SOCIAL PROCESS
IN HAWAII

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ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
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COMMUNITIES, OLD AND NEW

COMMUNITY TYPES IN HAWAII
LANAI . LANAI
A CULTURE LOST - A CULTURE GAINED
KOAHA, A RURAL MICROCOMMUNITY
STATEHOOD AND THE NATIVE HAWAIAN
HOMESTEADER
POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS
OF HONOLULU'S RACIAL GROUPS, 1957
ON FACING EVICTION FROM PUBLIC HOUSING
KALAHEO VILLAGE, A NEW COMMUNITY
HAWE'S PUERTO RICANS: STEREOTYPE AND
REALITY
THE IMPACT OF CHRONIC ILLNESS ON THE COMMUNITY:
HAWAII AND THE NATION
THE SURFING COMMUNITY: CONTRASTING VALUES BETWEEN
THE LOCAL AND CALIFORNIA SURFERS IN HAWAII

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FOREWORD

The final achievement of Statehood for Hawaii, unquestionably the high point of the year 1959 for the people of these islands, can best be commemorated by Social Process in an edition centering around the theme of "Community, Old and New." The vigor and dynamism of the Fiftieth State is clearly reflected in the emergence of many new communities and in the changes within older communities. Although Hawaii is probably known most widely throughout the world as a meeting place of racially and culturally diverse people, it is no less interesting and perhaps no less significant as an area of many and varied community types. It is to the elaboration of this theme that the Twenty-Third Edition of Social Process in Hawaii is dedicated.

The first article, "Community Types in Hawaii," by Dr. Andrew W. Lind, provides a frame of reference for the discussions of specific communities in the articles which follow. This paper draws upon Dr. Lind's extensive experience in Hawaii as a research sociologist.

The following two articles focus attention upon one of Hawaii's most distinctive and interesting community types, the plantation. "Lama'i: A Culture Lost . A Culture Gained," by Dr. Harold Ray Tutto, psychologist and presently pastor of Lualualei Congregational Church, describes historically the changes on this interesting island from an ancient self-contained Hawaiian settlement to the modern pineapple plantation of today. In the third article, "Kohala: A Rural Metropolis," Dr. Frank L. Talalas, plantation doctor for the Kohala Sugar Company and a newcomer to the islands, gives his thoughtful impressions of a relatively isolated plantation community on the Big Island. A recent study by Edward Norbeck of a pineapple community on the Island of Molokai is also reviewed in this issue.

The historical setting and current problems of another type of rural community are set forth by Mr. Abraham Pimenta, Executive Director of the Hawaii Homesteader Commission, in his article "Statehood and the Native Hawaiian Homesteader."

The remaining articles in this issue deal directly or indirectly with the most rapidly developing community type in Hawaii, the city. "Population and Housing Characteristics of Honolulu's Racial Groups, 1957" by Robert G. Schmitt, Territorial Planning Officer, is a survey of the household composition and housing accommodations of Honolulu residents. The problems of residents in a public housing community is the focus of the student research project entitled "On Facing Eviction From Public Housing" by Robert Doyt, Leslie Murakawa and Joes Yabrouchi, under the guidance of Dr. Clarence Glick. "Kakaako Village: A New Community" by Mrs. Emma Simenc, a school teacher and wife of a minister, is the description of a suburban community in the rapidly developing Westward Oahu.

Some of the problems of a little known ethnic community in Honolulu are summarized in an article by Dr. Robert W. O'Brien, Professor of Sociology at Whittier College and a visiting Professor at the University in the summer of 1958, "Hawaii's Puerto Ricans: Stereotype and Reality," is part of a more comprehensive study of the Puerto Ricans in the United States by the same author. The problems of another type of community whose numbers are heavily concentrated in the city, provide the focus for Dr. Bernard L. Horvitz's "The Impact of Chronic Illness on the Community: Hawaii and the Nation." Dr. Horvitz brings to bear on this
COMMUNITY TYPES IN HAWAII

Andrew W. Lind

Part of the fascination as well as the frustration of Hawaii as a laboratory for the social scientist is a consequence of the striking diversity of community types to be found within the 6400 square miles of these islands. There are few, if any, other regions of the world which present within so limited a land area such striking contrasts in the forms of the communities which have been produced. Less than two centuries ago, Hawaii emerged from a stone-age type of culture and there are still vestiges of that culture which influence the tempo and temper of life in some of our more remote villages. On the other hand, during the past one hundred years, Hawaii has become so thoroughly integrated within the modern world economy that its major city, Honolulu, appears to many observers like just another, although smaller, American city and not essentially different from San Francisco, Seattle, or New York.

For those who wish to penetrate beneath the external appearances, and particularly for those concerned with an effective relationship to our local world, it becomes important to understand both the diversity as well as the unity of the island community. As one views the major economic trends operating within these islands during the past 100 years, certainly the dominant impression is that of a shift from a series of isolated, subsistence communities scattered chiefly along the coasts of the several islands to a standardized Western type of community, varying only in size and minor degree from one end of the island chain to the other. Unquestionably the one clear development throughout the area since the time of the early sandalwood traders has been in the direction of a community pattern dominated by commerce and trade. It is equally apparent, however, that various routes have been followed and consequently numerous variations on a major theme have resulted.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the more important types of communities which have emerged and to outline some of the significant characteristics of each. For purposes of preliminary analysis, it may be useful to conceive of these community types within a continuum from the least thoroughly Westernized to the one which has been most completely integrated within the emerging world community of trade and commerce. Five principal types of communities, with numerous sub-types, suggest themselves for consideration in this review—the included subsistence type, the independent farming community, the plantation, the military post, the urban community, of which there are perhaps the most numerous variations. No single criterion, such as population size or density, sex, age, or ethnic characteristics within the population, source of livelihood, or geographical location, affords an adequate index of the community type, although certain combinations of these factors can be readily recognized in each.

HAWAIIAN SUBSISTENCE COMMUNITIES

Significant survivals of the old Hawaiian community pattern are still to be found, especially in the areas least suitable for modern agriculture or commerce. Scattered over all the major islands are small settlements.

1Andrew W. Lind, An Island Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), Ch. I, XIII.
made up predominantly of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians who are engaged in a type of life which approximates the traditional indigenous order most nearly of any now prevailing in the islands. Many of these communities are too small to be even regarded as villages in the deceptively census enumeration. The few which were listed in the census in 1930 had populations usually of less than one hundred each, of which three were in South Kona on the Island of Hawaii, Hōnaunau with only twenty residents, Milolii with ninety-five, and Hānalei with 103. Kalapana, with sixty inhabitants, in the Puna district on the Big Island, was also listed, as were Waipio also on Hawaii with ninety-five, Puako on Kohala with forty-two, and Honaunau in the Hamo district of Hamo, the eastern portion of the Island of Molokai, the greater part of the Hamo district on the Island of Maui, and the outlying portions of North and South Kona on Hawaii, are too rocky and barren to attract Western industry or agriculture, and the sparsely scattered settlements have therefore continued to consist chiefly of native Hawaiians, deriving their livelihood largely as their ancestors did many generations ago—from the sea and the soil immediately at hand.

