissioner of Labor (1905, p. 27) noted that the Japanese were willing to underbid these arrivals for construction contracts and stated that as a result, "Large numbers of workingmen have left the islands and the population of white mechanics has fallen off considerably." This is the only official mention made of the pre-World War II outmigration of Mainland-born individuals.

There is strong evidence that the Haole elite preferred to send their children to east coast colleges. Of the 377 persons graduating from Punahou High School between 1910 and 1920, 236 (some 60 percent of the Hawaii total) attended college, of whom only 57 attended the College of Hawaii[20] (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1920). Fifty-four attended California colleges and one went to the University of Washington. No fewer than 75 graduates went to private schools either in New York or New England.[21] Morley (1936) found that of the 79 students who graduated from Punahou in 1924, 28 were living on the Mainland 12 years later. Of this number, 12 were residing on the east coast and 13 were on the west coast. This suggests that many of the Punahou graduates who went to the east coast colleges stayed on the east coast.

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[20] In 1920, it became the University of Hawaii.

[21] The most popular Ivy League schools were Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale with 16, 16, and 14 Punahou graduates, respectively.

APPENDIX B

ESTIMATES OF 1940-50, 1950-60, and 1960-70 NET MIGRATION BY RACE AND MILITARY STATUS

B.1 Introduction

It was only after 1940 that the Mainland became the main source of inmigrants and chief destination of outmigrants. Net migration after 1940 essentially reflects the population exchange with the Mainland. Although it is a relatively simple matter to estimate intercensual net migration for Hawaii by subtracting vital change (i.e., births minus deaths) from total population change, estimates derived for the total population are not meaningful because they are heavily affected by changes in the numbers of military personnel and dependents. Furthermore, even if the military component can be separated, it is important to have a breakdown of net migration by white or nonwhite status. As there is little inmigration of "other nonwhites" (i.e., excluding blacks) without Hawaii antecedents, the net migration of the nonwhite population largely reflects the net loss of Hawaii-born nonwhites.[1] As the whites are largely Mainland-born, net migration figures for whites to a considerable extent represent the differences between the number of arrivals and departures of the Mainland-born.

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[1] Obviously, it is also desirable to separate blacks as a separate category. However, births and deaths of blacks were included in the "others" category prior to 1963.

Estimation of migration by military status is complicated by uncertainties concerning the numbers of military personnel and dependents in Hawaii at a given time or the number of births occurring in the military community. These problems are especially acute for the 1940-50 decade. Concerning classification by race, a massive reclassification of nonwhites to whites is obvious in the 1960 and 1970 censuses. This has resulted in a misleading impression of extremely rapid growth in the white population after 1950.

The purpose of this appendix is to derive intercensal estimates of net migration by military status, whether white or nonwhite, and by specific races where the census data allow comparisons to be made. Although estimates presented here are tentative and often based on a number of assumptions, the author believes they are fairly accurate.

B.2 Estimates of Net Migration Between 1940 and 1950 as Indicated by the Vital Statistics Approach

Table B.1, which is based on vital statistics records and a number of assumptions discussed in the table itself, contains estimates of net migration between 1940 and 1950 by military status and whether white or nonwhite.

What is most notable about Table B.1 is that it suggests almost zero net migration of nonmilitary-related whites, notwithstanding the influx of more than 100,000 war workers (see Allen, 1950) and the 5,000 servicemen who decided to make Hawaii "home" after World War II (Lind, 1948). The outflow of whites during the late 1940s and especially the year preceding the census was indeed substantial. Table B.1 also suggests a net loss of approximately 15,000 nonmilitary-related

Table B.1

Estimated 1940-50 Net Migration of the Hawaii Population by Color and Military Status. Vital Statistics Method of Estimation Used

	Pop. 1940	Pop. 1950	Births	Deaths	Net Migration
All Persons	423,300	499,800	124,000	31,300	-16,200
White*	112,100	124,300	24,800	8,200	-4,400
Nonwhite	311,200	375,500	99,200	23,100	-11,800
Military	27,700[a]	22,900	0	0[b]	-4,800
White	26,700	19,400	-	-	-7,300
Nonwhite	1,000	3,500	-	-	+2,500
Mil. Dependents	7,000[c]	20,000[d]	10,000	500[i]	+3,500
White	6,000	16,400	7,800[g]	400	+3,000
Nonwhite	1,000[e]	3,600[f]	2,200[h]	100	+500
Other Civilians	388,600	456,900	114,000	30,100	-14,900
White	79,400	88,500	17,000	7,800	-100
Nonwhite	309,200	368,400	97,000	23,000	-14,800

*Including Puerto Rican. Puerto Ricans were included with whites in order to make this table comparable to Table B.5.

[a]Only enlisted men were enumerated separately in the 1940 census. A total of 26,233 enlisted men were enumerated. In 1937, 5.3 percent of all military personnel in Hawaii were commissioned officers (computed from Olafson, 1938, pp. 29 and 31). Assuming this ratio was true for 1940, there was a total of 27,700 in the military at the time of the 1940 census. No separate data are available for nonwhites. However, only 175 of the 14,867 males at Schofield Barracks census tract were nonwhite. This suggests that nonwhites could not possibly have exceeded 1,000 of the total in the military.

[b]Deaths occurring in the military not counted.

[c]No separate count available from the 1940 census. However, in 1937 there were 24,237 military personnel and 6,035 dependents in Hawaii (computed from Olafson, 1938, pp. 29 and 31). It is assumed that the ratio of one dependent per four military personnel was true for 1940 as well.

[d]Estimate by the Hawaii Department of Health (Schmitt, 1964, Table 6).

Table B.1 (continued) Estimated 1940-50 Net Migration of the Hawaii Population by Color and Military Status. Vital Statistics Method of Estimation Used.

[e]Eighty-five percent of females (all dependents) in the Schofield Barracks census tract were white. It is assumed here that this proportion was true of all dependents in the military.

[f]Eighty-two percent of military dependents in 1960 were white (HDPED Report 33, July 26, 1965, p. 3). It is assumed here that this proportion also held for 1950.

[g]No count is available for the number of births occurring in the military community in the 1940s. However, the military dependents were evacuated for the duration of the war, the result being that no births occurred in the military community. Based on the number of Caucasian births reported between 1942 and 1945, it was estimated that 17,000 Caucasian births took place outside the military community during the 1940-50 decade. It is assumed that the remaining 7,800 Caucasian births occurred in the military community.

[h]According to a 1967 tabulation, 75.1 percent of military-related births during that year were classified as white. It is assumed there that 78 percent of births occurring in the military community during the 1940s took place to whites because 85 percent of the dependents in 1940 were assumed to be Caucasian, compared to 82 percent in 1960.

[i]HDPED estimated that 1,500 deaths took place among military dependents between 1950 and 1960 (Schmitt, 1964, Table 6). As the average number of military dependents in the 1940s was no more than a third of the average in the 1950s, it is assumed here that 500 deaths took place among military dependents.

Sources: 1940 and 1950 Censuses of Hawaii; Stanley Olafson, The Territory of Hawaii, U.S.A., pp. 29 and 31; Hawaii Division of Health, Annual Report, 1940-50.

nonwhites, notwithstanding the fact that with the exception of the servicemen, the local population was frozen for the duration of the war.[2] Nonetheless, the proportion of nonwhites in the nonmilitary-related population grew from 79.6 to 80.6 percent of the total population because the nonwhite birthrate was much higher than that of the whites.

Net migration by sex and specific ethnic group as indicated by the vital statistics approach is given in Table B.2.

Table B.2

Estimated Net Migration Between 1940 and 1950
by Sex and Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group	Male Net Migration	Male Rate (%)	Female Net Migration	Female Rate (%)
Hawaiian[a]	-2,479	-5.9	-1,895	-4.2
Caucasian	-5,522	-7.8	+1,895	+3.3
Chinese	-648	-3.7	-228	-1.6
Filipino	-1,302	-2.9	+329	+1.9
Koreans	-414	-9.7	-399	-11.2
Puerto Rican	-620	-9.7	-454	-9.1
Japanese	-5,643	-5.7	-1,427	-1.5
Other[b]	+2,363	+34.1	+622	+95.1
Total	-14,299	-5.0	-1,874	-.8

[a]Includes part-Hawaiians

[b]Negroes and others. Increase due to the change in the Negro population from 255 in 1940 to 2,651 in 1950.

Sources: 1940 and 1950 Censuses of Hawaii; Hawaii Department of Health, Annual Report, 1940-1950.

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[2]In fact, 800 deaths (of which 600 occurred in the two Japanese regiments) occurred among Hawaii residents in the armed forces and are not included in either Table B.1 or B.2. However, this represents only a twentieth of the nonwhite net outflows indicated in the tables.

The substantial outmigration of Caucasian males and moderate inmigration of Caucasian females (Table B.2) reflect the reduction in the number of servicemen and accompanying increase in the number of military dependents between 1940 and 1950. The substantial gain for "others" results from the increase in the black population.[3] The large relative losses shown for Puerto Ricans may have resulted largely from reclassification from "Puerto Rican" to "white" in the 1950 census. Excluding the Caucasians, Puerto Ricans, and "others," the indicated nonwhite net migration is -10,519 among males and -3,931 among females.

Are the estimates given in Tables B.1 and B.2 accurate? There is evidence from the census that the net loss of nonwhites is overstated in the estimates. Approximately 7,600 Filipinos arrived from the Philippines and 8,000 departed to there during the 1940s.[4] With this exception, outmigration to foreign countries was minimal. Therefore, the census reports on place of birth, which indicate a modest increase from 5,113 to 11,160 (the increase of 6,043 included 3,589 males and 2,458 females) in the number of Hawaii-born nonwhites on the Mainland, is difficult to reconcile with the estimated net outmigration of "other nonwhites" derived in the tables. Furthermore, the number of Mainland-born other nonwhites increased from no more than 1,000 in 1940 to

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[3]Births and deaths were not enumerated separately for blacks during the decade, but as most blacks came as servicemen unaccompanied by wives, the numbers of both births and deaths were probably less than 100.

[4]Most were imported in 1946 when there was a temporary labor shortage on the plantations.

perhaps 2,000 in 1950.[5] Thus, a net loss of perhaps 5,000 native born-other nonwhites is suggested by place of birth data. The decline of the foreign-born nonwhite population from 80,440 in 1940 to 70,304 in 1950 is consistent with zero net immigration and attrition from deaths. Some nonwhites were stationed abroad in the armed forces (approximately 7,700 Islanders were in the armed forces in 1950) but this hardly explains the net loss of some 14,000 other nonwhites as computed by the vital statistics method and the more modest loss of perhaps 5,000 suggested by census data on place of birth. Furthermore, the estimated outmigration of some 1,600 other nonwhites in the economically disastrous year preceding the 1950 census (see Chapter IV) and the absence of outmigration during World War II suggest that the estimate derived from the census may be more accurate than that derived with the vital statistics method.

What is the evidence concerning the Caucasian population? According to the place of birth census data, the number of Hawaii-born Caucasians living on the Mainland increased from 18,610 in 1940 to 40,795 in 1950. The decrease in the number of foreign-born Caucasians from 7,951 in 1940 to 6,316 in 1950 is consistent with the premise of zero net migration and attrition from deaths. In 1940, approximately 53,000 whites living in Hawaii were born on the Mainland; approximately 61,000 of the 65,400 enumerated as Mainland-born in 1950 were Caucasian. The difference between the increase of 22,000 Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the

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[5]The total count of Mainland-born residents in 1940 was 54,224. No breakdowns are given by race in the published census. As there were 255 blacks, perhaps 200 of the total were black. The "other nonwhite" total was almost certainly no more than 1,000. This leaves a residual of 53,000 Mainland-born residents in 1940 who were white.

Mainland compared to that of 8,000 Mainland-born whites living in Hawaii suggests that the net outmigration of whites during the decade was about 14,000. That this difference cannot be attributed entirely to the birth and subsequent departure of military dependents during the decade is shown by the fact that only 8,790 Hawaii-born whites under 10 years of age were living on the Mainland in 1950.

In summary, the census evidence on state of birth suggests a net migration of +2,200 among blacks as contrasted to -14,000 among whites and -5,000 among other nonwhites. In contrast, the estimates derived from the vital statistics approach suggest net losses of 4,400 among whites and 14,000 among other nonwhites. These facts suggest that perhaps as many as 9,000 who were classified as nonwhites in Hawaii in 1940 were reclassified as white in the 1950 census.

One approach to determining whether the vital statistics approach or place of birth evidence is the more accurate is to utilize a census survival approach of the 1940 and 1950 native-born populations of Hawaii. In addition to providing evidence on the accuracy of the net migration figures yielded by the vital statistics approach, the census survival approach yields estimates by specific age groups. Estimates of net migration by ethnic and age groups as indicated by the forward census survival method are given in the following section.

B.3 Computation of Net Migration Rates, 1940-50 Via the Forward Census Survival Method

In the forward census survival method of estimating net migration, a population theoretically closed to international migration is compared for two census dates. For the United States, the native-born population

is usually used and the two dates used are invariably ten years apart. A population in a given age group on the earlier date is compared to the age group ten years older at the later census and the earlier population is divided by the later population to get a "survivor ratio."[6] Survivor ratios are computed for all age groups and are then applied to the population being studied to estimate what the population should be at the later census date if no net migration occurred. The difference between the expected and actual number in the cohort at the later date represents the estimated net migration.

Actually, the estimated net migration does not represent the true net migration in the sense that both inmigrants and outmigrants die before being counted in the later census. In general, the absolute magnitude of net migration is somewhat underestimated as a result. Assumptions that must be used with the forward survival method are that age specific mortality rates and census errors are identical in both the national and local populations. However, neither condition is ever perfectly met. Nevertheless, the census survival technique does give crude age specific migration rates that are unobtainable with any other method.

In estimating net migration rates for the various nonwhite population groups in Hawaii, one is confronted with the problem of what national population to use. Usually the national native white population is used in estimating net migration of whites and the national black or nonwhite

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[6] In the backward survival method, the later population is projected backwards to estimate what the population should have been on the earlier date in the absence of migration. Both methods generally yield almost identical estimates.

population is used in estimating nonwhite or black net migration. In this study, the national white population is used as the basis for computing the 1940 to 1950 net migration of native whites, Japanese, Chinese, and Hawaiians in Hawaii. In the national Negro and nonwhite (as more than 90 percent of nonwhites nationally are Negro) census populations, children under five years of age and young adult males are severely undercounted, and mortality rates between census dates for specific age groups are much higher among blacks than whites. The Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii during the 1940-50 decade were judged by the author to be similar to whites in mortality probabilities at given ages and the accuracy of enumeration.

The decision to utilize the national native white populations in estimating the net migration of the Hawaiian (including part-Hawaiian) population was made with some reluctance as the age specific mortality rates were known to be higher among Hawaiians than among other groups in Hawaii. However, a comparison of Hawaiian populations at earlier census dates did not suggest gross undercounts of young children or young adult males. No estimate could be made of the net migration of native-born Filipinos as those born in the Philippines were enumerated as native-born in 1940 but foreign-born in 1950. Furthermore, the Filipino population was subject to extensive movement both to and from the Philippines in the latter half of the 1940-50 decade.

Obviously, persons born between the 1940 and 1950 censuses were not enumerated in the 1940 census. An estimate of white children born between the two censuses was derived from 1940-50 birth data corrected for underregistration (U.S. Division of Vital Statistics, 1970). A sex ratio

of 106 among the births was assumed. Survival rates of males and females born between 1940 and 1950 were calculated by comparing the estimated number of births with the numbers who were enumerated as being under ten years of age in the 1950 census. The number of births occurring in each ethnic group by sex in Hawaii was calculated from data provided in the annual reports of the Hawaii Division of Health. No attempt was made to correct for undercounting of births as the tests performed by the U.S. Bureau of the Census in 1940 and 1950 indicated almost complete registration of births.[7]

Table B.3 contains the estimated net migration of the native-born Caucasians, Hawaiians, and Chinese by age and sex.

The age specific figures for the Caucasians are greatly influenced by the transfers of armed forces personnel and dependents in and out of Hawaii. Nevertheless, the high outmigration rates indicated for persons aged 55 and above can only to a small extent be attributable to departing individuals in the 1940 military contingent. Thus, if the results in Table B.3 are to be believed, there was a substantial outflow of aged Caucasians during the decade.

Compared to the vital statistics estimates, the forward survival method indicates lower and higher outmigration rates, respectively for Japanese males and females. There are two basic reasons for the differences: (1), those who died in battle in World War II (more than 600 Hawaii Japanese and about 200 from other groups) were not counted as having died in Hawaii; and (2), the vital statistics approach includes

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[7]The estimated completeness of birth registration in Hawaii was 97.7 percent in 1940 and 99.9 percent in 1950 (Schmitt, 1968, p. 168).

Table B.3

Estimated 1940-50 Net Migration Rates by Age and Sex for Native-born Caucasians, Japanese, Chinese and Hawaiians

Age in 1950	CAUCASIANS Number Male	CAUCASIANS Number Female	CAUCASIANS Rate Male	CAUCASIANS Rate Female	JAPANESE Number Male	JAPANESE Number Female	JAPANESE Rate Male	JAPANESE Rate Female
0-9	17	15	.2	.1	32	-6	.1	0
10-14	-790	-691	-21.5	-18.1	-150	-79	-2.0	-1.1
15-19	2,391	-729	42.6	-22.4	-219	-104	-2.5	-1.2
20-24	6,705	608	219.6	18.8	-1,806	-514	-17.1	-4.8
25-29	945	2,521	14.1	75.7	-1,105	-638	-10.3	-5.8
30-34	-8,373	1,333	-53.1	34.2	-638	-386	-7.2	-4.4
35-39	-2,824	-173	-33.6	-4.0	-159	-129	-2.5	-2.2
40-44	-1,430	-633	-27.3	-16.5	-65	-28	-1.8	-.9
45-49	-999	-434	-26.0	-15.4	66	19	2.9	1.0
50-54	-527	-322	-19.9	-14.1	-1	-42	-.1	-6.4
55-59	-365	-270	-18.7	-15.6	*	*	*	*
60-64	-160	-178	-12.7	-15.1	*	*	*	*
65-74	-173	-118	-18.1	-11.2	*	*	*	*
75+	-33	11	-12.3	3.3	*	*	*	*
Total	-5,618	1,010	-8.3	2.2	-4,052	-1,810	-5.0	-2.3

Age in 1950	CHINESE Number Male	CHINESE Number Female	CHINESE Rate Male	CHINESE Rate Female	HAWAIIANS Number Male	HAWAIIANS Number Female	HAWAIIANS Rate Male	HAWAIIANS Rate Female
0-9	169	29	4.9	.9	-472	-595	-3.0	-4.0
10-14	-15	48	-1.3	4.2	-162	-129	-2.9	-2.4
15-19	-80	-95	-5.9	-7.3	-385	-235	-8.1	-4.9
20-24	-355	-249	-20.9	-17.0	-866	-625	-20.5	-14.2
25-29	-218	-152	-13.0	-9.6	-479	-817	-13.6	-21.9
30-34	-63	-18	-4.4	-1.2	-144	-235	-5.1	-7.6
35-39	24	-72	2.1	-6.9	-91	-108	-3.8	-4.4
40-44	21	-46	2.4	-6.0	-119	7	-6.6	.4
45-49	-1	-16	-.1	-2.3	2	-74	.1	-4.7
50-54	33	16	3.8	3.0	-1	106	-.1	9.0
55-59	-40	-12	-8.0	-4.3	-103	-183	-10.3	-17.3
60-64	4	4	1.9	3.3	-121	-141	-17.6	-19.2
65-74	*	*	*	*	-114	-265	-14.7	-21.8
75*	*	*	*	*	79	74	52.7	44.9
Total	-521	-563	-3.4	-3.9	-2,976	-3,200	-6.5	-6.9

*Less than 100 in cohort in both 1940 and 1950

Sources: See text for sources and method of computation.

the entire Japanese population and the loss of native-born females to the Mainland was partly counterbalanced by the arrival of several hundred "war brides." Only slight losses are indicated for persons under 20 years of age in 1950. The net losses were heavily concentrated in the 20-29 age group and were very slight among those aged 35 and above in 1950. All in all, the indicated outmigration patterns for the Japanese (heavy male dominance and a concentration among males aged 20-24 in 1950) are straightforward and plausible.

A high net outmigration is indicated for Chinese aged 20 to 24 in 1950. Compared with the vital statistics estimation, the forward survival method shows lower and much higher rates of outmigration among males and females, respectively. The positive net migration of persons ten years of age and under in 1950 may be an artifact of persons born during the 1940s who were classified as part-Hawaiian at birth and Chinese in the 1950 census.

Of all computations presented in Table B.3, those for the Hawaiian population are the most questionable. The vital statistics method indicates a much lower net outmigration than the forward survival method. It also shows (undoubtedly correctly) a heavier net loss among males than females. The indicated heavy outmigration of those Hawaiians aged 55 and over in 1950 are not supported by the 1950 data on Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland (Table 4.7A). Likewise, losses in the under 10 age group are not supported by the fact that only 675 Hawaiian-born nonwhites under the age of 10 were reported on the Mainland in 1950. It was discovered with the public use census tapes that only an eighth of Hawaii-born other nonwhites aged 40-44 in 1970 who were living

on the west coast were Hawaiian. Based on the evidence presented, it seems reasonable to assume that the actual net outmigration of Hawaiians during the decade did not exceed 1,500. This suggests that perhaps 3,000 to 4,000 persons classified as Hawaiian in the 1940 census were reclassified as Caucasian in the 1950 census.

B.4 Revised Estimates of Net 1940-50 Migration by Ethnic Group

By taking the evidence from the vital statistics and forward census survival approaches, the author suggests that the magnitudes of 1940-50 net migration by major ethnic groups were roughly as follows: Whites, -8,600; Japanese, -6,000; Chinese, -1,000; Hawaiians, -1,500; Filipinos, -1,000; blacks, +2,200; and other groups, -300. That Japanese comprise 61 percent of the estimated net other nonwhite loss of 9,800 is consistent with the public use tapes, which reveal that 62.9 percent of those Hawaii-born other nonwhites aged 40-44 and living on the west coast in 1970 were Japanese. The revised estimates of the losses for white and other nonwhites fall midway between those derived from the vital statistics approach and 1940 and 1950 place of birth data. Why the revised estimate of a net outmigration of 9,800 other nonwhites does not agree with a modest increase of 6,000 in the number of Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland cannot be resolved, although some of those not appearing in the 1950 census were at military bases abroad.

B.5 Estimates of Net Migration Between 1950 and 1960 as Indicated by the Vital Statistics Approach

Between 1950 and 1960 the population of Hawaii grew by 133,000 whereas births exceeded deaths by 130,500 during the decade. However,

this net migration of +2,500 is misleading as the military community (including dependents) grew from about 40,000 in 1950 to more than 100,000 in 1960. Clearly, there was a substantial net outmigration if the military component is excluded.

On the basis of the 1960 census and a count of the number of births and deaths occurring during the 1950-60 decade, the Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development made estimates of the net migration of the population of Hawaii by race and military status. These estimates are given in Table B.4.

Table B.4

Components of Change in the Civilian Population by Ethnic Group and Military Dependency for Hawaii, 1950-60

Group	Civilian Pop. 1960	Civilian Pop. 1950	Births 1950-60	Deaths 1950-60	Net Migration	%
Hawaiian	102,100	85,600	42,500	5,900	-20,100	-16.5
Caucasian	157,200	104,900	42,700	7,600	+17,300	+12.9
Chinese	37,800	32,200	8,400	2,400	-400	-1.1
Filipino	67,700	60,500	17,500	3,500	-6,800	-9.1
Japanese	202,300	184,100	45,300	9,800	-17,200	-7.8
Other	12,800	9,600	4,300	1,000	-300	-2.3
Military Dependents?						
Yes	60,100	20,000	36,000	1,500	+5,500	+8.3
No	519,800	456,900	124,700	28,700	-33,000	-6.0
Total	579,900	476,900	160,700	30,200	-27,500	-4.5

Source: Schmitt (1962), Table 6.

Table B.4 suggests a moderate influx of Caucasians and a net outmigration of approximately 45,000 among Hawaii's mostly local nonwhite population. The U.S. Bureau of the Census, with the use of the forward

census survival method, estimated the net migration of whites and nonwhites to be +55,442 (31,699 males, 23,743 females) and -52,683 (including 27,012 males and 25,671 females) respectively (Eldrige, 1964). However, most of the increase for the Caucasian group represents the growth of the local military contingent, and a more fundamental problem lies in the fact that Puerto Ricans were counted as a separate group in 1950 but were almost entirely reclassified as white in the 1960 census. Indeed, it is not possible to obtain an accurate estimate of 1950-60 net migration by age for Hawaii's whites and nonwhites because the age distribution of the 1950 Puerto Rican population was not included in the published census. Therefore, HDPED has published the most reliable estimate of 1950-60 outmigration.

During the early 1960s, state officials do not appear to have questioned the accuracy of the estimates given in Table B.4. For example, Schmitt, the chief statistician of HDPED, mentioned in an article (1962) that outmigration among Hawaiians seemed to be particularly acute. However, HDPED began to have second thoughts about the overall accuracy of the 1960 census when Hawaii Department of Health surveys that began in the mid-1960s indicated fewer Caucasians and many more part-Hawaiians than the 1960 census.

Apparently on the basis of what seemed plausible in the context of the 1950 census, the Department of Health surveys, and assumptions made concerning migration trends during the 1960s, HDPED revised the 1960 Caucasian total downward from 202,230 to 162,823, the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian total upward from 102,403 to 116,823, made lesser changes for other ethnic groups (slightly upward for Japanese, downward for other

groups) and included 45,851 in a "mixed, except part-Hawaiian" category. Assuming these estimates are used and that no misclassification by race occurred among military personnel (almost all are unambiguously white or black), the net civilian migration during the 1950s was approximately -22,000 among Caucasians, -5,700 among Hawaiians, and +400 among other nonwhites. The figures for Caucasians and "other nonwhites" are patently unreasonable as Caucasians from the Mainland comprised most of the inmigrants and evidence given in the text indicates a substantial net outmigration of nonwhites during the decade. The problem remains as to whether the ethnic groups were miscounted in 1960 in terms of the 1950 census and to what extent this affects net migration estimates for the 1950-60 decade.

Formal classification procedures for determining "race" were identical in the 1950 and 1960 censuses. However, enumerators for the 1950 census asked all questions and could explain all classification procedures. In 1960, respondents were mailed enumeration forms and requested to complete them. The enumerators then obtained the forms and transferred the information to another "official" enumeration form. Therefore, most persons undoubtedly used self-classification for the question on race and some of these self-classifications were undoubtedly incorrect in terms of the formal census definitions.

This census change did bias the white total upward. The 1950 census showed 88,275 whites born in Hawaii whereas the 1960 census enumerated 96,952 Hawaii-born whites over 10 years of age. In contrast, the 1950 census indicated 315,440 nonwhites born in Hawaii whereas the 1960 census counted 288,435 over ten years of age. Overall, there was a

dimunition of 4.5 percent in the Hawaii-born cohort during the decade.[8] Assuming an identical death rate of 4.5 percent among both whites and nonwhites, 13,532 persons classified as nonwhite in the 1950 census were reclassified as white in the 1960 census. Much of the shift was due to the elimination of "Puerto Rican" as a separate category in Hawaii in 1960. In 1950, the enumerated Puerto Rican population was 9,551, of whom 1,178 were born in Puerto Rico. Assuming that all who were not born in Puerto Rico were born in Hawaii and a death rate of 4.5 among the Hawaii-born Puerto Ricans during the 1950s, approximately 8,000 Hawaii-born Puerto Ricans were reclassified as white in the 1960 census. The residual of 5,600 unaccounted-for whites were reclassified from other groups.

Records of the Hawaii Department of Health indicate approximately 42,700 white (including Puerto Rican) and 118,000 nonwhite births between the two census dates under consideration. However, the 1960 census enumerated 44,821 and 105,961 Hawaii-born whites and nonwhites, respectively, who were under 10 years of age. The total count is 6.2 percent below the number of births. Assuming an equal rate of attribution in both the white and nonwhite cohorts,[9] the Hawaii-born white population under

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[8]During the 1950s, the yearly death rate in Hawaii was approximately six in 1,000. However, the foreign-born accounted for a disproportionate share of deaths. Therefore, a yearly death rate of 4.5 per 1,000 Hawaii-born during the 1950s is plausible.

[9]During the 1950s, the infant mortality rate in Hawaii was actually in the neighborhood of 25 per 1,000 and it is unlikely that this cohort was reduced by more than three percent during the decade. Many of the births occur in military families, some of whom are subsequently transferred overseas. These dependents are largely Caucasian. Therefore, the overall estimated Caucasian overcount given above is undoubtedly conservative.

10 years of age in 1960 was shown by the census to be approximately 4,800 greater than indicated by the number of white births reported in the state. Overall, the 1960 Hawaii-born Caucasian count is estimated to be overstated by about 18,400 in terms of 1950 criteria. When allowance for the reclassification of Puerto Ricans is made, approximately 10,400 appear to have been reclassified from "nonwhite" either in the 1950 census or at birth during the 1950s, to "white" in the 1960 census.

Although these estimates pertain only to the Hawaii-born, the author believes that as the large majority of Mainland-born inmigrants are unmixed Caucasians, very few were reclassified from nonwhite to white between the 1950 and 1960 censuses. Hawaii-born residents living on the Mainland were undoubtedly only slightly affected by reclassification as almost all Hawaii-born Puerto Ricans on the Mainland in 1950 were enumerated as white there and racial classification on the Mainland prior to the 1960 census was done almost universally by "eyeballing."[10]

Therefore, it is estimated that the Caucasian population in Hawaii in 1960 was overstated by 10,400 when the Puerto Ricans are accounted for. Assuming this to be true and substituting the revised 1960 civilian figure of 146,800, the estimated net migration of Caucasians becomes +6,900, which represents a fairly modest increase. However, HDPED used a 1960 estimate of 52,900 military personnel in computing the 1960 civilian population of Hawaii According to the 1970 census, there were 47,261 military personnel

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[10]The author in the 1970 census was instructed not to ask respondents about race unless no determination could be made by "eyeballing." On the Mainland, this type of instruction undoubtedly resulted in some Hawaii-born part-Hawaiians and Caucasian-Orientals being classified as white if their features were predominantly Caucasian.

of which 41,003 were Caucasian. If the census figures on military personnel are used, the overall net loss of the civilian population is reduced to approximately 22,000, and there was a net increase of 11,200 civilian Caucasians and a net loss of 33,100 civilian nonwhites through migration.

However, this breakdown does not include the net migration of military dependents. HDPED used the number of military dependents reported by the local commands for its 1960 figure on military dependents. However, the 1960 census showed 56,576 dependents and the author found no evidence that this figure is grossly in error (see Appendix C). Therefore, the census total for military dependents is used for the derivation of net migration estimates given below.

According to the 1960 census, 82 percent of all military dependents were white. This share is assumed to have applied for the 1950 dependents as well. A special tabulation of military-related births in 1967 showed that 75.1 percent were classified as white. On this basis it was assumed that 75 percent of military-related births occurring in the 1950s were white. As whites were assumed to have comprised 82 percent of all dependents during the 1950s, they were also assumed to have suffered 82 percent of deaths occurring to dependents.

The 1950-60 net migration rates by color and military status were computed with the use of the above assumptions. Briefly, they are (1) the white population was overstated by 10,400 and this error was completely in the nonmilitary-related population, (2) 1960 census counts on the number of military personnel and dependents are accurate, and (3) whites comprised 82 percent of all dependents and contributed 75 and

82 percent of births and deaths, respectively. Revised estimates are given in Table B.5.

Table B.5

Estimated Net Migration by Military Status for Hawaii: 1950-60

	Population 1950	Population 1960	Births	Deaths	Net Migration
All Persons	499,800	632,800	160,700	30,200	+2,500
White	124,300	191,800	42,700	7,600	+32,400
Nonwhite	375,500	441,000	118,000	22,600	-29,900
Military	22,900	47,300	-	-[a]	+24,400
White	19,400	41,000	-	-	+21,600
Nonwhite	3,500	6,300	-	-	+2,800
Mil. Dependents	20,000	56,600	36,000	1,500	+2,100
White	16,400	46,400	27,000	1,200	-4,200
Nonwhite	10,200	3,600	9,000	300	-2,100
Other Civilians	456,900	628,900	124,700	28,700	-24,400
White	88,500	104,400	15,700	6,400	+6,600
Nonwhite	368,400	424,500	109,000	22,300	-30,600

[a]Military deaths not enumerated in total count of deaths.

Source: See text for method of computation.

Above estimates of the net migration of whites and nonwhites are close to those derived from place of birth data. They show that whereas the number of whites born on the Mainland and living in Hawaii increased by 64,300 (from 63,000 to 126,300) between 1950 and 1960, the number of Hawaii-born whites on the Mainland increased by 32,500 (from 40,800 to 73,300. This suggests a net inmigration of 31,800 whites. By contrast, the number of Mainland-born nonwhites in Hawaii increased by a modest 5,800 (3,400 to 9,200) compared to an increase of 30,600 (11,200 to

41,800) Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland. The difference between the estimate of a net loss of 29,900 nonwhites given in Table B.5 and the net loss of 24,800 suggested by the state of birth data may be attributed to the departure of some 6,000 persons back to the Philippines during the 1950s (see Alcantara, 1971).

Notwithstanding the rather substantial net outmigration of nonwhites and modest inmigration of whites, the estimated proportion of whites in the nonmilitary-related population increased only from 19.4 to 19.7 percent between 1950 and 1960. This lack of relative change is due to a birth rate that is estimated to have been approximately 16.3 (per thousand per year) in the white population, compared to the corresponding birth rate of approximately 27.5 in the nonwhite population during the decade.

Unfortunately, net migration cannot be estimated for each nonwhite ethnic group. Most who passed from nonwhite status in the 1950 census to white status in the 1960 census were undoubtedly part-Hawaiians as intermarriage between Caucasians and Hawaiians had been common for decades. The number of Caucasian-Orientals reclassified as white was probably quite low as Caucasian-Oriental marriages were uncommon prior to World War II and children of mixed Oriental-Caucasian ancestry were reclassifed from white to the race of the Oriental parent in the initial computer check for errors.