Scattered also through the more densely populated region of the islands, including Kauai and Maui, are small, isolated areas as yet unthought for commercial purposes, in which the residents are primarily of Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian ancestry following a modified type of subsistence economy. These communities are commonly so small and inopportunistic as to be almost completely lost within the more impressive urban or plantation districts of which they form a part. They range in character from a tiny village, such as Anahola on Kauai, described in an earlier issue of this journal, to Hana, nestled in an obscure rain-valley within the city of Honolulu. The more closely situated these communities are to cities or towns, the greater is the likelihood of a larger share of the economic livelihood of the residents coming from industrial or commercial pursuits, although it is by no means certain that the survival of cultural practices of the old Hawaiian order is in inverse ratio to the proximity to the urban centers. The chaste proximity of other cultural systems appears frequently merely to drive the Hawaiian practices underground or to give them distorted and disfigured forms.

The five census tracts in 1930 reporting a population of more than 80 per cent of Hawaiian ancestry were all located in the more remote portions of Kona on the Island of Hawaii, Hāna on Maui, and the entire island of Nihoa, all showed significant differences from the average for the Territory in a number of important respects. The number of persons per household, for example, was significantly higher in four of the five subdivisions, reaching a peak of 4.0 persons per household on the island of Nihoa and of 5.3 in the Hāna district. This suggests a high survival of communal living patterns in these remote areas. As one would expect, the proportion of inland-born persons is extraordinarily high—well over 90 per cent—in all five of these census tracts, whereas high birth rates, as judged by the proportion of children under the age of five per

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4Verne M. Keesing, Homesteading in Molokai, (Honolulu, 1936) pp. 11.
Somewhat more than 40 per cent of the Hawaiian householders in 1937 were concentrated on Oahu, at Papahana-Kamehameha in Honolulu proper, at Wai'anae, and at Kailua in rural Oahu. The next largest group of 477 householders was on Maui, consisting of 2,282 persons, or slightly more than a quarter of the total number, were established on the Big Island, at Kealakekua in the growing of sugar cane, macadamia nuts, taro, bananas, papaya, coffee, and vegetables, and at Waimanalo, primarily in livestock production. Most of the remaining 15 per cent of the household population were residents of the "Loinally Kauai.", Molokai, where much of the household-land has been contracted for the cultivation of pineapples, which guarantees each household a minimum income of $70.00 per month, in addition to taxes. A small household housing development has occurred in the Alewa district of Kauai.

The lack of separate census tracts for household areas prevents the making of statistical comparisons with the isolated subgroups communities mentioned earlier. Data provided in the reports of the Hawaiian Home Commission indicate, however, that the size of the households on the homesteads is significantly higher than in the islands as a whole. In 1937 the number of persons per household was 6.13 among the householders as compared with 4.13 among the entire population of the islands in 1930.

Contrary to usual experience, the average size of the household was significantly lower (6.8) in the most highly urbanized island, Oahu, than in either Hawaii or Molokai (6.8), strongly suggesting the persistence of the native practice of shifting about from one household to another, with a major gravitation toward the more stimulating urban areas. Much the same evidence is found in a student report of Kauai, a homestead community on the outskirts of the city of Lihue, where the median number of persons in the households was reported as 4.2 and of adults alone in the households, as 2.6. It was likewise significant that in seventy-five of the eighty-eight households examined in this study, Hawaii was the language usually spoken when the family was alone.

INDEPENDENT FARMING COMMUNITIES

Although the great majority of the immigrants to Hawaii were introduced to the islands as workers on the plantations, the principal motivation for many of them to remain beyond the temporary employment contract and to find the work of securing possession of land and acquire a peasant way of life. Having been the foundation of all wealth in the world, the concept of ownership of land in the scale of values in the new setting, and 59, they should have sought to establish communities as nearly comparable as possible with those they had left behind in their homeland.

Small-scale, diversified farming in Hawaii is, of course, as old as human settlement in these islands but the modern independent farm community is a product of the past five decades, Japanese influence, especially from China and Japan, and later on by those from Korea and the Philippines, sought out and the available farmland, and thereby appropriated by the plantations, and began to establish little peasant communities of their own.

Some of those established in the eighties and nineties of the last century, especially by the Chinese immigrants, were very much like the plantation communities, which they had recently left, except that the managers of the new communities were of their own ethnic group rather than Caucasians. Thus the rice-growing communities of Chinese on Oahu and Kauai, many of the same characteristics as the sugar plantations which the workers had recently left, although greater opportunity for the perpetuation of old-country traditions was provided in the one-crop communities directed by members of their ethnic group.

It was especially in the diversified farming communities which began to appear during the present century that some close approximation to peasant controls could most readily develop. Even though a single crop, such as rice, coffee, bananas, papaya, or macadamia nuts were cultivated, and even though it were on leased land, similar to the individual cultivators had some degree of independence of action, there was the basis of such a specialized "peasant" community. Thus a considerable number of such farming communities have emerged, scattered over the four major islands and associated with such names as Kona, Kamehameha, and Volcano-Glimsho of the Big Island, Kula and Kaumano on Maui, Kaukau, Kula, Waialua, and Pearl Harbor on Oahu, and Wailua and Kahului on Maui.

The overwhelming majority of the small farmers in Hawaii during the past fifty years have been of Japanese ancestry and the small farming communities have therefore reflected closely the culture of Japan, as that has been modified within the Hawaiian setting. Thus, in the reports of the past few decades' census of agriculture in Hawaii, the Japanese have always constituted more than 50 per cent of the farm operators, even though that term also includes the operators of cattle ranches, plantations, and subsistence farms. In 1909, for example, there were 3,759 "farms" reported to the Census, 3,829 or 68.8 per cent of which were operated by Japanese. This fact was evidenced by the continued reliance on the Japanese labor force in agriculture, and of the modularity valued farms, whose products were worth between $2,500 and $10,000 in 1949, the Japanese operators made up more than 80 per cent.