Most persons who were reclassified from Hawaiian to other nonwhite status were certainly reclassified as Chinese and the 1960 census figure on the Chinese is too high, by perhaps as much as 4,000. The HDPED 1960 estimate of 116,823 Hawaiians appears to be reasonable in terms of how Hawaiians were classified in the 1950 census. The 1960 census figure for

Filipinos appears to be quite reasonable. Although HDPED estimated a net loss of 6,800 Filipinos through migration during the decade, a large number went not to the Mainland, but back to the Philippines. The 1960 census figures for the Japanese are quite accurate because their intermarriage rate prior to World War II was well under five percent. An estimate of the net migration of the Japanese by age and sex is presented below.

B.6 Estimation of Japanese Net Migration Between 1950 and 1960 via the Forward Census Survival Method

The Japanese are the only major group in Hawaii to have been counted on a similar basis in 1950 and 1960 in addition to having been minimally affected by migration to or from a foreign country. Therefore, no attempt was made to estimate the net migration of other groups with the forward census survival method. As the age distribution of native-born Japanese was not given in the published 1960 census, all Japanese enumerated in Hawaii in 1950 and 1960 are used for the analysis. For the 0 to 9 age group, the estimated number of white births occurring in the nation during the 1950-60 decade (corrected for undercount) were used and compared with the 1960 census count of native-born whites under 10 years of age. Otherwise, the procedure used here is identical to that used in estimating net migration for the 1940-50 decade (Section B.3).

The estimated net loss of 15,500 is somewhat lower than that of 16,500 which is derived by the vital statistics method. This difference is undoubtedly a result of the low mortality of the Japanese relative to the national population, which results in net outmigration being underestimated with the census survival approach. A heavy loss is evident

Table B.6

Estimated Net Migration of Japanese in Hawaii, 1950-60 by Age and Sex

Age in 1960	MALE Net Migration	%	FEMALE Net Migration	%
0-4	199	1.8	76	.7
5-9	-366	-3.1	-370	-3.3
10-14	-755	-6.5	-478	-4.4
15-19	-802	-8.6	-769	-8.4
20-24	-2,424	-34.1	-1,790	-24.0
25-29	-2,713	-31.0	-1,887	-20.6
30-34	-1,049	-11.2	-718	-6.6
35-39	-644	-6.6	-573	-5.4
40-44	-284	-3.4	-613	-7.2
45-49	-339	-5.6	22	.4
50-54	149	3.7	319	8.9
55-59	48	1.3	245	7.0
60-64	309	12.0	4	.1
65+	-255	-3.8	-37	-.5
Total	-8,926	-8.1	-6,569	-5.9
	Total Net Migration		-15,495	

Sources: See text

for the 20-29 age group. That there is a moderate net outmigration in the 30-44 age group suggests a low volume of return migration during the 1950-60 decade. Of course, the major reason is the volume of Japanese outmigration prior to 1950 was low, the result being that the pool of potential returnees was not large. In addition, evidence given in Chapter IV suggested the return rate of those migrating between the end of World War II and 1955 to be low. The predominance of male outmigrants that was so obvious in the 1940-50 outmigration stream (Table B.3) is much less marked for the 1950-60 period. All in all, basic patterns suggested in Table B.6 are reasonable.

B.7 Estimation of 1960-70 Net Migration by Color and Military Status with the Vital Statistics Method

Between 1960 and 1970 the population of Hawaii grew by 136,000, whereas the natural increase was 127,000. The moderate net migration of +9,000 that is suggested by the above is misleading because the military contingent remained fairly constant throughout the decade whereas 43,900 births took place in the military community.

Estimation of 1960-70 net migration by color is greatly complicated by changing census procedures and definitions, which resulted in a misleading 50 percent increase in the indicated Caucasian population, a 30 percent decline in the number classified as Hawaiians, and implausible changes for other groups as well. Because a massive reclassification by race was evident for the 1970 census, HDPED did not even attempt to estimate 1960-70 net migration by race and military status.

In estimating the extent of racial reclassification in Hawaii, the first logical course to pursue is to compare place of birth data for the two dates in question. The census tabulation of those born in Hawaii show 536,238 of all ages in 1960 and 495,980 over 10 years of age in 1970. This represents a 7.5 percent decrease.[11] However, the white Hawaii-born cohort increased from 141,843 to 148,915 whereas the nonwhite cohort decreased from 394,395 to 347,065. This is proof of extensive reclassification.

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[11]The true decrease was probably in the neighborhood of four percent. In Hawaii the rate of nonresponse among the native born on the question of state of birth rose from 1.3 percent in 1960 to 7.1 percent in 1970. Nationally, the increase was from 1.7 to 5.9 percent.

As to the Hawaii-born under 10 years of age in 1960, records of the Hawaii Department of Health show 49,486 white and 115,045 nonwhite births for a total of 163,531 during the 1960s. However, the 1970 census shows 141,698 Hawaii-born under 10 years of age, of whom 58,753 were white and 82,945 were nonwhite. The indicated dimunition of more than 14 percent in the cohort born in the 1960s cannot be explained by mortality (which amounted to approximately 2.5 percent) or persons born as military dependents who subsequently moved with parents to overseas bases and were thus not included in the census. In addition to the problem of increasing nonresponses in the 1970 census (see footnote 11 above), it appears that some parents of children born as military dependents gave the children's birthplace in terms of the usual residence. Assuming the same relative undercounting of both whites and nonwhites in the place of birth data[12] and that mortality rates were the same among whites and nonwhites, some 7,318 and 8,692 Hawaii-born persons aged 5-9 and 0-4 respectively, were reclassified from nonwhite at birth to white in the 1970 census.

By assuming that the proportion of whites among the Hawaii-born should have remained the same in a given cohort for both 1960 and 1970 had there been no reclassification, an estimate of the relative degree of reclassification from nonwhite to white can be made. The results of this procedure are shown in Table B.7.

Table B.7 suggests that approximately 35,000 were reclassified for the 1970 census. However, only a low proportion of those born prior

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[12]This is probably not a realistic assumption. If most of the undercounting involved military dependents, whites comprise the majority of those Hawaii-born who were not counted as Hawaii-born in the 1970 census. Assuming the above to be true, the extent of reclassification is underestimated by the procedure used above.

Table B.7

Estimate of the Magnitude of Reclassification from Nonwhite in 1960 or at Birth in the 1960s to White in 1970 Among the Hawaii-born

Age in 1970	Number Reclassified	% Addition to White Total	% of Nonwhites Reclassified
0-4	8,692	44.4	18.4
5-9	7,318	31.3	14.1
10-14	5,005	20.7	10.0
15-19	5,356	29.2	10.8
20-24	3,669	26.4	8.8
25-29	2,387	22.0	6.7
30-34	312	3.1	1.1
35-39	265	3.0	.8
40-44	445	5.2	1.3
45-49	910	10.6	2.9
50-54	406	5.4	1.7
55-59	651	10.0	3.9
60-64	228	4.9	1.9
65+	-783*	-9.9	-6.2
Total	34,861	30.6	9.1

*Addition to nonwhite count from relcassification

Source: See text for method of computation.

to World War II were reclassified. Whereas it was assumed earlier that the reclassification that was evident in the 1960 census did not affect the 1960 count of Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland, such an assumption is unrealistic for the 1970 census. The assumption that the age specific reclassification of the Hawaii-born nonwhites living on the Mainland were the same as those of nonwhites overall yields a total of 3,407 Hawaii-born individuals living on the Mainland in 1970 who were classified as nonwhite in the 1960 census or at birth during the 1960s

and were subsequently reclassified as white in the 1970 census.[13] The remaining 31,454 who were reclassified were in Hawaii at the time of the 1970 census.

The extent of reclassification among persons not born in Hawaii is unknown, but can be assumed to be low as the large majority of persons born on the Mainland are unambiguously white or black by any classification scheme. Any assumption that no reclassification took place among those living on the Mainland in 1960 and Hawaii in 1970 is of course untrue, but in actual fact the number is quite small. In this study, assumptions are made that all reclassification took place among the Hawaii-born and that 3,407 of those reclassified were on the Mainland in 1970. These assumptions reduce the total of whites in Hawaii from 298,200 to 266,700.

In estimating the 1960-70 net migration, several assumptions are used. It is assumed that the 1960 and 1970 counts of military personnel and dependents were correct, notwithstanding strong evidence that the number of dependents was undercounted by at least 4,000 in the 1970 census (see Appendix C). It is further assumed that no military personnel were reclassified from nonwhite to white as a result of changes in census definitions. A special tabulation of births occurred to military dependents in 1967 showed that 75.1 percent were classified as white (Hawaii Office of the Governor, 1969); this proportion is assumed to have applied throughout the decade. A final assumption was made that had the

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[13]This number is probably too high. Evidence is given throughout the main text that part-Hawaiians were more likely to declare themselves Hawaiian on the Mainland than in Hawaii.

1970 and 1960 censuses been comparable, 18.0 percent of the dependents would have been classified as nonwhite in the 1970 census. Actually, a special tabulation showed that 15.6 percent were nonwhites.

The resulting estimate of net migration by color and military status is presented in Table B.8.

Table B.8

Estimated Migration Between 1960 and 1970
by Color and Military Status

	Population 1960	Population 1970	Births	Deaths	Net Migration
All Persons	632,800	768,600	163,700	36,900	+9,000
White	202,200*	266,700	48,800	10,900	+26,600
Nonwhite	430,600*	501,900	114,900	26,000	-17,600
Military	47,300	50,000	-	-	+2,700
White	41,000	43,200	-	-	+2,200
Nonwhite	6,300	6,800	-	-	+500
Mil. Dependents	56,600	61,300	43,900	1,600	-37,600
White	46,400	50,200	33,000	1,300	-27,900
Nonwhite	10,200	11,100	10,900	300	-9,700
Other Civilians	528,900	657,300	119,800	35,300	+43,900
White	114,800	173,300	15,800	9,600	+52,300
Nonwhite	414,100	484,000	104,000	25,700	-8,400

*According to the 1960 census. As the 1960 figures in Table B.5 represent estimates of what the populations would have been in the absence of reclassification from the 1950 census, they differ from those in this table.

Sources: See text for method of computation.

Unfortunately, the accuracy of the net migration estimates by color cannot be determined with the place of birth data because the rate of nonresponse on the question of place of birth in the 1970 census was much higher than in the 1960 census. An added complication arises from the fact

that whereas only 9,000 aliens declared their intention to move to Hawaii during the 1950s, the number jumped to 36,500 during the 1960s.[14] Most came from Asia (although precise data are not available) and at least half came from the Philippines. How many of those immigrating to Hawaii during the 1960s were still in Hawaii in 1970 is unknown, but a forward census survival estimate undertaken by the author suggests a net in-migration of 19,400 nonwhite foreign-born residents during the decade.

Of Hawaii's major groups, only the Japanese were both relatively unaffected by immigration (although approximately 3,100 from Japan declared an intention to settle in Hawaii during the 1960s) and counted on pretty much the same basis in both 1960 and 1970. The vital statistics method suggests a net outmigration of 7,812 Japanese during the decade. This is less than half the estimated loss in the 1950s. In the concluding section the net migration of the Japanese by age and sex between 1960 and 1970 is estimated with the forward census survival method.

B.8 Estimation of Japanese Net Migration Between 1960 and 1970 via the Forward Census Survival Method

By now the reader is familiar with the forward census survival method. Procedures used here for estimating the 1960-70 net migration of the Japanese are identical to those used for estimating the 1940-50 and 1950-60 net migrations. Although a count of the native-born Japanese is available for 1970, it is not available for 1960. Therefore, the

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[14] This increase resulted from the liberalization of immigration requirements in 1965 for those from non-European countries.

entire Hawaii Japanese populations in 1960 and 1970 are used for the analysis. Estimates of net migration by age and sex are contained in Table B.9.

Table B.9

Estimated Net Migration of Japanese in Hawaii, 1960-70 by Age and Sex

	MALE		FEMALE	
Age in 1970	Net Migration	%	Net Migration	%
0-4	171	2.3	218	3.2
5-9	436	4.9	512	6.0
10-14	-646	-5.7	-213	-2.1
15-19	-1,956	-16.2	-965	-8.5
20-24	-3,155	-29.5	-1,937	-18.2
25-29	-1,375	-16.7	-1,390	-16.7
30-34	988	21.5	629	11.1
35-39	343	5.8	784	9.8
40-44	120	1.5	160	1.6
45-49	-95	-1.1	-178	-1.9
50-54	105	1.4	107	1.4
55-59	241	4.8	-323	-6.2
60-64	179	5.1	133	3.3
65-69	-25	-.9	89	2.9
70-74	259	14.9	475	18.6
75+	-348	-13.0	482	14.4
Total	-4,758	-4.2	-1,417	-1.2

Sources: See text for method of computation.

The difference between the net loss of 6,175 estimated by the forward census survival method and 7,812 estimated with the vital statistics method again is a reflection of low age specific death rates in the Hawaii Japanese population. Whereas the forward census survival method yields a net migration of 1,374 among those over 55 years of age in 1970, actual migration in this group was probably negligible.

The most interesting aspect of Table B.9 is the indication of a substantial return migration during the decade. This is reflected in a substantial net gain in the 30 to 39 age group as well as a net gain among those under ten years of age in 1970. The latter results from persons born on the Mainland to Hawaii-born parents and who subsequently accompany them to Hawaii.

That the net loss is much higher in the 15-19 age group in 1970 than in the comparable age group in 1960 (see Table B.6) reflects a higher proportion in the latter period who left Hawaii immediately after high school to attend college. The rapid dropoff in the 25-29 age group as contrasted to the comparable group in 1960 (again, see Table B.6) is evidence that in the 1960s the outmigration was much more restricted to young adults than was the case in the 1950s. All in all, Table B.9 supports the arguments presented in the main text that although the gross outmigration rates of nonwhites were similar in the late 1950s and the 1960s, this outmigration was much more restricted to young adults in the latter period and the net loss in the 1960s was much less, due to increased return migration.

APPENDIX C

ESTIMATION OF 1955-60 AND 1965-70 MIGRATION FLOWS BETWEEN HAWAII AND THE MAINLAND BY RACE AND MILITARY STATUS

C.1 Introduction

Population flows between Hawaii and the Mainland for the years 1955-60 and 1965-70 as reported in the 1960 and 1970 censuses are given in Table 4.6. However, this table is not meaningful in terms of interpreting the actual migration flows.

Some of the problems in interpreting "place of residence five years ago" census data are general. There are the problems of recalling where one resided five years prior to the census and individual interpretation as to what "residence" means. In addition, some persons simply do not answer the question pertaining to previous residence. Mainly because of these problems, a postcensus survey (Bureau of the Census, 1965) indicated that number of persons living in a different state in 1960 from that in 1955 was understated by at least 13 percent in the published 1960 census. Assuming the relative degree of underreporting is identical for those leaving an area as entering it, the net migration figures suggested by place of residence data should be "in the ball park" although the magnitude would be understated. If the degree of underreporting or misreporting is different for the inmigrants and outmigrants from a given area, however, the net migration figure may be wildly misleading. This is a possibility that does not appear to be seriously considered in migration studies.

For Hawaii (and other states, to varying degrees) there is the additional complication of the movement of military personnel and dependents. Almost all are transient, their numbers in Hawaii fluctuate in accordance with military policies, and those born as military dependents in Hawaii artificially swell the outmigration rate.

In this appendix, 1955-60 and 1965-70 migration flows by race (whether, white, black, or other nonwhite), sex, and military status as suggested by census data will be estimated. It must be stressed that these estimates are not presumed to represent the true magnitudes but, rather, what the published census would show if the figures were disaggregated by race and military status. First will be a discussion of the problems of estimating the size of the military contingent for any given date. Following will be an estimation of 1955-60 migration. Concluding this appendix is an estimate of 1965-70 migration flows.

C.2 Problems Involved in Estimating Military-Related Migration

Estimating the military-related population in Hawaii for any given time is difficult. There are three basic categories of military personnel: those who are shore based; those who are temporarily on shore but generally elsewhere; and the remainder who are aboard a Hawaii-based ship, which may or may not be in Hawaii at a given time. During the 1950s, the Department of Defense and U.S. Office of Business Economics continually gave differing estimates on the number of military personnel in Hawaii because the latter did not include ships temporarily in port or personnel stationed elsewhere but temporarily

on duty in Hawaii.[1] Since 1960, independent estimates have been derived from local commanding officers and they tend to differ somewhat from the estimates of the Department of Defense. Estimates of military dependents tend to be somewhat higher from the latter agency as it includes dependents of Hawaii residents stationed elsewhere if those dependents stay in Hawaii.

Further complicating estimates of the military contingent are military dependents not reported to the commanding officers. Low ranking enlisted personnel do not receive financial support for dependents accompanying them and the military commanders in the past have strongly discouraged military personnel from bringing their noncommand sponsored dependents with them. Hence, there is no incentive for one with noncommand sponsored dependents in Hawaii to report them. In recent years, surveys taken by the Hawaii Department of Health have indicated 10 to 20 percent more military dependents than reported by local commanding officers.[2] This is a good measure of the general magnitude of underreporting in recent years. What the magnitude was during the 1950s, however, cannot be determined.

In theory, the unreported noncommand sponsored dependents should be reported in the census. However, there are two sources of

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[1] In 1952, for instance, DOD estimated 55,000 military personnel whereas the corresponding estimate by OBE was 35,354. For estimates by the two agencies for 1950 through 1954, see Honolulu Redevelopment Agency (July, 1956).

[2] For example, the 1976 health survey indicated 72,239 military dependents whereas the DOD records showed only 66,947. The 1972 health survey indicated 80,403 dependents, which was 14,000 more than the number of dependents reported by local commanding officers.

undercounting of dependents in the census. If a person in the military states he is not in the armed forces, other members of the family are not counted as dependents. Another error results when a member of the armed forces in Hawaii is assigned an unaccompanied tour of duty overseas but the dependents are permitted to stay behind in Hawaii with command sponsorship. The wife is classified in the census as "married, spouse absent" with no indication anywhere on the census form that the absent husband is in the military. The number appears to have been miniscule in 1960, but was substantial in 1970 (see Section C.4).

In summary, estimation of the military contingent at any given time can be a difficult task. With these complications in mind, it is time to focus on the 1955-60 and 1965-70 migration data.

C.3 Estimation of 1955-60 Migration by Race and Military Status

According to the 1960 census, there were 94,768 persons living on the Mainland in 1955 and in Hawaii in 1960. In comparison, 84,740 persons in Hawaii in 1955 were enumerated on the Mainland in 1960. This suggests a net gain to Hawaii of some 10,000 persons (see Table 4.6). Information is available on the number of black inmigrants, but not black outmigrants. This is a particular problem because it is desirable to obtain a separate outmigration estimate for "other nonwhites."

The 1960 published census also tells us that 36,681 of the inmigrants were in the military in 1960, but unfortunately gives no information on the number of outmigrants who were in the military in 1955. No information is given concerning either the inmigration or

outmigration of military dependents. The problem of estimating the volume of black outmigration is intimately related to that of estimating the outmigration of the military contingent as most black migration to and from Hawaii is military related.

Fortunately (at least from the standpoint of this study!), the U.S. Census Bureau, at the request of the Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development, ran a special tabulation on the 1960 military related population in Hawaii. The results of the tabulation are summarized in HDPED Statistical Report 33 (July 26, 1965) and Statistical Report 34 (August 2, 1965). The reports show 47,267 members of the armed forces (including 629 females) and 56,576 dependents (18,978 males and 37,598 females) residing in Hawaii on April 1, 1960. In contrast, DOD reported 54,000 military personnel and 62,608 dependents, and the local commanding officers reported 52,881 military personnel and 60,057 dependents. The author of Statistical Report 33 concludes (p. 1) that "it is not known whether the apparent undercount in the census resulted from actual underenumeration or misclassification."

A close scrutiny of the census does not suggest a gross undercount of military personnel. Although the local commanding officers reported 52,881 military personnel, 41,927 were actually ashore and 10,927 were "homeported" in Hawaii, whether or not they were actually in Hawaii waters on April 1. In the 1960 census, military personnel on ships were enumerated in special census tracts. Enumerated in these tracts are 6,912 military personnel (as well as 272 "other civilians" who were probably misclassified) aboard ship. If this number is added to the 41,927 reported as being ashore, one derives 48,884

military personnel, which is not greatly in excess of the 47,267 reported by the census. In all census tracts completely comprised of military personnel and their dependents, 29,189 military personnel, 19,637 dependents, and 978 "other civilians" were counted. This suggests that the military community was underenumerated by perhaps two percent as a result of misclassification.

According to the special enumeration, 13.2 percent of the military personnel and 18.0 percent of the dependents were nonwhite. No further breakdown is given by race. However, Table 6 in the Hawaii Data Book, 1970 shows that the 1960 census counted 2,322 blacks in the armed forces. This amounts to 4.9 percent of all military personnel in Hawaii. The 1970 special census tabulation (HDPED Statistical Report 105) indicates that blacks then comprised six percent of all military personnel and 3.1 percent of the dependents. This suggests that blacks in 1960 comprised perhaps 2.5 percent of all military dependents.

Of the 47,267 servicemen counted in 1960, 36,681 (77.6 percent) were on the Mainland, 5,635 (11.9 percent) were abroad, 1,192 (2.5 percent) did not report 1955 residence, and 3,759 (8.0 percent) resided in Hawaii in 1955. Among the 39,738 dependents five years of age and older, 29,727 (74.9 percent) were on the Mainland, 4,292 (10.8 percent) were abroad, 474 (1.2 percent) did not report 1955 residence, and 5,245 (13.2 percent) were residing in Hawaii in 1955. Thus, of the persons living on the Mainland in 1955 and Hawaii in 1960, 66,408 were military related and only 28,360 were "other civilians." The actual number of "other civilians" counted in the census was somewhat less

than this number because of misclassification of military personnel and dependents.

Unfortunately, no breakdowns of the military related inmigrants are given by race or sex. However, data for Oahu in the 1960 census report Mobility for Metropolitan Areas show that 92.0 percent of the male inmigrants in the armed forces on Oahu (which contained over 99 percent of Hawaii's military contingent) were white. By contrast, 55.5 percent of the 3,330 servicemen who resided on Oahu in both 1955 and 1960 were nonwhite. Almost all of the nonwhites can be assumed to be nonblack as well, since only 488 black males of all ages, regardless of military status, were reported as living in Hawaii in both 1955 and 1960. Many nonwhite military personnel in Hawaii appear to be locals who have more or less drawn permanent assignments in Hawaii. It is estimated here that approximately five percent of the migrants from the Mainland in the armed forces were black. According to these assumptions, 33,747 Caucasians, 1,834 blacks, and 1,100 other nonwhites in the armed forces in Hawaii in 1960 were residing on the Mainland in 1955.

No information on military dependents is available in published census data. However, the author made a computer run using the two 15 percent 1970 public use sample tapes for Hawaii, which together contained two percent of the Hawaii population. This computer run suggested that 95 percent of the dependents who had resided on the Mainland five years previously were white, approximately two percent were black, and the remaining three percent were of other races.[3] Assuming

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[3]The low percentage of "others" results from two factors: (1)

these proportions also existed among military dependents stationed in Hawaii in 1960, 28,240 of the military dependent migrants from the Mainland were white, 595 were black, and 892 were "other nonwhite."

In estimating the distribution of the military related inmigrants by sex, it is reasonable to assume that the sex distribution of the inmigrants were similar to those of all servicemen and their dependents over five years of age. In 1960, males comprised 98.7 percent of all military personnel and 25.8 percent of all dependents over five years of age. By applying these ratios to the inmigrant population and assuming they applied to all racial groups considered here, an estimate can be derived for the military related inmigration by age and sex.

The derived estimates of inmigration by age, sex, and military status are portrayed in Table C.1.

Table C.1

Estimated Numbers Living on the Mainland in 1955 and Hawaii in 1960 by Military Status

	Military			Mil. Dependents			Other Civilians		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
White	33,308	439	33,747	7,280	20,960	28,240	10,423	13,138	23,606
Black	1,810	24	1,834	153	442	595	206	274	480
Other	1,086	14	1,100	230	662	892	2,131	2,143	4,274
Total	36,204	477	36,681	7,663	22,064	29,727	12,760	15,605	28,360

Sources: See text for computation procedures.

A large portion are females born in Japan, Korea, and the Philippines who married servicemen in their home countries and subsequently moved to Hawaii with their spouses, and (2) another large share consists of local females who have either married local servicemen who are more or less permanently in Hawaii, or other servicemen presently in Hawaii.

The plausibility of the estimates in Table C.1 as they relate to the "other civilian" figures is difficult to evaluate. Although the indicated predominance of females among the white "other civilian" inmigrants appears suspicious at first glance, both the yearly data collected by HDPED on intended residents and the 1957 survey on unemployment claimants discussed in Chapter IV do suggest that females outnumber males by a considerable margin among the inmigrants from the Mainland. Therefore, the above estimates appear to be plausible.

In the 1960 census, no question was asked about military status five years previously. Furthermore, the Hawaii government did not collect quarterly data on the number of military personnel in Hawaii or any data on dependents prior to 1959. These factors greatly complicate any estimates of military related outmigration between 1955 and 1960.

According to DOD records, approximately 38,000 servicemen were stationed in Hawaii in mid-1954. By mid-1955 the military contingent had increased to 55,300, primarily as a result of the reassignment of the 25th Infantry, numbering 17,000 personnel, from Korea to Schofield Barracks. Although no estimate exists for the number of military personnel in Hawaii on April 1, 1955, it was probably in the neighborhood of 55,000 as the transfer to Schofield Barracks took place during September and October in 1954. According to the DOD, 36,199 dependents resided in Hawaii on December 31, 1954, compared with 49,955 on January 31, 1956.[4] The indicated lag between the increase in the number of servicemen stationed in Hawaii and their dependents is

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[4]Letter to author from J. R. Sungenis, Acting Director for Information Operations and Reports, dated October 21, 1977.

reasonable as many dependents rejoin military personnel after they arrive in Hawaii and find housing, and large numbers of enlisted military personnel do not qualify for command sponsorship of dependents until they have resided at a base for a year or more. By interpolation, an estimate of 39,300 dependents was derived for April 1, 1955. Therefore, it is estimated that approximately 94,300 persons in Hawaii on April 1, 1955 were military related.

In estimating the military related outmigration for 1955-60 it was assumed that 77.6 percent of the servicemen and dependents in Hawaii in 1955 were residing on the Mainland in 1960. It was further assumed that the census would undercount the personnel at the same rate as indicated by the discrepancy between the counts given by DOD and the Census Bureau concerning the number of military in Hawaii on April 1, 1960. Based on these assumptions there were 48,130 military personnel and 39,308 dependents in Hawaii on April 1, 1955. Of these totals, 37,349 servicemen and 30,947 dependents were residing on the Mainland on April 1, 1960.

It was further assumed that the racial distribution of the outgoing personnel was the same as those entering Hawaii between 1955 and 1960. Estimation of the racial distribution of outgoing dependents is complicated by the foreign and Hawaii-born "other nonwhites" who did not marry their spouses on the Mainland but left Hawaii with them. The 1970 public use sample census tapes used in this study for west coast states gives a racial distribution of 1965-70 outmigrants who were military dependents in 1965 as follows: white, 90.9 percent; black, 1.8 percent; and others, 7.3 percent. Because "others" comprised a somewhat greater

proportion of dependents in Hawaii in 1960 as compared to 1970, it was assumed by the author that 87.5 percent of the outgoing dependents were white, 2.5 percent were black, and 10 percent were "others." It was also assumed that the proportion of males among the dependents was 33.5 percent, which was the same proportion of males in the dependent population in 1960.

The estimated number of outmigrants by military status is presented in Table C.2.

Table C.2

Estimated Numbers Living on the Mainland in 1960 and Hawaii in 1955 by Military Status, First Estimate

	Military			Mil. Dependents			Other Civilians		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
White	33,915	447	34,362	8,939	17,746	26,685	-7,569	10,402	2,833
Negro	1,843	24	1,867	255	507	762	6,685	7,376	14,061
Other	1,105	15	1,120	1,021	2,029	3,050			
Total	36,683	486	37,348	10,215	20,282	30,497	-884	17,778	16,894

Sources: See text for method of computation.

Whether the military related estimates are reasonable can be determined by checking the figures of the residual "other civilians." It is evident from Table C.2 that the estimate of military outmigration is grossly overestimated, at least in terms of those who reported 1955 residence as being in Hawaii. There is evidence for the latter in the published 1960 census, which show 16,324 male inmigrants to Oahu who were aged 20 to 24, but only 7,664 male white outmigrants aged 25 to29. The special tabulation gives 17,625 male military personnel aged 20-24

and while an age breakdown is not given by island, more than 99 percent of all military personnel were stationed on Oahu in 1960. Therefore, the number of males aged 20 to 24 approximates the number who were on Oahu. Presumably, the age distribution of servicemen in 1955 was similar to that existing in 1960 and one would therefore expect an outmigration of white males from Oahu who were between ages 25 and 29 in 1960 to be well in excess of 12,000 from the military outmigration alone.[5]

The 1960 census is a de facto one to the extent that military personnel are counted where they are located on the census date. Therefore, those on ships temporarily off the coast of Hawaii and on temporary shore duty in Hawaii were counted as being in Hawaii. However, a person tends to answer a census question pertaining to residence five years previously in terms of "usual residence." Furthermore, if the respondent in the 1960 census gave the 1955 state but not the county of residence, he was enumerated as "moved, 1955 residence not reported." Most persons aboard a ship in the Pacific Ocean can be expected to have difficulty in knowing what county the ship is in! It is the author's belief that large numbers of servicemen aboard ships off the coast of Hawaii or

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[5]The possibility exists that large numbers of servicemen from the Mainland who were stationed in Hawaii in 1955 decided to stay in Hawaii after release from the armed forces. However, the 1970 census shows only 458 persons under 30 years of age who were born on the Mainland, served in the armed forces in Hawaii in 1965 and lived in Hawaii as a civilian in 1970. There is no reason to believe that a larger number of Mainland-born military personnel during the 1950s decided to stay in Hawaii as civilians after serving a tour of duty in Hawaii.

temporarily shore based in Hawaii on April 1, 1955 answered the question on 1955 residence as "abroad," "at sea," where the permanent station of tour duty was located, or gave the state but not county of residence. For these reasons, the number of military outmigrants cannot be ascertained from the 1960 census data.

However, if it is assumed that the estimates on the outmigration of military dependents are accurate and that the proportion of males among the Caucasian "other civilian" outmigrants was the same as that among the "other civilian" inmigrants (44.2 percent), revised estimates can be made of migration by military status. Subtracting the new estimate of 8,228 white male "other civilians" and 8,939 male dependents from the census total of 35,285 white male outmigrants, one derives a residual total of 18,188 white servicemen among the outmigrants. This is 53.4 percent of the total that should have been enumerated, according to Table C.1. By assuming that only 53.4 percent of the black and "other" military outmigrants were counted, a new estimate of what the 1960 census "would have shown if detail on military status had been available" can be computed. Furthermore, the total black outmigration can be estimated if it is assumed that 84 percent of the outmigrants (the same as with the inmigrants) were military related and there and that 42.9 percent of the other civilian outmigrants (the same as among the inmigrants) were male. The new and final estimates of outmigration by military status are presented in Table C.3.

A comparison of Tables C.1 and C.3 suggests that among the non-military-related Caucasians there was a net migration of approximately +5,000 (23,600 arrivals and 18,600 departures) and that among the

Table C.3

Revised Estimates of the Numbers Living on the Mainland in 1960 and Hawaii in 1955 by Military Status

	Military			Mil. Dependents			Other Civilians		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
White	18,118	447	18,565	8,939	17,746	26,685	8,228	10,402	18,630
Negro	984	24	1,008	255	507	762	131	177	308
Other	590	15	605	1,021	2,029	3,050	7,928	7,219	15,147
Total	19,672	486	20,178	10,215	20,282	30,497	16,287	17,778	34,065

Sources: See text for method of computation.

entire nonmilitary-related population there was a net loss of some 5,700 persons (28,400 arrivals and 34,100 departures) through population exchange with the Mainland. Table C.3 also indicates an outmigration of 2,078 blacks (1,370 males and 708 females). This is the estimate of 1955-60 black outmigration that is used in the text.

Are the estimates of a net gain of 5,000 among the Caucasians and a net loss of 5,700 in the entire nonmilitary-related population reasonable? The Hawaii Department of Health, using civilian passenger movement data (see Figure 4.1) estimated net civilian movement (including military dependents) to be +39,000 between the beginning of 1955 and the end of 1959. Yet, there are several reasons for regarding the above estimates as plausible. First is the obvious fact that only 28,000 nonmilitary inmigrants were counted in the census. The nonwhite nonmilitary related outmigration was large (at least 15,000) and was counterbalanced only to a small extent by return migration (approximately 4,000 nonwhite return migrants were counted in the census). Table B.5 shows an estimated loss of 24,400 nonmilitary-related civilians during the 1950-60 decade,

and even among the whites the net gain was only 6,600. Thus, the estimates of nonmilitary-related net migration suggested by a comparison of Tables C.1 and C.3 are reasonable, especially as the 1955-59 period represented a transition from the very poor economic conditions of the early 1950s to the good economic conditions of the early 1960s. In short, the author believes that the net gain of 10,000 shown by the census 1955-60 place of residence data actually masks a small net loss in the nonmilitary-related population.

C.4 Estimation of 1965-70 Migration by Race and Military Status

According to the 1970 census, 131,431 residents in Hawaii lived on the Mainland in 1965 and 135,434 on the Mainland lived in Hawaii in 1965 (see Table 4.6). However, the migration statistics for the two economic areas of Hawaii show 125,732 Hawaii residents who lived on the Mainland in 1965 compared to 112,443 on the Mainland who lived in Hawaii five years previously. Thus data based on the respondent giving both the state and county of residence five years previously (the procedure used in the 1960 census) show a net gain of 13,400 to Hawaii whereas those based only on the respondent giving the state of residence five years previously show a net loss of 4,000. This is persuasive evidence that differential rates of nonresponse can affect the indicated dominant direction of migration.