The external appearance of the independent farm community in Hawaii might lead one to question whether there really was any community at all. The homes are frequently widely separated and sometimes, as in Kona, enclosed by trees which shut off any view of one's neighbors. Physical as well as social isolation is therefore a central fact of these communities, with which the overpopulation of the various mass media can not entirely eliminate. The sense of being shut off from the world and all the stimulation it has to offer is unquestionably a major source of the heavy suicide rate of young people from these areas to the cities and towns as their further education affords them knowledge of "what they are missing." On the other hand, the promise of freedom from external constraints, whether of bosses on plantations, the gentry of neighbors, or even of immediate family responsibilities, has been chiefly responsible for the influx of residents to these communities and a certain disposition to maintain the isolation of the independent farming areas.

One of the high proportions of leased or rented land in the regions devoted to small-scale farming in Hawaii, there is a high proportion of old and disintegrated homes, but data are unfortunately not yet available for this type of community, repeated observations confirm the impression of a varying housing condition, with interior decoration with running water—as compared with most other types of communities. It is significant that the seven census tracts reporting the lowest median rentable. In 1936, less than $15 per month. would be all predominantly of the small farming or subsistence variety. There was therefore a tendency for such tracts to report high proportions of their homes with "no private bath or no running water."
The following account of field observations in Kona in the middle thirties reflects in exaggerated measure the mental processes which have existed in the past in such areas and which still persist to a limited extent.

Twenty-five homes were visited during the course of the day. All of these homes have dirt floors for at least part of the house and raised wood floors for the remainder. Because of the steep slope of the land, most of them are two stories in height, the bottom portion being used for cooking and the upper for sleeping, sewing, and general social purposes. All but one of the houses follow the Oriental style of sleeping on the floor. There is a minimum of furniture—commonly a few chairs and a table, and such kitchen equipment as a small cabinet for serving food and a homemade stove. In only one of the homes was a bed to be seen. The wall decorations consist commonly of a lithograph copy of the Mikado, a store calendar, and sometimes a photograph of some relatives. The walls are usually unpapered and of rough lumber. Open eaves were observed in all but two homes, the smoke being allowed to find its way through the numerous cracks and holes in the walls. Sears Roebuck catalogues were seen in one or two homes and a few books in about half of the homes. Screens on doors and windows were noticeably absent.5

It was observed in the same report, however, that the meager and almost primitive level of housing and physical comfort was more than overshadowed, in the minds of the peasant immigrants, by the sense of freedom and independence of action afforded in the farming community.

In Kona there was no sharp-tongued bass to tell them to "hurry up" when they were tired or sick, no plantation whistle to call them to labor in the cold gray dawns, no contract to hold them to uninterrupted labor when the impulse came to go fishing or when tradition dictated rest.6

In spite of certain external evidences of the absence of community solidarity or pride in the independent farming communities, a more careful probing indicates strong internal ties. The existence of neighborhood mutual-aid groups, known familiarly among the Japanese as "kumiai" or "kumi," at least in the deep-seated attachments which may develop under conditions strongly suggestive of a desire for isolation. These organizations combine all the homes of a given locality and consist of the heads or representatives of anywhere from three to forty households. Even during the war, when any formal organization among the first-generation Japanese was severely frowned upon by both military and civilian authorities, the basic structure of the kumiai still remained, providing for the many crises in the life of the individual or family where the assistance of neighbors and friends is so essential. On the occasion of births, deaths, or marriages, or whenever the neighborhood suffers some problem requiring common action, the kumiai takes command of the situation. With the increasing dominance of the urban environment and the belief of Japanese first-generation immigrants, these rural organizations lose something of their former influence, but they still remain as important parts of the social scene.6

The family, as the most permanent and pervasive institution in peasant society, continues to be in the independent farming communities of Hawaii the most effective agency for preserving and perpetuating old country traditions and values. It is through the medium of the family that children and youth must naturally absorb the conceptions of proper conduct existing in the community.

Father is the Supreme Court in which all final decisions are rendered. He can expel any member of his family. In the case of my sister who clipped with her boy-friend, Father expelled her from my family by effacing her name from the family register in Japan. This expulsion is the worst shame that can be imposed on anyone in our family. Father is likened to God. Both Mother and Father receive the utmost respect from us children, but, of course, Mother is subject to Father. Whatever they say cannot be refused by us children, and yet, if you visit our family, you will find much democracy prevailing.—Observation of Kona Student

Particularly in the farming communities consisting exclusively of a single ethnic group, such as the Japanese or Filipino, the expectations of the immigrant generation are transmitted with a fair degree of ease and effectiveness to the younger generation. Wherever the common expression, "What will people say?" and the fear of gossip prevail so widely, conformity to community standards is no serious problem. What gives to the family in the small farming area, as contrasted with the plantation or the city, its special significance as a medium of community control is, of course, the close correspondence between the family and the community definitions of proper conduct, and it is only as new and competing conceptions are introduced through other ethnic groups or the mass media, that problems of juvenile and adult delinquency begin to emerge.

Perhaps the most obviously integrating factor about the family in the independent farming community is its functioning as an economic unit. Young and old and male and female work together in the various activities of the farm, and in so doing, they become more deeply enmeshed in the family and community definitions of conduct.

THE RANCHING COMMUNITY

The cattle ranch is best conceived sociologically as intermediate between the plantation and the small farm. In the sense that it affords greater freedom of movement and democracy in social relationships than on plantation and less than on the small farm, the ranch stands with the plantation in being essentially a large landed estate which employs workers for the performance of tasks which the owner or his family cannot do alone. The work is "hard" and "dangerous," and the ranch hands, at least during the early history of the plantation, its being fewer in number than present workers, greater occupational skill, and of associating with their bosses and employers on more informal and democratic basis.

It is true that a large proportion of the four hundred cattle ranches in Hawaii are operated as family enterprises. According to a 1940 survey by the Agricultural Extension Service, 80 per cent of the cattle ranches were family-operated with less than two full-time hired hands each, but more than 50 per cent of the cattle were raised on the remaining 14 per
cost of the ranches. A sample study in the same survey indicated that the 'majority of ranchers were of Caucasian ancestry,' the large ranches being directed by Haoles and the smaller family-sized ranches by Portuguese, while nearly one-fourth of the operators were Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiians, and only one-seventh were of Oriental ancestry.

The greatest number of cattle ranches and the largest ranching communities are located on the islands of Hawaii, although sizable communities are also found on all the other major islands. Niihau is the only island devoted entirely to ranching. Some of the more extensive ranching operations are conducted as adjuncts of sugar or pineapple plantations, in which case the ranching community becomes essentially a plantation community.

A study of Hawaii's largest cattle ranch, owned by a Part-Hawaiian but managed by a Haole, revealed an enterprise involving somewhat less than two hundred employees, the majority of the cowboys being Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, along with a few Portuguese and Japanese. Housing for the employees and their families is provided by the ranch, with single men living in barracks-type facilities, comparable to those on the plantations. Ranch patronage, not essentially different from that of the plantations of earlier days, appears in the form of a ranch store, with very low prices on milk and meat for ranch employees, a community hall for social affairs, gifts at Christmas time, and loans on other special occasions. The absence of unions or of active concern in politics are perhaps a natural consequence.

A 1938 study by the Agricultural Extension Service indicates that the patronage of ranch life has continued pretty generally to the present day, with somewhat lower base pay than on the plantations. The differences between ranch and plantation rates are partially covered by perquisites, such as housing, utilities, lower prices at the ranch store on staples, such as rice, poi, milk, and meat, pensions, medical and dental assistance. Except for the few ranches which are operated by plantations, the ranching communities are not influenced to any marked degree by the unions.

THE PLANTATION COMMUNITY

The numerous sugar and pineapple plantations, which for some sixty years afforded the bulk of Hawaii's economic support, consist not only of broad fields of growing crops and the factories and offices but also of the extensive areas for the homes of the workers and of the institutions that go to make up the plantation communities. Each of the twenty-seven sugar plantations and the nine pineapple companies of Hawaii has one or more residential communities and most of them have several, ranging in size from a dozen or fifteen persons to several thousand persons. Somewhat more than half of the 49 cities, towns, and villages listed in the 1950 census of population were either wholly or largely plantation communities. The islands of Lanai, Molokai, Kauai, and Maui, in that order, reported

heaviest concentration of their population in plantation communities, with Hawaii, Oahu, and Niihau, in order, showing the least.

An annual census on the sugar plantations of the islands indicates that in July, 1957, the 16,000 employees, together with dependents, made up communities numbering nearly 50,000 persons, or about one-tenth of the total civilian population. On the island of Kauai, the sugar workers and dependents made up 25.2 per cent of the total population, on the island of Maui, the ratio was 31.7 per cent, on Hawaii it was 20 per cent, and on Oahu it was merely 5.3 per cent.

A basic requirement of the plantation for its functioning in the production of any agricultural crop is a steady supply of dependable workers, and to meet that requirement the plantations of Hawaii have expended many millions of dollars over the past one hundred years. Not only was it necessary to import workers from foreign lands, but it was also necessary at the outset to house, clothe, and feed them, as well as provide for most of their physical and spiritual needs. Thus plantation communities, including housing for single persons and families, stores, recreational centers, and churches and temples, began to appear almost as soon as the fields for the growing of the crops.

Having invested such large sums of money in recruiting and providing for their labor, the planters naturally wished to conserve their investment. This was accomplished in part by selecting their workers from a number of sharply contrasted areas, so as to prevent any one group from exercising undue control over the supply. As a further means of conserving their investment in labor, the planters found it expedient to create separate "camps" for the different racial groups, with corresponding facilities appropriate to each. Thus, the Japanese camp might be built with separate family units, rather than dormitory barracks-type of accommodations which were more commonly provided for the single men in the Chinese or Filipino camps. Similarly, a gym (not built), a dance hall, a Buddhist Temple, and a language school might be built in a Japanese camp in response to the cultural expectations of the immigrant laborers, whereas none of these particular facilities would be desired in a Filipino or Puerto Rican camp.

The need for separate racial camps obviously diminishes as the immigrant workers become better accommodated in the new community, although the tendency to remain in the familiar and friendly surroundings continues long after the initial requirements have been met. In Japan, the Japanese camps still remain on most of the sugar and pineapple plantations, even though the immigration of Japanese laborers ceased more than fifty years ago, and of picture brides, nearly thirty-five years ago.

P I A plantation town which is divided into three major sections, called "camps" by the people living in them. Approximately three hundred families make up this community, with the Japanese constituting the majority. Within the camp, houses-

1Ferry Philipp, Diversified Agriculture of Hawaii (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1953), pp. 139.

holds are distributed geographically according to ethnic groups. The Puerto Rican reside in the upper part of A Camp and the Filipino live in the lower part of the camp, along with a few part-Hawaiians, who are chiefly employed as taxi drivers and firemen. The upper part of A Camp is made up mostly of Japanese families, with the exception of one Portuguese family and two part-Hawaiian families. The postoffice, two service stations, the plantation office, one tavern, a billiard parlor, a comic center, a barber shop, and two grocery stores—all operated by Japanese, except for the billiard parlor which is run by a Filipino—are located in this section of the community.

Two Japanese women take in the laundry of the bachelor Filippinos and a few women work as maids for the Hotel and baby-sit for them. On one side of the middle of B camp is the Filipino boarding house and on the other side is the Hudson residential district. The lower part of the camp is made up of Japanese on one side and a few Filipinos on the other.—Student report, 1929.

This same report stresses the tendency of the various ethnic groups, except for “the younger school children,” to identify among themselves with the result that their conduct is at least somewhat influenced by the moral standards of the in-group.

The Portuguese seem to go places—plains, camping, and merely visiting—with their relatives. The Natives seem to stay within their economic class and to invite persons of their own clique to their parties. The Filipinos and Japanese do the same.... In each group the people gossip about their own set, whatever happens out of the ordinary, such as women who die or serve women or men who leave their wives at home and go out with other women, about a woman with nine children by a man she never married, about a fight overheard at a neighbor’s house.—Student report, 1929.

As the plantation communities become increasingly urbanized, through the spread of Western education, the mass media, and labor unions, all of which have occurred very rapidly during the past thirty years, racial segregation is less necessary for part of the camp, along with a few part-Hawaiians, who are chiefly employed as taxi drivers and firemen. The upper part of A Camp is made up mostly of Japanese families, with the exception of one Portuguese family and two part-Hawaiian families. The postoffice, two service stations, the plantation office, one tavern, a billiard parlor, a comic center, a barber shop, and two grocery stores—all operated by Japanese, except for the billiard parlor which is run by a Filipino—are located in this section of the community.

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In much the same way, a strong resistance to plantation communities to education beyond the elementary grades for the children of workers, as likely to develop occupational aspirations beyond that of plantation labor, was once widespread, but in the last twenty years it has largely, if not entirely disappeared. The earlier concern of the plantations to maintain a large and steady reserve of unskilled workers was diminished with the appearance of a “home-grown” labor force and the increasing pressure to invest money in technological improvements and machinery rather than in labor. Early in the thirties there were public high schools in only three plantation communities, of which one was a technical school. During the past thirty years, however, there has been a rapid expansion of public high schools into all the plantation communities large enough to provide the necessary students and that has occurred with the increasing support of the plantation management.

The 1930 census reports still reflects a lower median number of years of school completed by persons 25 years of age and older in plantation communities than in the urban communities, although higher than in the independent farming, ranching, or Hawaiian existence communities. Similar to these lower rates in educational achievement still remain in the plantation communities, they are the survivors of an earlier era and not the reflection of present dispositions and attitudes. With the steady mechanism of plantation tasks and the increasing use of scientific methods of crop cultivation and processing, it is likely that the practice of some plantations of providing college and university scholarships may be extended even more widely.