Even under the less stringent requirement in the 1970 census that only the state of residence five years previously be stated to count as an interstate move, the rate of nonresponse on the question of previous residence rose from 1.1 percent of Hawaii residents in the 1960 census

to 5.3 percent in the 1970 census. On the national level, the rate of nonresponse increased from 1.8 to 4.7 percent. In practical terms, this means that the magnitude of migration both to and from Hawaii may be more understated in the 1970 census than was the case in the 1960 census.

In the 1979 census, both in- and outmigration data are available for whites, blacks, and "others." However, as was the case in the published 1960 census, no breakdowns are provided by military status, although the census does show that 36,932 of the inmigrants were in the military in 1970 and 33,229 outmigrants had been in the military in 1965.

HDPED had the Census Bureau perform a special tabulation of the military and dependents in Hawaii in 1970. Results of this tabulation are contained in HDPED Statistical Report No. 105 (December 2, 1974). According to this tabulation, there were 49,953 military personnel and 61,261 dependents in Hawaii on April 1, 1970. This compares with the Department of Defense figures of 53,011 military and 57,382 dependents on the same date. A separate estimate by the local commanding officers reveals 56,085 servicemen in Hawaii on this date. However, this figure includes 14,723 aboard ship and some of this number can be expected to be away from Hawaii at a given time. In the census, 8,824 servicemen were enumerated aboard ships. Ignoring those on ships, there were approximately the same number of servicemen estimated by the local commanding officers (41,362) and given by the census (41,129). Furthermore, in census tracts inhabited entirely by military personnel, 12,263 military personnel and 31 "other civilians" were counted. This evidence suggests that the count of military personnel in the census is fairly accurate.

However, in all census tracts inhabited entirely by military personnel and dependents, 33,918 military personnel, 32,153 dependents and 5,839 "other civilians" were enumerated. This is evidence that a large number of dependents were not counted as such. A look at the detailed characteristics for the census tracts revealed that there were 1,037 female heads-of-households with 2,505 children in the entirely military census tracts. This large number resulted from the heads-of-households being sent overseas but the families being permitted to stay in military housing. Such households were classified as "husband absent" with no indication that the husband was in the military. The fact that in the military census tracts 32,153 dependents were counted and 3,542 were missed because the husband was absent suggests that 10 percent of dependents were misclassified as "other civilian."

The author first discovered the undercount when classifying the 1965-70 inmigrants on the two 15 percent sample public use tapes of Hawaii by military status. It was discovered that among the "other civilian" inmigrants aged 18 to 64, 12.0 percent of females, but only 3.8 percent of males were indicated to be married with the spouse absent. By assuming that a four percent rate for females in the nonmilitary-related population was more plausible, the author estimated that 1,700 wives indicated to be nonmilitary related were actually military dependents. Adding their children brings the count of 1965-70 inmigrants from the Mainland who were incorrectly enumerated as non-military related to be 3,960.

According to the special enumeration, 35,144 military personnel and 33,626 dependents resided on the Mainland in 1965. The difference between

the 35,144 migrants in the armed forces as shown by the special tabulation and the 36,932 given in the published census results from the fact that those who gave 1965 state but not county of residence were counted in the special tabulation as "moved, 1965 residence not reported." Assuming that 3.6 percent of both military personnel and dependents gave the 1965 state but not county of residence, the true numbers were 36,932 and 34,830 personnel and dependents, respectively. However, assuming that 10 percent of dependents were not counted as such, and the same percentage of those not counted (70.3 percent) stated that the 1965 residence was on the Mainland, a total of 38,700 dependents were indicated by the census as having lived on the Mainland in 1965.

The racial distribution of the military-related inmigrants is not given in the special tabulation. However, by assuming that 36,982 military personnel and 38,700 dependents lived on the Mainland in 1965 and that the race and sex distribution of both are the same as those shown in the two percent sample of inmigrants derived from the public use tapes, an estimate of 1965-70 inmigration by military status can be derived. These estimates are presented in Table C.4.

Table C.4

Estimates of the Numbers Living on the Mainland in 1965 and in Hawaii in 1970 by Race, Sex, and Military Status

	Military			Dependents			Other Civilians		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
White	33,079	640	33,719	11,045	25,584	36,629	21,244	23,236	44,480
Black	2,174	42	2,216	243	661	904	487	444	931
Other	982	15	997	162	1,005	1,167	5,225	5,164	10,389
Total	36,235	697	36,932	11,450	27,250	38,700	26,956	28,844	55,800

Sources: See text for method of computation.

Estimation of the outmigration of the military-related population is helped by the fact that military status in 1965 was asked in the 1970 census. Some 33,229 persons who were in the armed forces in Hawaii in 1965 were reported to be on the Mainland in 1970. Although this number seems low in view of the 56,300 military personnel reported by DOD as being in Hawaii in 1965, it may be reasonable as many career officers were serving in Vietnam in 1970. By assuming an age and sex distribution of outmigrants that is the same as that of the inmigrants, the outmigration of military personnel by race and sex can easily be estimated.

Estimation of the outmigration of military dependents is more difficult. According to the DOD, there were 72,981 dependents living in Hawaii on April 1, 1965. However, a survey taken by the State Department of Health that was taken between April, 1964 and March, 1967, indicated 88,100 dependents whereas the average number reported by DOD for this period was 67,000 (see Schmitt, 1971). Clearly, there were many noncommand sponsored dependents not counted by DOD. For April 1, 1970, DOD reported 57,382 dependents, but the census, when allowance is made for an estimated 10 percent undercount, suggests 68,068 dependents. If the latter figure is correct, DOD underestimated the number of dependents by 15.7 percent. Assuming the same degree of undercount in 1965, the true number of dependents was 85,573 on April 1, 1965. If 70.3 percent of these dependents were reported on the Mainland in the 1970 census (the same proportion of dependents in Hawaii in 1970 who were reported on the Mainland in 1965), 60,601 of those reported in the 1970 census as being in Hawaii in 1965 and on the Mainland in 1970 were military dependents in 1965.

The 1965-70 outmigrants to the west coast who were recorded on the two 15 percent sample public use tapes were classified by whether or not they were military related in 1965. The racial distribution of the 1965 dependents was revealed to be as follows: white, 90.9 percent, black, 1.8 percent, and other, 7.3 percent. However, because blacks comprised 3.1 percent of dependents in 1970 and return mainly to areas in the South after separation from the armed forces, it was estimated by the author that three percent of the dependents overall were black. It was further estimated that seven percent were "other" and the remaining 90 percent were white. In estimating the distribution of dependents by sex, the percentage distributions by race and sex as indicated by the west coast sample were assumed to apply on the national level as well.

Given all of the assumptions above, the estimated numbers living on the Mainland in 1970 and in Hawaii in 1965 by race, sex, and military status are given in Table C.5.

Table C.5

Estimates of the Numbers Living on the Mainland in 1970 and in Hawaii in 1965 by Race, Sex and Military Status

	Military			Dependents			Other Civilians		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
White	29,762	576	19,089	19,089	35,452	54,541	11,618	13,488	25,106
Black	1,956	38	1,994	454	1,364	1,818	519	426	945
Other	884	13	897	1,060	3,182	4,242	8,551	7,002	15,553
Total	32,602	627	33,229	20,603	39,998	60,601	20,688	20,916	41,604

Sources: See text for method of computation.

A comparison of Tables C.4 and C.5 suggests that among the "other civilians" the net migration was actually +14,100 for the entire

population and +19,400 among whites. Thus, the net migration of -4,000 shown by the 1970 published census is an artifact of the movements of the military-related population. The accuracies of Tables C.4 and C.5 cannot be tested directly, but appear to be reasonable to the author, especially as the late 1960s were a period of economic prosperity in Hawaii. According to Table B.8, there was a net migration of +43,900 among "other civilians" during the 1960s. The estimate of a net gain of +14,100 from the Mainland that is shown in Table C.5 and the estimate of the U.S. Immigration Service that some 24,000 from foreign countries moved to Hawaii (although not all stayed) in the five years prior to the 1970 census are consistent with the net gain estimated for the 1960-70 decade.

It should be noted that the 55,600 "other civilians" estimated to have lived on the Mainland on April, 1965 and in Hawaii on April 1, 1970 is only 56 percent of the 98,903 intended residents estimated by the passenger surveys to have come to Hawaii from the Mainland between July 1, 1965 and June 30, 1970. Even allowing for considerable under-count of migrants in the census, the obvious implication is that a large proportion of intended residents leave Hawaii within a short period of time and thus are not enumerated as inmigrants in the census.

APPENDIX D

THE RELEVANCE OF GRAVITY MODELS FOR DESCRIBING OUTMIGRATION FROM HAWAII

In the main text there is no mention of any gravity or intervening opportunities model being used in the analysis of outmigration from Hawaii. For philosophical reasons, the author is opposed to the use of an intervening opportunities model that uses population size as the measure of "opportunities." Even if gross population size at the potential destination can be accepted as a measure of opportunities, the question remains, "What constitutes an intervening opportunity?" As the intervening opportunities model is generally used, California would be regarded as an intervening opportunity between Hawaii and the west coast states of Oregon, Washington, and Alaska because it is closer to Hawaii in distance than the other above mentioned states. Yet, the airfares to the major cities of all four states are the same and in this sense it is difficult to argue that California represents an intervening opportunity. Likewise, would Houston represent an intervening opportunity between Hawaii and Chicago? It can hardly be argued that airplanes going from Honolulu to Chicago will normally stop in Houston.

For these reasons, the use of the intervening opportunities model has been rejected for this study. Nevertheless, the concept of intervening opportunities does seem applicable for explaining the lack of migrants with destinations between Hawaii and the Mainland.

In the gravity model, the volume of migration from one area to another is assumed to be directly proportional to the population of the

destination and inversely proportional to the distance between the two areas in question. The justifications for stating that the flow should be directly proportional to the population in the destination area is that population is a measure of opportunities and that information generated is a function of population size. The justifications for stating that the volume of migration should be inversely proportional to distance are that information about a place declines with distance from it and moving costs (both psychological and financial) increase with distance. Being a geographer by training, the author is naturally attracted to a model based partly on distance.

When using a gravity model for describing migration between Hawaii and Mainland states, one is confronted with the problem of how to express distance. It is obvious that "intervening opportunities," however vague the term, has relevance in explaining population flows, and the west coast states are closer than any other states to Hawaii. The question of whether to use unadjusted airline distances from Hawaii to Mainland states or to use a small arbitrary distance from Hawaii to west coast states (say 300 miles) and then add airline distances from these states to the other states is not trivial, especially as the use of the former approach will suggest a sharp distance deterent for most types of local outmigration (as most go to the west coast areas, which are at least 2,200 miles away) whereas the latter method will suggest a much more gentle decline of migration volume with distance.

Karp and Kelley (1971) argue that the gravity model will ordinarily give high "predictability" in estimating migration flows because under ordinary circumstances one would expect that an area with, say, five

times the population of another area, will receive five times as many migrants. They suggest that migration rates (i.e., migration as a proportion of the population of the destination area) be used if the deterent effect of distance is to be measured.

The suggestion by Karp and Kelley certainly has considerable merit, but it can lead to problems that are illustrated by the Hawaii case. California, as measured by migration volume as a proportion of the population of the receiving area, receives a much higher rate of Hawaii outmigrants than Oregon, Washington, and especially Alaska. In 1970 the population of California was six times that of Washington, ten times that of Oregon, and 66 times that of Alaska. Under a system in which rates are used, Alaska and each of the other west coast states receive the same relative weight in analysis as California. If unadjusted migration rates are used, the migration rate to California is grossly underestimated whereas it will be somewhat overestimated for each of the three other west coast states. If the population of each state is used, however, migration to California will be somewhat underpredicted and that to other west coast states, especially Alaska, will be considerably overpredicted. In the latter case, the indicated deterrent effect of migration will be greater as the regression line is largely fitted to California, rather than the other west coast states.

The problem of Alaska receiving the same weight as California in a regression analysis if the Karp and Kelley approach is used can be overcome if each state is weighted according to its population. Doing this preserves the assumption inherent in the Karp and Kelley approach that if the distance is the same, areas with the same populations should

receive the same numbers of migrants. Thus, if California receives 66 times the weight of Alaska, it is simply a manifestation that it contains 66 areas with populations equal to that of Alaska. At the same time, the population per se of California is not artificially inflating the correlation derived with the gravity model.

Tests were run using the gravity model in several forms with a variety of Hawaii outmigration data from the census. The population (where applicable) and distance to each state were log transformed so that the gravity models could be tested with regression analysis. Gravity models used included the following: airline distance from Hawaii to the major city of each state and the population of each state (the traditional gravity model); assuming each west coast state was 200 miles away from Hawaii and adding the airline distance from the nearest west coast state to each non-west coast state and using the population of each state (the traditional model in somewhat modified form); using the two measures of distance described above but using migration rates (number of migrants divided by the population of the destination state) in lieu of either migration volume or population; and using migration rates as above but weighting each state according to its population. In the weighting, the state with the least population received a weight of one and the other states received weights as multiples of one. For instance, if the state in question had 13.2 times the population of the least populous state, it received a weight of 13.

The results of the tests using the gravity models in various forms are summarized in Table D.1.

Table D.1. Tests of Gravity Models on Hawaii Outmigration Data Contained in 1960 and 1970 Censuses.

	A		B		C		D		E		F	
	R^2	b	R^2	b	R^2	b	R^2	b	R^2	b	R^2	b
A. 1970 Census												
All 1965-70 outmigrants	.75	-1.34	.76	-.42	.22	-1.40	.25	-.42	.51	-2.47	.52	-.64
White Hawaii-born	.78	-1.80	.79	-.50	.29	-1.75	.31	-.50	.58	-2.98	.62	-.78
"Other Nonwhite" Hawaii-born	.68	-3.67	.70	-1.02	.41	-3.50	.45	-1.02	.66	-4.65	.73	-1.25
Migrants in College, 1970	.63	-2.60	.62	-.69	.34	-2.65	.31	-.71	.56	-3.08	.56	-.79
Migrants in military, 1970	.39	-1.30	.40	-.40	.04*	-1.32*	.06*	-.40*	.21	-2.57	.22	-.68
Hawaiians on Mainland	.80	-2.23	.81	-.63	.46	-2.24	.48	-.64	.68	-3.20	.75	-.86
B. 1960 Census												
All 1955-60 outmigrants	.72	-1.88	.77	-.63	.36	-2.08	.48	-.67	.59	-3.39	.65	-.93
Nonwhite outmigrants	.69	-3.95	.72	-1.14	.47	-3.77	.55	-1.14	.68	-4.79	.74	-1.30
Migrants in College, 1960	.75	-3.09	.72	-1.14	.47	-3.01	.42	-.65	.67	-3.55	.65	-.91
White Hawaii-born	.69	-2.07	.76	-.70	.34	-2.18	.48	-.73	.62	-3.60	.72	-1.01
"Other Nonwhite" Hawaii-born	.72	-4.03	.73	-1.17	.52	-3.86	.60	-1.17	.66	-4.65	.73	-1.27

Explanation of Abbreviations

R^2 Coefficient of determination as shown by "best fit" equation. Can be interpreted as being what proportion of the variation of the migration to the different states can be explained by the equation.

b Exponent of Distance in the gravity model as shown by the "best fit" equation.

A Population of each state and airline distance from Hawaii used.

B Distance to west coast assumed to be 200 miles. For other states the distance is 200 miles plus the airline distance to the nearest west coast state. Population of each state used.

C Airline distance from Hawaii. Migration-from Hawaii expressed as a proportion of the population of receiving state.

D Same as C except that distance to the west coast is assumed to be 200 miles and other distances are computed from the nearest west coast state.

E Same as C except that states are weighted according to population at census date.

F Same as D except that states are weighted according to population at census date.

* Not significant at five percent level of confidence.

Sources: See text for explanation of computation procedures.

Table D.1 certainly suggests that reality (in this case, migration) can be viewed differently, depending on what assumptions are used. In most cases, assuming a distance of two hundred miles to the nearest west coast cities gave marginally better but similar results in terms of prediction than using straight airline distance from Hawaii. Although the coefficients of determination derived from both approaches tend to be almost identical for given migration flows, the gravity model using airline distance usually shows an extreme deterent effect of distance, whereas the assumption of a distance of 200 miles to the nearest west coast states generally result in a predictive equation suggesting a moderate to slight deterent effect of distance.