Perhaps the most effective index of the notable changes in the plantation communities in recent years, incorporating the three just mentioned, is the alteration in their external structure and appearance, summarized in the term “crazialization.” Partly as a consequence of the technological developments in transportation—the use of trucks and tourbushenders in place of hand hauling, mules, or steam—and partly as a result of basic changes in the total economy, the formerly walled plantation camps have greatly diminished within the past generation. Instead, it is possible to effect greater economy for management and satisfaction for the workers by concentrating the isolated camps into a single large community, but as so frequently happens, these changes in the location of the homes of people have brought many unexpected social transformations in their wake. Some of these are depicted in the following account of the changes observed by a former resident of a plantation community who returned after an absence of more than ten years.

In the old days, clustered around the mill were the plantation office, store, church, and homes of the Hale family as we called it, on the opposite side, although it really was not a cluster because the well-kept paved roads and yards. The eight camps in close proximity to the mill were designated as Mill Camps 13, 7, etc., but it was clear that each was a separate racial camp.

We drove through the better of the two locations where lots are now available to the workers. It is adjacent to the “Hale Camp” and it is difficult to tell where one ends and the other begins. Workers of all ethnic groups and from all the different camps have moved here. The homes are modern with wellkept yards. This area looks like any new suburban community.
Ten years ago, there was often discontent among the ambitious younger people, who felt there was no future in the plantation.

Today, the young people still seek jobs outside the plantation, but primarily because of the scarcity in the number and variety of jobs available for new workers. Men skilled in jobs offered on the plantation would probably prefer to stay because of improved working conditions, better pay, liberal medical benefits, and the liberal housing provisions to which the workers are entitled. Obviously, many influences have brought about this elevation of the worker, with the union playing a major part.

The old mill camp had greatly changed too. The dusty roads were still there, but the camp yard (communal bathhouse) was gone. With its removal, a kind of institution has gone because it was the place for the exchange of community gossip, especially among the women. The girls would also meet at designated times at the "Taku" in the same way as they would go to a movie matinee off to a ball game. The private "out- house" showers were also gone, replaced by 1950-21 and replaced by showers and toilets in the houses. Many of the old houses have been torn down and the camp seems deserted. I missed all the activity and noise of children playing or men walking to the farm after work.—Student report, 1939.

Most notably on the island of Oahu, but increasingly on Maui and more slowly on Kauai and Hawaii, plantation villages and hamlets are giving place to urban centers, with all their benefits as well as their vice.10

THE MILITARY POST

Hawaii's mounting significance as a major military bastion in the Pacific has added a new dimension to the community life of the islands. Although Pearl Harbor has been an important consideration in American interest in Hawaii, at least since 1876, it was not until after Annexation that a separate military community began to emerge. Several military establishments, including Schofield Barracks, Pearl Harbor Naval Station, Fort Shafter and Fort Armstrong—all on Oahu—had appeared before World War I, but it was after 1920 that the major military potential was developed. The census of 1920 revealed the early expansion of military installations in Hawaii, but by 1930 this figure had increased to 15,962. No definite figures were reported in the censuses of 1920 and 1930, but by some calculations from the published returns, a figure in the vicinity of 29,000 persons in the armed services is reached for 1940 and over 29,200 for 1950.

The military personnel now numbering in the vicinity of 60,000, with an additional 21,000 civilian defense workers, are almost wholly concentrated on the island of Oahu. Of the 54 census tracts in Oahu in 1940, eleven in the Pearl Harbor, Hickam Field, Schofield, and Kaneohe areas reported heavy concentrations of personnel from the various armed services—Army, Navy, air force, marines, and Coast Guard—over a period since 1940. There have been several significant expansions, such as 14.2 per cent of the land area on Oahu is now devoted to defense purposes, and the expenditures of the armed forces, amounting to $287,000,000 in 1959 now constitute the largest source of income to the islands.11

The larger defense establishments constitute self-sufficient communities, where every possible need and interest of the residents, with one or two possible exceptions, are anticipated by the federal government. Restaurants, shopping centers, community centers, stores, schools, hospitals, theaters, recreation centers, churches, libraries, and social clubs—these are among the numerous institutions and services which are commonly provided on the larger military posts and which relieve the residents from the necessity of ever leaving the post.

Just think of the post as a town squeezed together and dropped here to fit the area. The only difference is that you get things cheaper here. This is a town in itself, with a chapel which holds Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish services. Close-by is a library and a day-care center. The key to this whole things is the I.D. Card. Without this you are helpless. This is your passport. Even on the outside, when buying things I find myself subconsciously reaching for my I.D.—Report of student observer, 1959.

The reference to the military post as a sort of foreign community, requiring a special passport, has a certain appropriateness in emphasizing the complete independence of the armed forces from the civilian community. Quite inevitably social distances develop, if they do not already exist, to parallel the independence of action between the two communities. Thus the civilian community becomes an "outside" group which does not fully understand or appreciate the "inside," and where life is less congenial and comfortable. The major exception is the large group of unmarried males, for whom the civilian women and girls provide virtually the only source of feminine companionship, but this is a type of association which is frequently fraught with danger.

The military post affects a much more regimented and orderly community than any of the other community types—much more so even than the early plantation community, to which the term of "military agriculture" has sometimes been applied. Rank and position within the military hierarchy determine where one lives and what one does with his leisure time, not to mention his professional activities. These matters are explicitly defined for the individual through military regulations and tradition.

The apartments or housing units are all painted pale green and are identical in appearance, except for the identifying numbers on the outside. The cleanliness and orderliness of the grounds also improve the "outside," but that's the army for you. They have the drudgery clean the public areas and in the housing area, we have explicit rules and regulations to follow regarding the trimming of lawns and even during what hours plants may be watered. So many rules and regulations to be remembered and followed gives one a "hammered in" feeling. Failure to follow directions as set out in detail is a book of regulations or in the Daily Bulletin may result in evictions.—Report of student observer, 1959.

10For an exhaustive and up-to-date account of a pineapple plantation community, see Edward Norbeck's Pineapple Town: Hawaii (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959).

Rigid stratification in housing, comparable to the earlier racial and occupational differentiation of residence on the plantations, stands out most prominently on the military post, especially as between the commissioned officers, according to rank, and the non-commissioned officers or privates. These distinctions inevitably carry over into other areas of life, as well.

The Officers' Club is just a stone's throw away from the homes of the generals, but when a general wants to go there, he always calls for his car. I guess it isn't considered dignified for a general to be caught walking. —Report of student observer, 1939.

The transitory and impermanence of the population on an American military post is another striking characteristic, which inevitably colors markedly numerous other aspects of life. The constant transfer in and out of the personnel on the post militates against the establishment of deeply rooted neighborhood attachments. By the time one really gets to know his neighbors they are likely to be transferred elsewhere and one has to go through the same process with the new neighbors. The tendency, therefore, is to maintain neighborhood relationships on a rather casual, "touch and go" basis, so as to avoid the painful breaking of deeply rooted bonds of affection. Similarly, institutional ties tend to be of a superficial and partially committed nature. This, of course, is a characteristic of modern urban life in general.

THE URBAN COMMUNITY

It was suggested earlier in this article that the one major theme in the evolution of the various community types in Hawaii has been the expansion of a standardized Western type of community in which trade and commerce constitute the organizing basis of life. It could be argued that Hawaii has become overwhelmingly an urban area in which all other types of communities are actually being supplanted by towns and cities. Judging by the simple criteria of statistical growth, this would certainly appear to be the case. Honolulu, for example, as the dominant city of the region since early in the last century, had grown in population from 30,000, or 30 per cent of the total population of the region in 1890, to 248,000 in 1900, with an additional 11,000 in its suburb in the north-western part of the island, representing roughly 12 per cent of the entire population of the Territory. Conservative estimates place the population of Honolulu city, excluding the suburban suburbs, at 1,359,421,000 or 39.8 per cent of the entire civilian population of the new state.

Some competent observers of the Hawaiian social scene insist that the entire island of Oahu has become an urban area, as was partially implied by its classification as a Standard Metropolitan Area in 1930 by the U.S. Census. At that time, Oahu, representing less than one tenth of the entire land area of all the islands, provided the plane of residence for 70.4 per cent of the population, and by 1938 it was estimated that 88 per cent of all the people of the state were residents of Oahu. The marked reduction after 1940 in the number of sugar plantations on the island from seven to four and the conversion of the vacated land to residence, vegetable raising, dairying, or defense purposes is indicative of the rate of urbanization on the island.

Quite clearly, however, the influence of the city extends far beyond the area of highly urbanized population or even what is ordinarily thought to be the suburbs of the city. The significance of the city in organizing the life of the region is measured rather in the continuous movement of people and goods between the urban centers and the hinterlands, the economic, political, and intellectual contacts carried by cives over the surrounding countryside, and the parallel flow of ideas through the press, radio, television, and similar channels of communication. The elaboration of these processes with respect to Hawaii, and particularly to indicate what they involve in the lives of the people, is much too complex to undertake within the limits of this article. Some of the major consequences of urbanization, in terms of the undermining of traditional values and ways of life, the emphasizing of individual and personal satisfactions and ambitions in the exclusion of family or institutional goals and values, and the substitution of fashion for moral controls, have been briefly sketched in the discussion of other community types.

Increasingly urban life in Hawaii is assuming the character of life in any American city. With mounting air and surface contacts with Continental United States and the rest of the world, Honolulu inevitably acquires more and more of the standardized appearance and character of any large city around the world. This is a source of disappointment to some tourists who hope to find a South Sea Shangri-la, of which Honolulu appears only to provide the gentle climate and the back-drop of striking land and sea-scapes. Actually there are in and around Honolulu and the other cities of Hawaii a considerable variety of smaller communities—neighborhoods, "camps," and suburbs which have evolved from the peculiar circumstances of life and which merit separate consideration.

BOOK REVIEW


Paradoxically one of Hawaii's most colorful and influential institutions is least adequately described in the mounting literature on the islands by social scientists. No thoughtful observer of Hawaii's history of the past century or more could fail to recognize the central significance of the plantation in both the economic and the political life of the region. Yet, in the conventional wisdom of the Public School Background of literature on virtually every other aspect of Hawaiian experience, the death of even the most elementary descriptive accounts of plantation life is impressive. This is not so much of interest or appreciation for the important place of the plantation in the history of the islands on the part of the scholar, but is rather a consequence of the indifference or positive resistance to social research within the plantation itself.

The appearance, therefore, of a volume written by a former plantation official turned social scientist and described as "an account of a Hawaiian pineapple plantation and of the community in which its employees live" comes as a welcome addition to the scholarly Hawaiiana. If the 160-page book fails to provide all the detail with which the author's social science colleagues might desire, it is not a reflection upon his industry, insight, or skill, but rather an indication of the difficulties which he faced.

(Continued on page 29)
LANAI — LANAI
A CULTURE LOST — A CULTURE GAINED
Harold Saxe Taille

A Lanai'i Kauluba,
A Maa-maiki ka loa;
Un ome umea ka La'a,
O ka home o Polihua.

On Kauluba's cliffed Lanai',
At the Wreath-Mountain planting lots . . .
Delighted, the Fire-Goddess beams.
On flood of turtles from Egg-meat Cape.

This chant characterizes Lanai' as a part of ancient Hawai'i — its king, Kauluba, the burned mountain which gave the island its name; the Wreath Mountain (Maa-maiki) where Polihe, the fire-goddess, came to plant liau, and the Egg-meat Cape (Polihua) which provided her with turtles for feasting. Some of the old Hawaiian place names survive and the basic topography is the same, but there is little else in the present-day culture of the island of Lanai which would recall ancient times. Lanai has been transformed almost completely into a classic example of a community based on modern industrialized agriculture. It is unique among the islands of Hawai'i in that it is owned almost entirely by a corporation which has developed it for the sole purpose of cultivating a product for the world food market. Banzai as it sounds after one has heard it repeatedly, there is no more appropriate name for Lanai than "The Pineapple Island." The modern visitor to the island, who must come by plane, almost invariably exclaims on his first arrival, "I thought we were going to land on the pineapples!" The Lanai resident who meets him has a stock rejoinder, "You did!" Because underlying the whole life of Lanai there is one factor -- pineapple production.

Although little of ancient Lanai'i survives, one can get a sense of the complete transformation of life on this island only by knowing something of the life and culture which existed here before the coming of foreigners. This justifies a reminder of what is known of the history of this island.

THE OLD ORDER

Just as the process of Hawaiian settlement of Lanai began is not certain. Tradition suggests a period subsequent to the time when orderly government had been established at Lahaina for evil spirits abounded on Lanai', and Kauluba, unholy boy, was banished there, presumably to pay with his life at their hands for his depredations in Lahaina orchards. But his cleverness in deceiving the evil spirits and luring them to their destruction saved his own life, and his impounded signal fires announced that he had opened the island to safe habitation.

The spelling, Lanai', meaning hump, contrasted with "Laai'i", meaning porch, is based on Lorin Andrews, Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language, Honolulu, 1885. See also Kenneth Emory, The Island of Lanai, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 12, Honolulu, 1922.