When a migration flow is expressed as a rate (C and D in Table D.1), it is evident that the correlations derived are far lower than those derived by the traditional gravity models (A and B in Table D.1). Concerning the migration of those in the armed forces in 1970, the relationships with distance are not even statistically significant at the five percent level of confidence when migration is expressed as a rate. Nevertheless, as measured by the standard error of the estimates given by the predictive equations,[1] using migration rates give as good or somewhat better results as those obtained with the traditional gravity model. There are several reasons for this. The most basic reason is that by treating migration as a rate, the variation (as measured by the

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[1] A standard error of the estimate can be regarded as the standard deviation of values predicted in a regression. A standard deviation is a measure of average variation one can expect from the mean value in data.

standard deviation) of potential values in most cases is reduced by 50 percent or more. In all cases the weight given to population (commonly termed the B weight in regression analysis) in the unadjusted gravity model (A and B in Table D.1) ranges between .9 and 1.1, which suggests that the doubling of the population, for instance, should result in a doubling of the migrants to an area. This is the assumption for using rates for expressing migration to given areas. Since the gravity model is log transformed for regression analysis, the weight given to population in the predictive equation is exponential. However, for the various categories of migration listed in Table D.1, the relationship of migration to population size when distance was controlled for was much closer to being linear than exponential. As population is treated linearly when migration rates are used (as the volume of migration is divided by population to obtain the rate), the use of rates generally resulted in somewhat better predictive ability (as measured by the standard error of the estimate) than using gross migration and the population of the state in the gravity model.

Obviously, what the above means in practical terms is that predictive power as measured by the coefficient of determination is not to be confused with the likely magnitude of error in a given estimate. On a practical level, all predictive equations derived for the various types of migration give poor estimation of what a given outmigration to a given state should be, notwithstanding the coefficient of determination.

Weighting the populations of each state and using migration rates (E and F in Table D.1) results in higher coefficients of determination than are obtained by using rates and not weighting the populations. In

addition, the indicated deterent effects of distance are substantially increased in every case. Both result from the fact that in 1970 California was the most populous state in the union and, in relation to its population, attracted a much higher rate of most types of migrants than the other west coast states. If migration rates but not weights are used, California receives one-fourth of the consideration in describing what the average migration rate to the west coast should be; with weighting, it receives almost four-fifths of the consideration in both 1960 and 1970.

When the predicted values for states are plotted against actual values, it becomes apparent why the predictive powers given by the various equations are not particularly high. In general, the actual migration rates drop off rapidly from the west coast, reach the lowest values in the plains states, and increase substantially on the east coast, especially those states (most notably Virginia and Maryland) with substantial military populations. For white outmigration the predicted values for midwestern states are well above actual values whereas the same is true for southern states when "other nonwhites" are considered. There is no way that a gravity model with the assumption of decreasing intensity of migration with distance can fit these flows. The assumption of 200 miles to the west coast in most cases gives marginally better predictive power than that of straight airline distance from Hawaii to the Mainland states only because it results in higher predictions for migration flows to the east coast states. That using straight airline distance from Hawaii gives better prediction for the movement of those attending college results from the popularity of

midwestern colleges and the relative unpopularity of east coast colleges except for the Ivy League schools.

Notwithstanding the above observations, the author believes the gravity model does serve a purpose of providing a crude measure of geographical dispersal. Whatever measure is used, for instance, the nonwhites are shown by the gravity models to be less scattered than the white outmigrants, and Hawaiians are shown to be more scattered than other Hawaii-born nonwhites. In comparing scatter for 1970 compared to 1960, however, Hawaii-born "other nonwhites" and persons in college are indicated by the distance exponent to be more scattered in 1970 than 1960. The typical interpretation of one using a gravity model is that the migrants in 1970 as comapred to 1960 are more sensitive to the population of the receiving area and less sensitive to distance. However, in terms of average distance from Hawaii, both groups were more concentrated in 1970 than 1960. Because of a general national redistribution of population in which the west coast has gained at the relative expense of other areas, the predicted migration to the west coast because of population was much higher in 1970 than in 1960. The overwhelming popularity of California for local outmigrants is to a considerable extent unrelated to the population size of California, but is related to other factors (see text) which cannot be incorporated into a gravity model.

In many cases, the predictive power of the gravity models used here would be improved if more realistic criteria than sheer population size were used. For instance, concerning the outmigrants in the armed forces in 1970, the correlation with the total population of the receiving state is .60; in comparison, its correlation with the 1970 total military

population of each state is .96. In the latter instance there is no statistically significant correlation with distance at the five percent level of confidence after the size of the military population in each state is considered. In this case, one can conclude the distance considerations are not paramount when decisions are made where to send armed forces personnel. Disaggregation by purpose of move should also help the predictive power of a given gravity model. However, the popularity of, say, Los Angeles for Hawaii's Japanese outmigrants and the past popularity of Hayward for Hawaii's Portuguese departees defy adequate explanation in a simple mechanistic model. In short, whatever the merits of the gravity models in predicting migration flows, they cannot serve as substitutes for more thoughtful types of analyses. Furthermore, it is essential the assumptions implicit in the models and their practical impacts on describing "reality" be understood.

APPENDIX E

GARDENA, CALIFORNIA: A PIECE OF PARADISE IN BABYLON

E.1 Introduction

When the 1974 residences of the 1964 high school graduates were tabulated, it was found that the number with Japanese surnames who had Gardena addresses (12) outnumbered those residing within the corporate city limits of Los Angeles (11). One each with Chinese and Filipino surnames, but none in other ethnic groups had Gardena addresses. The person with the Filipino surname was part of the questionnaire sample. Her ethnicity was revealed to be Filipino-Japanese and she was married to a Hawaii-born Japanese. In talking casually with middle-aged Japanese in Hawaii, the author learned that many had relatives in Gardena. Clearly, Gardena has exercised a special attraction for Japanese migrants from Hawaii.

A look at a map of Los Angeles County (Figure E.1) reveals that Gardena is a small city just to the south of the Watts area of Los Angeles and east of the city of Torrance. The 1970 census revealed that 41,090 persons lived in Gardena and that the breakdown by minority populations was as follows: Japanese, 8,412 (20.5 percent of the total population); black, 1,475 (3.6 percent); Chinese, 499 (1.2 percent); Filipino, 387; Korean, 314; Indian, 104; Hawaiian, 67; and others, 198. Gardena is one of two cities in California in which Japanese and Chinese together comprise more than a tenth of the total population.[1]

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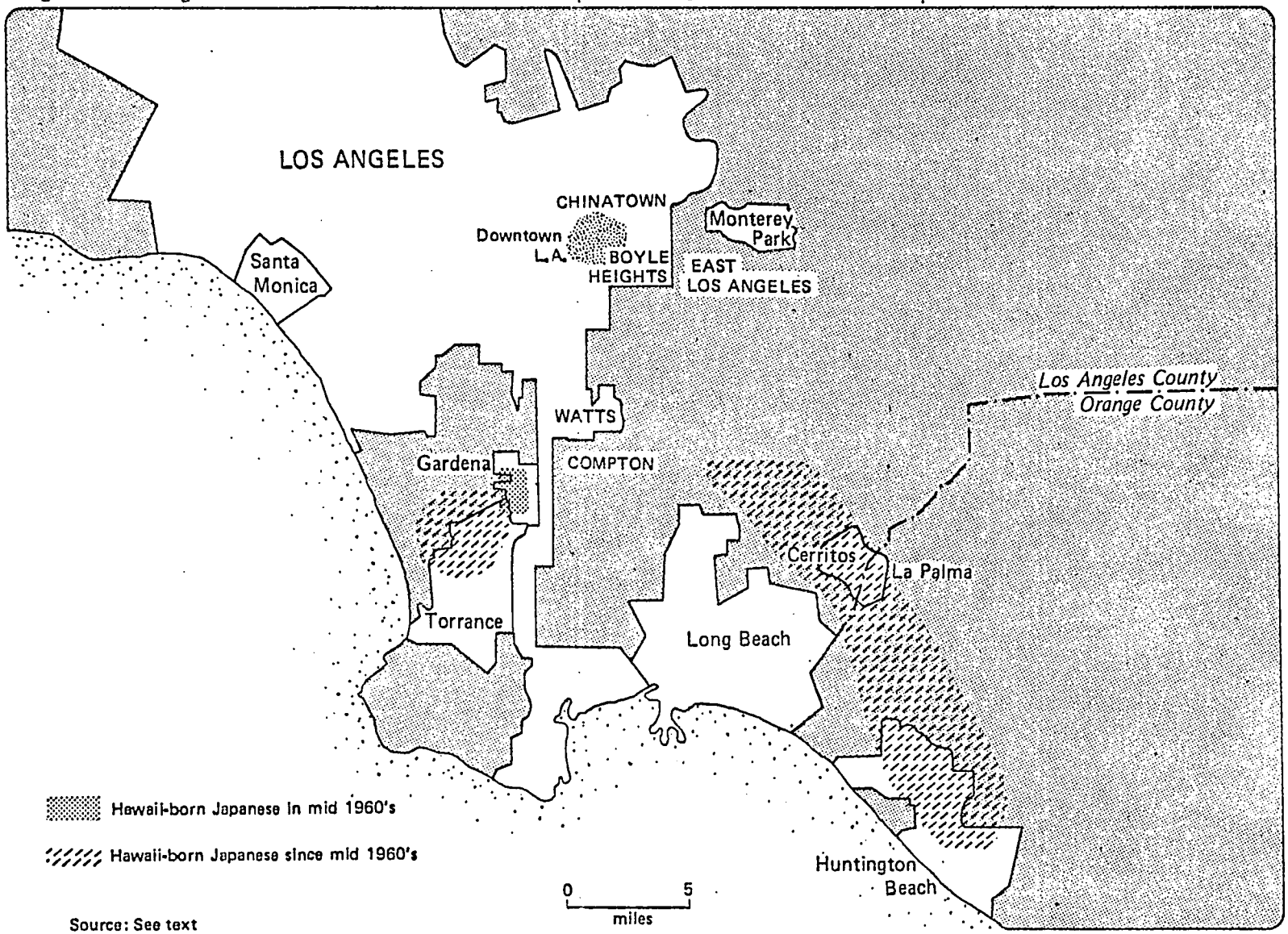
[1]The other is Monterey Park. Contrasts between Monterey Park and Gardena will be discussed later in this appendix.

Figure E.1 Original Concentration of Hawaii-born Japanese in Gardena and Their Dispersal Since Mid 1960's



Source: See text

In other respects, the census suggests that Gardena is quite "average." The median family income of $11,313 was somewhat higher than the average of $10,970 reported for all of Los Angeles County, but hardly suggests a silk-stocking area. The median value of owned housing was $25,500, which was almost identical to that of Los Angeles ($24,300). Likewise, the occupational structure of the Gardena population (15 percent in professional and seven percent in managerial occupations) was similar to that of the whole of Los Angeles County.

The 1970 published census is uninformative about the Oriental population of Gardena. It does show that Japanese comprised more than 30 percent of the total in the south-central part, less than 10 percent in the northern quarter, and generally around 20 percent of the total population in other areas. The census furthermore shows that 57 percent of "other nonwhite" (of whom 85 percent were Japanese) families owned their housing, compared to 48 percent of other families.

There is no other information from the 1970 census that is informative about the Japanese in Gardena. It is time to turn our attention to the history of Gardena.

E.2 A Brief History of Gardena

Prior to its incorporation in 1930, Gardena was a small community that served the surrounding agricultural areas. Although Japanese were then prominent among the farmers in southern Los Angeles County, they were not numerous in the Gardena area itself. However, a number of Japanese-owned nurseries were started in Gardena during the 1930s. In 1940, Gardena contained 5,909 persons, of whom 509 were Japanese (Nishi,

1955). Nevertheless, Gardena was not then a major area of Japanese concentration.

During World War II, all Japanese in Los Angeles County were moved to relocation camps. After the war, much of the farmland in southern Los Angeles was lost to urbanization. As a result, the Japanese population in the southern part of Los Angeles County was much smaller in 1950 than in 1940 even though the Japanese population in the county as a whole declined only slightly. In Torrance, for instance, the Japanese population declined from 1,180 to 476. The one exception to the general decline was Gardena, where the Japanese population rose by 46 percent to 741. One factor that contributed to this increase was the increase in the number of Japanese-owned nurseries from 22 in 1940 to 47 in 1950 (see Nishi, 1955). However, because of the rapid expansion of the Gardena population (to 14,405 in 1950), the Japanese share of the population declined from 10.0 to 5.1 percent between 1940 and 1950.

During the 1950s the population of Gardena grew rapidly. The most basic reason was the rapid growth of the south Los Angeles area in general. In addition, the San Diego and Harbor freeways were completed. Neither goes into Gardena itself but both are easily accessible to anyone in Gardena with an automobile and provide rapid access in non-rush-hour traffic to downtown Los Angeles, west Los Angeles and the airport area, and northern Orange County. When Gardena was incorporated, much of the land within the city limits was agricultural. Therefore, there was ample land within the city limits to accommodate growth. Taxes were lower than in surrounding areas, in part because of tax monies derived

from the private clubs in which gambling is permitted.[2] An extensive industrial park was also developed. As a result, Gardena acquired a much more developed industrial base than the surrounding suburbs. As a result of the above factors, the population increased to 35,943 by 1960. The number of Japanese increased five-fold to 4,372 during the 1950s and the Japanese share of the total rose to an eighth.

According to persons in Gardena that the author talked to, the heavy migration of Hawaii Japanese to Gardena began in the early 1950s. Why it was started could not be determined by the author in casual conversation with Gardena residents. However, Bloom and Riener (1949) report that just prior to World War II over a fifth of the Nisei gardeners in Los Angeles County were Hawaii-born. As the nurseries in the southern Los Angeles area immediately after World War II were concentrated in Gardena, the author suspects that the nucleus of Hawaii-born Japanese who attracted the initial postwar migrants were associated with the nurseries. Once the migration to Gardena began, the lures of friends and relatives and the "friendly Isle people" in addition to the advantages of Gardena that were earlier listed, proved to be strong attractions for many of the Japanese outmigrants from Hawaii.

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[2] Gardena is the only place in California where gambling in card games is legally permitted. Eight large private clubs rent spaces at card tables. What happens at the tables is up to the players involved. Perhaps 99 percent of Californians outside the south Los Angeles area who have heard of Gardena know about it because of its reputation for allowing gambling. The movie "The Big Fix (1978), starring Richard Dreyfuss, contains a dramatic sequence that takes place at one of these clubs.

Separate data are available in the 1960 census for nonwhites. For practical purposes, this means the Japanese as they then comprised 93.3 percent of all nonwhite residents. The census shows that 1,207 were born outside of California. As there were 2,756 nonwhites who were eighteen years of age or older, this suggests that close to half of the adult Japanese were born in Hawaii. A total of 624 lived in a western state outside of California in 1955. This is a good indication of the volume of inmigration from Hawaii during the five year period preceding the census. The median income for the nonwhite families ($8,014) was higher than those of all Gardena or Los Angeles County families ($7,741 and $7,649, respectively). Among the males, the unemployment rate was 2.3 percent and among females it was 2.8 percent. This is indirect evidence that most of the migrants had little difficulty obtaining jobs.

By the mid-1960s, almost all of the available land for housing was in residential use. Therefore, the population increased by only 14 percent during the 1960s, notwithstanding a number of small annexations during the decade. However, the Japanese population almost doubled (to 8,412) and they comprised more than a fifth of the population at the time of the 1970 census. As separate census information was given only for blacks in the 1970 census, no indirect information concerning the Japanese besides the higher than average homeowner figure given earlier is available from the 1970 census. Nonetheless, the fact that almost four-fifths of the entire population growth in the 1960s was contributed by the Japanese suggests that Gardena was a continuing magnet for Hawaii's local Japanese outmigrants.

However, the Japanese population in Gardena probably peaked just prior to the 1970 census and has since continually declined. This decline was initiated by a political decision. Although Gardena is almost adjacent to the overwhelmingly black Watts area of Los Angeles, only eight blacks were enumerated in the 1960 census and there was only a handful even in the mid-1960s. However, this was due to change rapidly because, in order to save tax money, Gardena had opted to be part of the Los Angeles City public school district. In response to pressure from civil rights groups and the courts to reduce racial imbalances in the Los Angeles public schools, the high school districts were redrawn so that the students in the northern quarter of Gardena (locally known as Hollypark) were transferred in 1968 from the local high school in Gardena to the one in Watts. The "white flight" that followed was inevitable. The 1970 census, which captured the beginnings of this rapid change, showed that the black population of 1,475 was almost entirely in the northern part of the Hollypark area. As the Hollypark area was originally more than 90 percent white, the beginnings of the Oriental flight were not yet evident in the 1970 census.

Since 1970, the racial transition has continued. Hollypark is now almost entirely black and the blacks have begun to penetrate the central area of Gardena, which in the past has contained the largest concentration of Japanese. An estimate of the racial distribution made in 1974 indicated the black population to be more than an eighth of the total and the "other nonwhite" total to be down by 600 from that in the 1970 census with their share down from a quarter to a fifth of the population (Hershberger, 1974). A survey taken today (four years later) would reveal a further marked decrease in the Oriental population.

Indicative of the flight from Gardena is the fact that of five persons in the questionnaire sample with Gardena addresses, three had moved away to surrounding areas. Another symptom of the decline of the attractiveness of Gardena for local residents is that whereas most middle-aged Japanese in Hawaii that the author has talked to in Hawaii know of Gardena, few of the college students do. A casual observation of the Japanese population in Gardena reveals large numbers of teenagers, but few young adults. Those who are presently moving to California from Hawaii are avoiding Gardena. Those who are moving away from Gardena state either that they are moving for better educational opportunities for their children or bluntly that they "don't like blacks."