Evidence observable in 1922, as carefully reported by Emory, supplemented by memories of old residents at that time, picture the island of earlier years as having clusters of houses on every side along the coast. In Maneakalui Gulch, and a substantial village on the toplands. The coast of observed foundations remaining in 1922 sharpens the picture: on the west coast 92 sites, on the north 66, besides 17 in Maneakalui Gulch on the east across from Lahaina 191, on the south 141, of which 86 were in the well-organized village of Kamului on the southwestern promontory and in the adjacent gulch. Central in Kamului was a large heiau and place of refuge protected on three sides by cliffs, with high, thick walls on the unprotected (north) side. A well in the gulch 256 feet from the sea was connected by paved trails with adjacent communities. Like the place of refuge the wall was protected by strict taboo (kao). The largest houses, often with attached gardens, occupied the higher, more desirable locations.

House beams and rafters, carefully mortised and trimmed, attest an advanced stage of skill in carpentry. Cleaver proof of such skill is found in canoe pieces notched and mortised for close fitting and perforated for lashing. Pieces from a variety of motifs show a consistently high degree of skill. Tools for making tapa, an er still of hard wood 68 inches long and tapy beaters of koa wood with various patterns of grooves, were found. Several adze factories are identified by chip piles and reepts. Other sites have mounds of small chips with no reepts, indicating finishing sites. Hammer stones have a well-defined pattern: finger holes and flattened end. Many of the tools found were made of stone foreign to Lanai'; reflecting inter-island commerce. The dominance of fishing as a source of livelihood is illustrated by an abundance of sites of a variety of sizes, all long-shaped and grooved. Some shell adzes have been found. Parts of stone walls of two large fish traps remain visible. According to tradition, besides fishing, the Hawaiians raised goats, pigs, sheep, turkeys and chickens, and cultivated bananas, watermelons, pumpkins and yams. Taro was raised primarily in Maneakalui Gulch. (While late residents report that yams were raised in greater abundance than taro, pea potatoes of several sizes weighing as much as eight pounds prove that taro was not scarce.) Some ornaments of shell and bone tools have been found.

Evidence attest two games that required equipment. A bowling ball remains on the western plains, with several broken rounded rocks near by. Flat stones with rows of holes varying in number from eight to twenty provided for a game akin to checkers called koaane. Koanne stones are most numerous in the vicinity of Kamului, which Kamahele frequented. Wrestling was popular. Hula dancing and singing were accompanied by such instruments as the ukulele. Laurens were established traditions.

Much of the information regarding the Hawaiian period of occupation is summarized here from Kenneth Emory, The Island of Lanai, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 12.
Petroglyphs are numerous and widely distributed on Lanai. Over 200 have been reported. They represented men, dogs, goats, boars, deer; occasionally other forms. Some are line carvings; some represent body areas. No religious significance appears to have been attached to any of these figures.

Of the eleven being sites located on Lanai, the largest is on the westemmost point where the prison village, Kaena-Makona, was located. Its dimensions are 55 feet by 152 feet. One is at the base of Manuolua Gulch; five others are located along the eastern shore; two are associated with the village of Kaulele; and two on the uplands. Outside the being at Kahe‘a, stones with perforations for strangling victims were found. Other stones similarly perforated have been observed.

While heiaus were the most conspicuous sacred shrines of the original Hawaiians, it may be that the numerous ko‘o‘o (fisherman’s altars) were no less meaningful to a population whose dominant occupation was fishing. Both types of shrines held great significance in the emotional life of the island population. For, nearly a century after the abolition of the labor system and the widespread adoption of Christianity, the financial failure of the sugar company was attributed to the desecration of heiaus, whose stones were used as roadbed for the railroad. In even later times fishermen on their way to the shore stopped to place another stone on a ko‘o‘o by the trail. And the death of a ka‘iwa, one of the last residents of Kaulele, was attributed to some unintended error in handling and hiding the stone image of the fish-god, Ku‘iki, in Kaulele Gulch.

In 1778, raids by King Kalakaua of Hawaii reduced the population by ruthless slaughter. Kamahana, then a lieutenant of the king, was an active leader in the raid, and became associated with the island. After subduing Maui and Oahu in 1796, Kamahana had a residence in Kanaha village where he spent a few days at a time on frequent occasions. A house was built for him there, fourth largest of the eleven on the island.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

During the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century the island of Lanai felt the impact of the tremendous changes which were occurring in all Hawaii. Culturally, politically, and economically, Lanai was buffeted by the forces which were sweeping this island kingdom into the modern Western world.

Lanai was not long isolated from the missionary influence. In 1839 Queen Regent Kauhulani visited Lana‘i and urged the people to "listen to the word of God." About 1835 the Reverend Dwight Baldwin and Reverend William Richards went from Lahaina to Lana‘i several times, preaching to congregations as large as 200. Three schools were operated in 1857 by teachers from Lahaina Seminary. Two Protestant churches were begun in 1861, one of which, near the present site of Lana‘i City, was finished in 1851. In 1862 five Protestant schools were serving an enrollment of 70.

During the nineteenth century the population of Lana‘i dropped sharply. In 1823 the Reverend William Ellis estimated the population to be "not exceeding 2,000." A census in 1832 listed 1,600. Five years later Baldwin reported the population as 1,200. In 1846 Urnes counted 616. Twenty years later the count was 378.

In 1854 the Mormons, who had carried on missionary work on other islands, decided on Lanai as a gathering place for their adherents and built up a community in the Palawai Basin which they called the "City of Joseph." W. M. Gibson, who arrived from Utah in 1861, assumed leadership of the group. Two years later Baldwin reported that Gibson was making little effort to win converts, but was developing agriculture and stock raising and apparently would soon have control of the island—an accurate forecast. In 1864, having refused to transfer to the Mormon Church the property he had acquired, he was excommunicated. When a site for a settlement was chosen on Oahu many of the Mormons left Lanai. This caused the population to fall from 440 in 1872 to 177 in 1879.

Upon the death of Gibson in 1888, his daughter’s husband, F. H. Hoyden, succeeded to the management of the property. He organized a sugar company and began bringing in laborers. From a population of 174 in 1890 the number rose to 619 in 1900. Some Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese were brought in; some Hawaiians came from other islands. In 1901 the sugar company failed, the population again decreased, partly from emigration, partly from a heavy fall of disease. At the time Charles Gay bought extensive properties for stock-raising in 1903 the count was 152. When Gay began to expand his experiment in pineapple culture, he brought in a substantial crew of seasonal pickers. The Baldwins bought

2With the coming of Americans the original spelling was simplified, omitting the apostrophe. Hereafter this simplified spelling will be used.
a considerable area in 1917 which they devoted to stock-raising, employing twenty ranch hands. H. G. Mene, ranch manager, a well-trained naturalist, introduced the Norfolk pine with its laminated needles in order to precipitate fog—a project which has materially increased the water supply of the island and given the village and mountains a unique beauty.