E.3 Gardena Today

In entering Gardena, one is not likely to be impressed by its physical appearance. The physical landscape is flat, no distant mountains or ocean add variety to the horizon, and the houses are largely of stucco construction, have a certain sameness about them, and are so modest that they would not arouse the envy of most Hawaii residents. In general, the housing stock suggests a homogeneous lower-middle class area, although some of the newest housing could be termed "middle class." However, most of the houses are in good repair. The immaculate bonsai gardens in front of many of the residences are indicative of the many Japanese who live in Gardena.

Commercially, Gardena is atypical of the average Los Angeles suburb. Gardena is still the nursery center of southern Los Angeles and in 1975 there were more than 25 Japanese-owned nurseries there. Many

"mom and pop" stores with names such as "Aloha Foods" persist although the large chain stores are moving into Gardena. There is a definite commercial center and an area containing the concentration of city government functions. In a typical suburb in the area, the commercial functions are concentrated in the major shopping centers and the city government offices are to be found in them as well. The large card clubs also comprise a distinctive aspect of the landscape.

The large industrial park containing many medium and small-sized manufacturing establishments also shows an economic diversity lacking in the surrounding suburbs. In short, Gardena is an organic community with a development partly independent of the expansion of Los Angeles in general, a substantial economic base, and a diversity (much of it not evident at a casual glance) which sets it apart from the surrounding bedroom suburbs.

If one wants to find the Oriental population, a good place to begin is the public library. Perhaps four-fifths of the library employees and patrons at any given time are Japanese. From the ethnicity of those in the library and the soft Isle inflections in the voices of many of the adults, one almost feels the location is in Hawaii. The dominance of Japanese in the library is also indicative of values that have contributed to their material successes. The Buddhist and ethnic Christian churches are also indicative of a large Japanese population. The fact that the local Hawaii Club holds its meeting in the Nisei Veterans Hall in itself says much about the ethnic composition of the migrants from Hawaii.

Most of the local residents the author talked to believe that the majority of Japanese in Gardena have Hawaii antecedents. Whether this is true is difficult to determine, but data from the 1960 census suggest that perhaps half of the Japanese population at that time had Hawaii antecedents and it is true that the inmigration of Hawaii Japanese was heavy in the early and mid-1960s. That the mayor of Gardena in the early 1970s was a "Katonk" is a manifestation of the fact that many of the Japanese do not have Hawaii origins. The Hawaii Japanese in Gardena are not good informants concerning their "Katonk" neighbors because in general they have little interaction with them. In fact, most of the social interaction of the Isle Japanese is among themselves, notwithstanding the fact that in no area of Gardena do they comprise a majority of the population. A substantial share (perhaps half) of the local Japanese are from the outer islands and there are cliques comprised of those from the same island. To a large extent, they patronize the local Islander-owned stores which offer popular Hawaii food items. In short, those islanders living in Gardena have for the most part successfully combined the social aspects of Island life with the economic advantages of California.

As has been earlier stated, by 1975 the inflow from Hawaii had stopped and large numbers of local Japanese were beginning to depart from Gardena. Most of those departing have gone to two areas (see Figure E.1). A considerable number have moved to the Torrance residential neighborhoods that lie just to the west of Gardena. Torrance has its own school district, which enjoys a good reputation in the local area. The drift into Torrance began in the 1960s with the result that the Japanese

population there more than tripled from 1,028 in 1960 to 3,578 in 1970. The author expects that the 1980 census will show at least 6,000 Japanese to be living in Torrance. The housing in the most popular area for the Gardena departees is distinctly middle class and of better quality than the average in Gardena. As there is no vacant residential land in northern Torrance, the capacity of the Gardena Japanese to move there is limited mainly by the number of existing houses that are for sale at any given time.

The other large group of departees have moved due east, bypassing the predominantly black town of Compton and the declining industrial city of Long Beach. The most concentrated settlement has been in the adjacent towns of Cerritos (just inside of Los Angeles County) and La Palma (in Orange County). The 1970 census showed 314 Japanese in Cerritos and 197 Japanese in La Palma; the 1980 total for both together will be well in excess of 1,000. The attractiveness of these two towns result from the facts that residential development is still taking place there and the houses are of high quality. Bonsai gardens are common in the new upper-middle class housing developments of these two towns. Some of those moving away from Gardena have moved as far east as Huntington Beach. The fact that the Japanese moving out of Gardena have in the main moved into much more expensive housing than they left behind is indicative of the material success that many have enjoyed. Obviously, many who were in Gardena could afford more expensive housing but stayed there for social reasons.

Those who have moved out of Gardena still shop for Hawaii foods there and keep contacts with old friends. They have not lost their

Hawaiian identity and although they are more dispersed than ten years ago it is evident from Figure E.1 that their movements to other areas are affected by where former Gardena residents have already moved. The major communications link among those who have moved due west and due east of Gardena is the San Diego freeway.

Gardena itself will undoubtedly be a predominantly black town before the century is over. The last piece of Hawaii distinctiveness to disappear will be the Hawaii stores as Gardena is fairly central for the two developing Islander concentrations.

E.4 Monterey Park: The Other Oriental Suburb

In 1970, the population of Monterey Park (49,199) was approximately a fifth larger than that of Gardena. Of all suburbs in California, Monterey Park in 1970 contained the second highest concentration of Japanese (ten percent of the population) and the largest concentration of Chinese (five percent of the total). In contrast to Gardena, however, Monterey Park was not a magnet for Hawaii's 1964 graduating class. A total of three persons, including one each with Haole, Portuguese, and Japanese surnames, were indicated to be living in Monterey Park. The lone Japanese was part of the questionnaire sample. Coincidentally, she was the only one in the questionnaire sample who was married to a "Katonk." The author has met local Japanese with relatives in Monterey Park, but they are few in comparison with those with relatives in Gardena.

A glance at the location of Monterey Park (Figure E.1) shows it to be located about five miles due east of downtown Los Angeles. Between

it and the downtown area are Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles, both areas with traditionally large concentrations of Japanese and Chicanos. The western part of Monterey Park is in hills and from them a breath-taking view of the Los Angeles Basin is available on the rare smogless days.[3]

Monterey Park was incorporated in 1919. Unlike Gardena, it began its existence as a bedroom suburb. There was no agricultural area to serve and in 1940 only 94 of the 8,531 residents were Japanese. The disruptive effect of the relocation is shown by the drop to five Japanese residents in 1950. For practical purposes, Monterey Park was a "lily white" suburb in 1950.

In the 1950s well-to-do Japanese and Chinese began to move to Monterey Park from Boyle Heights, East Los Angeles and the Chinese concentrations just to the north of the downtown area and by 1960 there were 656 Japanese and 366 Chinese among the 37,000 residents of Monterey Park. However, it was in the 1960s that the Oriental influx really became substantial. The 1970 census showed that of the 49,166 residents, 4,627 (9.5 percent) were Japanese, 2,202 (4.5 percent) were Chinese, 481 were Filipino, 118 were Korean, 113 were black, 73 were Indian, 39 were Hawaiian, and 585 were of other races. Movement from the largely Chicano East Los Angeles area is shown by the increase in the Spanish surnamed population from 11.6 to 34.0 percent of the total population

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[3] In general, the smog in Monterey Park is as bad as anywhere in the Los Angeles basin. By contrast, Gardena is relatively smog-free by Los Angeles standards.

between 1960 and 1970. The 1970 census is characterized by an absence of useful information concerning the Orientals in Monterey Park. However, it does show that 74 percent of "other nonwhite" and 58 percent of the remaining families owned their housing. The Japanese and Chinese were also shown to be concentrated in the western third of the town where median income (around $18,000 in 1970) and single family house value (over $35,000 in 1970) are approximately 50 percent higher than those in the remainder of Monterey Park. This suggests that most of the Orientals in Monterey Park are upper-middle class.

A drive through Monterey Park reveals a typical bedroom suburb. Manufacturing is nonexistent and commerce is dominated by several large shopping centers. In the eastern part of the town, the general quality of the housing is comparable to that typically found in Gardena. There are few bonsai gardens or any other indications of a cultural distinctiveness. There is no Japanese Chamber of Commerce, Nisei Veterans Hall, nurseries or any of the culturally distinctive businesses that characterize Gardena.

As one drives into the hills in the western part of Monterey Park, the housing suddenly begins to become very large and luxurious by Hawaii standards. Bonsai gardens and Oriental faces become frequent. In contrast to the eastern two-thirds of the town, Chicano faces are relatively infrequent. The visual evidence is that the Oriental population in Monterey Park is far more affluent than that in Gardena. Monterey Park has apparently become the "in" suburb for Japanese and Chinese from the eastern part of Los Angeles who have "made it." Considering the average value of the houses where they are concentrated, it appears unlikely that

that they will be dislodged at any time in the near future by Chicanos or any other minority group.

All in all, what is most of interest about Monterey Park from the standpoint of this study is the lack of evidence that any large numbers of Hawaii-born Orientals live there. This in itself is evidence that the Hawaii-born Orientals in California in the main have little interaction with their Mainland-born counterparts.

APPENDIX F

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN SURVEY

Aloha!

I am doing a study to find out why Islanders move to the Mainland. As you know, this is an important matter because it is the people of Hawaii that make Hawaii such a special place. Many persons move from Hawaii to the Mainland every year, but no one really knows why Hawaii's people move or how this will affect the state.

I would like your help. I got your name from the 1964 class list of your high school. I hope that you can take the time to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. Your answers will be kept confidential and only the overall results of all answers will be used in the study. I hope that the study can be used to help make Hawaii a better place in which to live. This study has the endorsement of Senator Daniel Inouye (see back of this page).

I know that our mailboxes are filled with "junk" mail. Knowing this, I would not ask your your time in filling out the questionnaire if I did not believe that this is important for Hawaii's future. If you have any questions, my address in Honolulu is 1646 Clark and my telephone number is 955-5083. I will be glad to answer any question about this study.

Please use the enclosed envelope to return the completed questionnaire. Mahalo for your time!

Sincerely yours,

Paul Wright

Paul Wright
Department of Geography
University of Hawaii

PW:esd
Enclosures

DANIEL K. INOUYE
HAWAII

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 13, 1975

I wish to urge your cooperation with Paul Wright, a Ph.D. candidate in Geography at the University of Hawaii, in his efforts to secure the necessary information on outmigration from Hawaii. With such cooperation this study could be most valuable for the State in its planning activities and of interest to us in the Congress as well.

Aloha,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
United States Senator

Either Pen or Pencil may be used to complete the questionnaire.

Your answers in the first section will tell us where you were born and now live, and how you felt about moving to the Mainland when you graduated from high school.

1. Were you born in Hawaii? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, on what island?

☐ Oahu ☐ Kauai

☐ Lanai ☐ Molokai

☐ Maui ☐ Hawaii (Big Island)

If no, in what state or country?

_____ State or country

How old were you when you moved to Hawaii?

Age in Years _____

2. When you graduated from high school, did you think you would like to live on the Mainland sometime? ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Why did you answer the above question (question 2) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. Do you live in Hawaii now? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, on which island?

☐ Oahu ☐ Kauai

☐ Molokai ☐ Lanai

☐ Maui ☐ Hawaii (Big Island)

If no, in what city and state?

_____ City

_____ State

When did you move to that city and and state?

_____ Year

(Please go to question 6.)

5. Since graduating from high school, have you ever lived on the Mainland for at least 6 months?

- [ ] Yes, I lived on the Mainland for at least 6 months.
- [ ] I did not live on the Mainland for at least 6 months, but I once went to live on the Mainland thinking I would live there for at least 6 months.
- [ ] I have never lived on the Mainland and I have never gone to the Mainland with the intention of living there for at least six months. (Please skip to question 33.)

The next section will tell us why Hawaii high school graduates went to the Mainland and why some have stayed there while others have returned to Hawaii. Please skip to Question 33 if you do not live on the Mainland now, have never lived on the Mainland for six months or more since graduating from high school, and have never gone to the Mainland with the intention of living at least six months there.

6. What were the dates you lived on the Mainland?

Month-Year _____ To Month-Year _____ (put "to present" if you still live on the Mainland)

7. Why did you move to the Mainland?

_____

_____

_____

8. Below are some reasons people give for moving to a new place. Please rate each reason for its importance to your moving to the Mainland.

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
For schooling.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
To look for a job.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
To be with friends.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
To be with relatives.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
To see more of the world.....	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
To get married.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
Husband/wife wanted to move	☐	☐	☐	☐
Company moved me	☐	☐	☐	☐
Asked company to move me.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
To escape from family	☐	☐	☐	☐
Was in armed forces.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
For lower living costs.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
Good job hard to find in Hawaii	☐	☐	☐	☐
For better climate.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
"More things to do" on Mainland.....	☐	☐	☐	☐

Anything else? (Please name) _____

9. Were you employed before you moved from Hawaii to the Mainland?

☐ No

☐ Yes What was your occupation? _____

10. About how long did you think about moving to the Mainland before you did move?

☐ More than one year

☐ 6 months to one year

☐ 3 months to 6 months

☐ Less than 3 months

11. Did you discuss your proposed move with your parents before deciding to move?

☐ Yes ☐ No (Please go to question 12.)

What did your parents say when you told them that you were thinking about moving to the Mainland?

☐ They encouraged me to move.

☐ They did not mind if I moved.

☐ They were unhappy that I was planning to move, but they felt it was my choice to make.

☐ They were very unhappy that I planned to move and tried to persuade me not to move.

☐ Other reaction (please specify) _____

_____

_____

12. To what city (or town) and state did you first move to on the Mainland?

City or Town _____ State _____

13. Why did you move to the city or town listed above and not to a different one?

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Below are reasons people give for moving to different cities or towns. Please rate each reason for its importance in your choice of the city or town you first moved in on the Mainland.

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
Friendly people.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
Home town of husband/wife	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
Many jobs in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Relatives in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wages high in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Had job offer in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job transfer–company moved me	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job transfer–wanted to move	☐	☐	☐	☐
Pretty area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Climate good in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
"Many things to do" in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Husband/wife wanted to move to area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Housing cheap in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Living costs low in area	☐	☐	☐	☐
Was in Armed Forces	☐	☐	☐	☐
My college in area	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. Did you have relatives who already lived within 100 miles of the first place you moved to on the Mainland?

☐ Yes, there were at least 5 relatives.

☐ Yes, there was at least one relative, but no more than 4 relatives.

☐ No, there were no relatives already living in the area. (Please go to question 16.)

Did any of these relatives help you after you first moved to the Mainland?

☐ Yes ☐ No (Please go to question 16.)

If yes, how were you helped?

_____

_____

_____

16. Did you have friends (other than relatives) who already lived within 100 miles of the place you first moved to on the Mainland?

- [ ] Yes, there were at least 5 friends.
- [ ] Yes, there was at least one friend, but no more than 4 friends.
- [ ] No, there were no friends already living in the area. (Please go to question 17.)

Did any of your friends in the area help you after you had first moved to the Mainland?

[ ] Yes [ ] No. (Please go to question 17.)

If yes, how were you helped?

_____

_____

_____

17. After your first move to the Mainland, did you later move to different cities or towns on the Mainland?

[ ] Yes [ ] No (Please go to question 18.)

If yes, please list the town and state in the order you moved to them.

Town and State Moved to	Year of Move	Reason for move to that town and state

Town and State Moved to	Year of Move	Reason for move to that town and state

18. Do you think that your move away from Hawaii to the Mainland was a wise one?

- [ ] Yes, I am very pleased with my move to the Mainland.
- [ ] I am quite pleased with my move to the Mainland.
- [ ] I have mixed feelings about my move to the Mainland.
- [ ] On the whole, I would have been better off if I had stayed in Hawaii.
- [ ] I wish I had never moved to the Mainland.

19. Why did you answer the previous question (question 18) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

<u>If you are not living on the Mainland now, please skip to question 25.</u>

20. Is your financial position better on the Mainland than it would be in Hawaii?

- [ ] Yes, my financial position is better on the Mainland.
- [ ] My financial position would be about the same if I lived in Hawaii.
- [ ] My financial position is worse than if I lived in Hawaii.
- [ ] Don't know.
- [ ] Other (Please specify) _____

21. Are you happier on the Mainland than you would be if you lived in Hawaii?

- [ ] Yes, I am happier on the Mainland.
- [ ] I think I would feel about the same if I lived in Hawaii.
- [ ] I would be happier if I lived in Hawaii.

22. Do you hope someday to return to live in Hawaii?

- [ ] Yes, I hope to return to live in Hawaii.
- [ ] I'm not sure.
- [ ] No, I prefer to live on the Mainland.

23. Do you think that you will someday return to Hawaii to live?

- [ ] Yes, I am planning to return to Hawaii in the coming year.
- [ ] I will return to Hawaii someday.
- [ ] There is a good chance I will return to Hawaii someday.
- [ ] I really don't know if I will return to Hawaii.
- [ ] I don't think I will return to Hawaii to live.
- [ ] I will not return to Hawaii to live.

24. Why did you answer the above question (question 23) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you are still living on the Mainland, please skip to Question 41.

25. When did you return to live in Hawaii after being on the Mainland?

_____ Month _____ Year

26. Why did you return to live in Hawaii?

_____

_____

_____

_____

27. Below are reasons people give for returning to a place they have lived before. Please rate each reason.

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
"Homesickness"	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finished schooling	☐	☐	☐	☐
To be with friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
To be with relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
Could not find good job on Mainland	☐	☐	☐	☐
To look for a job	☐	☐	☐	☐
Had job offer in Hawaii	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job transfer-company moved me	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job transfer-wanted to move	☐	☐	☐	☐
To get married	☐	☐	☐	☐
Husband/wife wanted to move	☐	☐	☐	☐
Felt discriminated against on Mainland	☐	☐	☐	☐
Life more relaxed here	☐	☐	☐	☐
People more friendly here	☐	☐	☐	☐
Climate better here	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unemployed on Mainland	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all a factor
Lower living costs here.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hawaii is beautiful.....	☐	☐	☐	☐
Air clearner here.....	☐	☐	☐	☐

28. Is your financial position better in Hawaii than it would be if you had stayed on the Mainland?

☐ Yes, my financial position is better in Hawaii.

☐ My financial position would be about the same if I had stayed on the Mainland.

☐ No, my financial position is worse in Hawaii.

☐ Don't know.

☐ Other (Please specify) _____

29. Overall, are you glad that you returned to Hawaii?

☐ Yes, I am very glad I returned to Hawaii.

☐ I am quite glad I returned to Hawaii.

☐ I have mixed feelings about my return to Hawaii.

☐ On the whole, I would be better off if I had not returned to Hawaii.

☐ I wish I had never returned to Hawaii.

30. Why did you answer the above question (question 30) the way you did?

_____

_____

31. Do you think that you will someday return to the Mainland to live?

☐ Yes, I am planning to return to the Mainland in the coming year.

☐ I think that someday I will return to the Mainland to live.

☐ I don't think I will return to the Mainland to live.

☐ I will not return to the Mainland to live.

32. Why did you answer the previous question (question 31) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

The next questions will tell us why many persons have never left Hawaii to live on the Mainland. If you answered questions 6 to 19, please skip to question 41.

33. Have you ever thought about moving to the Mainland?

- [ ] Yes, I am thinking of moving to the Mainland in the near future.
- [ ] I once thought alot about moving to the Mainland, but not now.
- [ ] In the past, I thought about moving to the Mainland, but not too seriously.
- [ ] I have not thought about moving to the Mainland.

34. Did you ever tell your parents that you were thinking of moving to the Mainland?

[ ] Yes [ ] No

35. What did your parents say? / What do you think your parents would have said?

- [ ] They would have encouraged me to go to the Mainland.
- [ ] They would not have minded.
- [ ] They would have been unhappy, but would have felt that it was my decision.
- [ ] They would have been very unhappy and would have tried to get me to stay in Hawaii.
- [ ] Other (Please specify) _____

_____

_____

35a. Let's say that you planned to move to the Mainland, but your parents were strongly opposed to your leaving. Would you have stayed (did you stay) in Hawaii because of your parents' feelings?

- [ ] Yes, I would have stayed.
- [ ] Yes, I did stay.
- [ ] No
- [ ] Don't know

36. What are the main reasons why you have never moved to live on the Mainland?

_____

_____

_____

_____

37. Do you think your financial position is better in Hawaii than it would be on the Mainland?

- [ ] Yes, my financial position is better in Hawaii.
- [ ] My financial position would be about the same if I were living on the Mainland.
- [ ] My financial position would be better if I lived on the Mainland instead of in Hawaii.
- [ ] Don't know
- [ ] Other (Please specify) _____

_____

38. All in all, are you happy that you live in Hawaii?

- [ ] I am very happy that I live in Hawaii.
- [ ] I am quite happy that I live in Hawaii.
- [ ] I have mixed feelings about living in Hawaii.
- [ ] I am quite unhappy that I live in Hawaii.
- [ ] I am very unhappy that I live in Hawaii.

39. Do you think you will leave Hawaii in the future to go and live on the Mainland?

- [ ] I am planning to move to the Mainland.
- [ ] It is very likely that I will move to the Mainland in the future.
- [ ] Maybe I will move to the Mainland in the future.
- [ ] It is very unlikely that I will move to the Mainland in the future.
- [ ] I would not consider moving to the Mainland.

40. Why did you answer the above question (question 39) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Everyone please answer the following questions. They will tell us how people feel about Hawaii.

41. Please rate Hawaii compared with the Mainland in terms of:

	Much Better in Hawaii	Somewhat Better in Hawaii	About the Same in Hawaii	Somewhat Worse in Hawaii	Much Worse in Hawaii
Friendless of People.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Race Relations	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of housing.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of food.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of other things.....	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Climate	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education in Public Schools...	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Much Better in Hawaii	Somewhat Better in Hawaii	About the Same in Hawaii	Somewhat Worse in Hawaii	Much Worse in Hawaii
Job Opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Air pollution	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

42. How important are the following things to you in deciding whether you would live in Hawaii or on the Mainland?

	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not at all important
Friendliness of People	☐	☐	☐	☐
Race Relations	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of housing	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of food	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cost of other things	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education in Public Schools	☐	☐	☐	☐
Job opportunities	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Crime	☐	☐	☐	☐
Air pollution	☐	☐	☐	☐
Climate	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wages	☐	☐	☐	☐

43. If you had enough money and could live anywhere in the United States that you wanted to, what state would you choose?

☐ Hawaii

☐ Other (state) _____
(Please go to question 44)

If you had enough money and could live anywhere on the Mainland, but not Hawaii, what Mainland state would you choose?

_____ State

44. Compared with 10 years ago, is Hawaii now as good a place to live in?

☐ As good

☐ Better

☐ Poorer

45. Why did you answer the above question (question 44) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

46. Compared with now, do you think Hawaii will be as good a place in which to live 10 years from now?

☐ Hawaii will be a better place.

☐ Hawaii will be about the same.

☐ Hawaii will be a worse place.

47. Why did you answer the above question (question 46) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

48. What do you think are the biggest changes that have taken place in Hawaii since you were born or first moved to Hawaii?

_____

_____

_____

_____

49. Since statehood, do you think that more people are moving to Hawaii from the Mainland than before statehood?

- [ ] More people are moving to Hawaii.
- [ ] About the same number of people are moving to Hawaii.
- [ ] Fewer people are moving to Hawaii.

50. Since statehood, do you think that more people who grew up in Hawaii are leaving to live on the Mainland than before statehood?

- [ ] More people are moving to the Mainland.
- [ ] About the same number of people are moving to the Mainland.
- [ ] Fewer people are moving to the Mainland.

51. Do you think it is good for Hawaii to have people coming from the Mainland to live here?

- [ ] This is good for Hawaii.
- [ ] This is as much good as bad for Hawaii.
- [ ] This is bad for Hawaii.

52. Why did you answer the above question (question 51) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

53. Do you think it is good for Hawaii to have people who grew up in Hawaii leaving to live on the Mainland?

☐ This is good for Hawaii.

☐ This is as much good as bad for Hawaii.

☐ This is bad for Hawaii.

54. Why did you answer the above question (question 53) the way you did?

_____

_____

_____

_____

55. What do you see as the 3 biggest problems facing Hawaii in the next five years?

_____

_____

56. Could these problems you mentioned in question 55 cause many persons to leave Hawaii in the future?

☐ Yes ☐ No Please explain why you marked "yes" or "no".

_____

_____

_____

_____

Finally, we need to know a little about yourself and your background to find out what kind of people stay in Hawaii and what kind of people leave for the Mainland. If you feel that any question is too personal, please go to the next one. However, all answers will be confidential and it is hoped that you will answer every question.

57. Your age _____ Years

58. Your sex ☐ Male ☐ Female

59. Marital Status ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Separated ☐ Widowed ☐ Divorced

60. When were you first married? (If applicable)

_____ Month _____ Year ☐ Never married

61. Do you own the place you live in? ☐ Yes ☐ No

62. What kind of Place do you live in?

☐ House ☐ Apartment ☐ Condominium ☐ Other

63. To what ethnic group do you belong?

☐ Caucasian, except Portuguese ☐ Portuguese

☐ Japanese ☐ Chinese

☐ Filipino ☐ Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian

☐ Korean

☐ Mixed, except Part-Hawaiian (Please describe mixture)

_____

☐ Other (Please specify) _____

64. To what ethnic group does your husband/wife belong? (If applicable)

☐ Caucasian, except Portuguese ☐ Portuguese

☐ Japanese ☐ Chinese

☐ Filipino ☐ Hawaiian or Part-Hawaiian

☐ Korean

☐ Mixed, except Part-Hawaiian (Please describe mixture)

_____

☐ Other (Please specify) _____

☐ Am not now married

65. How many years of schooling did you complete? _____ Years

65. What is your present occupation? _____

66. What is the occupation of your husband/wife? (If applicable) _____

_____

67. About how much money did you earn last year before taxes? $ _____

68. About how much money did your husband/wife earn last year before taxes? (If applicable)

$ _____

69. In what state or country was your father born? _____

70. In what state or country was your mother born? _____

71. What was your father's occupation for the longest time when you were growing up?

_____

72. How strong were the family ties where you grew up?

- [ ] The family ties were very strong.
- [ ] The family ties were somewhat strong.
- [ ] The family ties were weak.
- [ ] There was much unhappiness in the family.
- [ ] Other (Please specify) _____

73. Do you have any children?

[ ] Yes [ ] No (Please go to question 74.)

If you have children, please list them in order from the oldest to the youngest, and the year the children were born.

	Oldest	2nd	3rd	4th
Year born	_____	_____	_____	_____
	5th	6th	7th	8th
Year born	_____	_____	_____	_____

74. Do you have any brothers or sisters aged more than 17?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, please list the age, sex, education, and present location of each brother or sister, from oldest to youngest.

Age	Male or Female?	Highest grade completed	In what city and state does your brother or sister now live?

I would like to talk to some persons still in Hawaii and some persons now on the Mainland to find out more about why some people stay in Hawaii and some move to the Mainland. I will need about an hour of your time if you are willing to talk with me. What you say in such a talk will be kept confidential. Please do not feel you have to agree to this interview. You have already helped me very much by filling out the questionnaire.

Please write your name, address, and phone number if you are willing to be interviewed by me.

Mahalo!

APPENDIX G

A DESCRIPTION OF EACH MAINLAND RESIDENT INTERVIEWED FOR THE STUDY

Below is a brief description of each Mainland resident interviewed for the study. Contained therein are an identification number, ethnicity, sex, whether or not from Oahu, whether Mainland-born if Haole (all non-Haoles were born in Hawaii), area lived at time of interview, occupation, marital status, time when moved to the Mainland, and living preference.

ID. No.	Description
1	Filipino female from Oahu. San Francisco area. Programmer analyst. Divorced from Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers to live on Mainland.
2	Chinese male from Oahu. San Francisco area. Postal clerk. Married to Filipina who was born in the Philippines and grew up in San Francisco. Went to Mainland immediately after high school to attend Jr. college. Prefers Hawaii.
3	Haole male from Oahu. Born on Mainland. Central coastal California. Photographer. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. First moved to the Mainland in 1965 to be in VISTA. Moved again in 1967 to attend college. Moved a last time in 1973 to "get away from the mess of Honolulu and into business with friends there." Prefers Mainland.
4	Japanese female. Washington. Librarian. Married to Mainland-born Haole. First moved to Mainland in 1968 to attend graduate school. Moved again in 1971 to attend library school. Prefers Hawaii.
5	Japanese female from outer islands. Los Angeles County. Housewife. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.

ID. No.	Description
6	Part-Hawaiian male from Oahu. Washington. Student and sales clerk. First moved to the Mainland in 1965 when joined the armed forces. Never married. Prefers Hawaii and Mainland equally.
7	Haole female from Oahu. Mainland-born. Los Angeles County. Stewardess. Never married. Moved to Mainland in 1966 because parents moved. Prefers Mainland.
8	Haole male from Oahu. Born in Hawaii. San Diego County. Pharmacist. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Mainland.
9	Japanese-Caucasian female from Oahu. San Francisco area. Employment representative. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when transferred from the University of Hawaii. Prefers the Mainland.
10	Japanese female from Oahu. San Francisco area. Executive secretary. Recently separated from Hawaii-born Japanese husband. Moved to Hawaii in 1970 when husband decided to attend college there. Prefers Hawaii and returned shortly after the interview took place.
11	Haole female from outer islands. Born in Hawaii. San Francisco area. Collections assistant. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after graduation to attend college. Prefers Hawaii and the Mainland equally.
12	Part-Hawaiian female from Oahu. San Francisco area. Housewife. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1971 when married a man who was transferred from Hawaii. Prefers Mainland.
13	Korean-Caucasian female from Oahu. San Joaquin Valley. Secretary. Married to Hawaii-born part-Hawaiian. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school with a husband who was to attend college. Prefers Mainland.
14	Part-Hawaiian female from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Singer. Married to Haole who was born on Mainland but grew up in Hawaii. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when husband's reserve unit activated. Prefers Hawaii.
15	Japanese male from outer islands. Los Angeles County. Civil Engineer. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.

ID. No.	Description
16	Haole female from Oahu. Born on Mainland. Washington. Housewife. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
17	Chinese male from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Electrical engineer. Never married. Came to Mainland in 1965 when transferred from the University of Hawaii. Prefers Mainland.
18	Japanese male from outer islands. San Francisco area. Designer. Never married. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend a specific design school. Prefers Hawaii.
19	Haole male from Oahu. Born on Mainland. San Joaquin Valley. Business manager. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school when joined the military. Prefers Mainland.
20	Part-Hawaiian male from Oahu. Arizona. Research Chemist. Never married. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when joined the military and again in 1972 to attend graduate school. Prefers Mainland.
21	Japanese male from Oahu. San Joaquin Valley. Dentist. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland in 1967 to attend dental school. Prefers Mainland.
22	Filipino-Portuguese male from Oahu. San Joaquin Valley. Special Projects Monitor. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
23	Filipino female. Los Angeles County. Clerk. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1966 because husband released from armed forces and wanted to return to Mainland. Prefers Hawaii.
24	Japanese male from outer islands. Los Angeles County. Computer programmer. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school when joined the armed forces. Prefers Hawaii.
25	Haole male from Oahu. Born on Mainland. Los Angeles County. Recently completed college but unemployed at time of interview. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when joined the armed forces. Prefers Hawaii.

ID. No.	Description
26	Haole female from Oahu. Born on Mainland. San Diego County. Housewife. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1966 because military husband was transferred. Prefers Mainland.
27	Chinese female from Oahu. Orange county. Housewife. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1968 because husband could not find suitable job in Hawaii. Prefers Hawaii.
28	Haole female from Oahu. Born in Hawaii. San Francisco area. Housewife. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to the Mainland immediately after high school graduation to attend college. Prefers Hawaii and Mainland equally.
29	Part-Hawaiian male from Oahu. San Joaquin Valley. Youth counselor. Married to Hawaii-born Korean-Caucasian. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
30	Japanese-Caucasian female from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Housewife. Married to Hawaii-born Filipino. Moved to Mainland in 1965 to "grow up and travel and see different things." Prefers Mainland.
31	Chinese female from Oahu. San Francisco area. Student and counselor. Married to Hawaii-born Chinese. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when transferred from University of Hawaii. Prefers Hawaii.
32	Japanese female from Oahu. Orange County. Keypuncher. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland in 1967 for "work and adventure." Prefers Mainland.
33	Part-Hawaiian female from outer islands. San Francisco area. PBX operator. Never married. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school when joined the military. Prefers Hawaii.
34	Portuguese male from outer islands. San Joaquin Valley. Salesman. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school graduation to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
35	Japanese male from Oahu. San Francisco area. Business proprietor. Never married. Moved to Mainland in 1968 for "adventure and career." Prefers Mainland.

ID. No.	Description
36	Haole male from Oahu. Born on Mainland but father from Hawaii. San Diego County. Student. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers living on Mainland.
37	Part-Hawaiian male from Oahu. Central Coastal California. Community relations officer. Married to Hawaii-born part-Hawaiian. First moved to Mainland in 1965 when joined the armed forces. Prefers Mainland.
38	Japanese female from Oahu. Arizona. Employment supervisor. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland in 1965 when transferred from University of Hawaii. Prefers Hawaii.
39	Chinese male from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Pharmacist. Married to Hawaii-born Chinese. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
40	Part-Hawaiian female from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Divorced from Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii.
41	Part-Hawaiian male from outer islands. Los Angeles County. Cost estimator. Married to Hawaii-born part-Hawaiian. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school when joined the armed forces. Prefers Hawaii.
42	Japanese male from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Civil engineer. Never married. Moved to Mainland in 1966 when transferred from the University of Hawaii. Prefers Hawaii.
43	Japanese female from Oahu. Los Angeles County. Housewife. Married to Hawaii-born Japanese. Moved to Mainland in 1965 for "employment, adventure, and to be with friends." Prefers Hawaii.
44	Part-Hawaiian male from Oahu. Washington. Policeman. Married to Mainland-born Haole. Moved to Mainland immediately after high school to attend college. Prefers Hawaii and Mainland equally.

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