LANAI AS A PLANTATION COMMUNITY

In spite of the long time that people have lived on this island, it may be fairly said that the only local "history" that is relevant to the life of the people of Lanai today covers the very brief span of the past thirty-seven years. Modern Lanai began when James D. Duke negotiated the purchase of the island in 1922 and began the development of a pineapple plantation, now one of the two major plantations of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company.

Lanai is genuinely a "planned community." Ten years were spent developing the main features of the community as it exists today. Crews were employed for road building, for constructing a port at Kualalapa Bay, for bringing water from the windward side of the mountain, for the preparation and planting of fields, and, by the second year for harvesting. For these projects about 70 Koreans and 150 Japanese were brought in the first year, to work under the supervision of the Bida (Caucasian) management. In each of the following years about 50 Japanese were added to the force. The first Filipinos, about 200 in number, came in 1924. In 1926 nearly 100 Chinese arrived. With the expansion of the plantation, crews were correspondingly expanded. By 1930, according to the U. S. census report, the population included 63 Portuguese, 78 Chinese, 67 Puerto Ricans, 132 Koreans, 587 Filippinos, and 964 Japanese—besides 172 Hawaiians and 46 Caucasians; a total of 2,366. Males outnumbered females more than two to one, excluding the one thousand minor children, there were seven males to one female.

With the coming of the depression in the early '30's employment was curtailed and many workers left the island. In 1933 the personnel office of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company listed 177 employees, of whom 444 were Japanese, 197 Filipinos, and 128 others, including Korean, Portuguese, Chinese, Hawaiians and Nacelles. The reduction of the number of "others" at the onset of the depression by some 100 was accounted for chiefly by the decline in the numbers of Chinese, Portuguese, and Puerto Ricans.

By 1938 the population of the island had been substantially increased by employment of nearly 1,000 additional Filipinos, bringing the total employment of this racial group to 1,129. The number of Japanese had dropped to 296, while "others" had risen, largely by the return of Chinese and Puerto Ricans, to 396. The total number employed on the plantation in 1938 was 1,521. This was the peak of employment. The population of Lanai was approximately 2,750.

By 1943, after the start of World War II, total employment had declined to 1,359, Filipinos numbering 629, 360 fewer than in 1938; Japanese 265, a reduction of 140; and others dropping to 328. Five years later, 1948, saw an increase in each group: Filipinos 1,021, Japanese 293, and others 266.

Rapid mechanization of the plantation in the immediately preceding years is reflected in the reduction of number of those employed in 1953 to 768. Of the total number, 444 were Filipinos, 198 Japanese, and 99 "others." The impact of machinery on employment continued, but in less dramatic fashion, bringing total employment as of January, 1959, down to 543: 369 Filipinos, 91 Japanese, 28 Hawaiians, and 34 "others."

The majority of workers who came in the twenties were single men or men who had left families in their native countries. This was true, also, of the Filipinos who came in the thirties. Not until employment gave promise of permanence were families brought in substantial numbers. But young men and women grew up on the island, marriages increased. As young men and women grew up on the island, marriages increased.

The post-war trend and the current situation are fairly well indicated by figures for 1944 and 1959 for plantation employees. In 1944, there were 965 employed male Filipinos of whom 134 (14.0 per cent) were married. In 1959, 422 male Filipinos were employed of whom 139 (32.3 per cent) were married. Out of the 244 male Japanese employed in 1944, 147 (60.2 per cent) were married. In 1959, there were only 128 Japanese male workers of whom 119 or 79.7 per cent were married. Of the 190 "others" in 1944, 81 or 42.3 per cent were married, of the 59 "others" in 1959, 35 or 58.3 per cent were married.

Contrary to the experience of most other plantation areas in Hawaii, the island of Lanai increased in total population between 1930 and 1959—from 2,256 to 3,136. According to the plantation census, as well as at other sources of information, there has been a significant increase in population since 1950. The males, to a far greater degree than the females, and the Japanese to a greater degree than the Filipinos, have left the plantation since the war.
Table 1. Total Population of Lāna‘i, 1930, 1936, and 1939
by Sex and Major Ethnic Groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1936</th>
<th>1939</th>
<th>Percentage Changes 1930-1935</th>
<th>Percentage Changes 1935-1939</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,306</td>
<td>2,166</td>
<td>2,175</td>
<td>+ 30.1</td>
<td>+ 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1,585</td>
<td>1,430</td>
<td>1,424</td>
<td>+ 10.0</td>
<td>+ 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>721</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>+ 59.0</td>
<td>+ 20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>1,632</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>+ 84.0</td>
<td>- 22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>1,822</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>+ 8.8</td>
<td>- 58.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>+114.4</td>
<td>- 48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Others</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>- 2.8</td>
<td>- 28.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Plantation census may not include some Hawaiians, resident outside plantation.

A strikingly high proportion of the 1936 population—32.4 per cent, as compared with 15.2 per cent for the entire population of the islands—were classified as foreign born and consisted chiefly of Filipinos. Of the 668 adult males, listed by the plantation in 1959, only 376 were married, whereas 400 of the 448 females, enumerated at that time, were married.

Relative family size has been influenced in part by the fact that Filipino families arrived later than families of the other races represented. Since many children of older couples are now adult actual family size is larger than the computed means reveal. Family size is here computed on the basis of the total number of children at home and of married couples in 1936.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Couples</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children per Couple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With very few exceptions the residents of Lāna‘i live in Lāna‘i City, a pleasant village located on the western slope of the mountain and on the adjacent shelf-land. On the slope, streets are carefully engineered to the contour, providing access to seven brick and twenty-six frame houses—convenient and roomy. Most of these are occupied by plantation managerial and supervisory personnel. On the level laid out in the neighborhood there are streets run parallel for fifteen blocks, intersected by parallel cross streets. Here are the 417 frame dwellings, none with fewer than two bedrooms, all with indoor plumbing and electricity, in which most of the people of Lāna‘i are housed.

At the center of the village is a large park with play equipment for the children, a roller skating rink, and ample space for baseball games. At the east edge of the park is the Welfare Association gymnasium, which is the center for indoor sports and which serves as an auditorium for dramatic and musical programs and for public gatherings. A nine-hole golf course on the shelf above the village is extensively used.

Muscle Beach, a quarter-mile stretch of fine white sand, attracts large numbers of swimming and picnicking on holidays. Fishing is popular, though now it is a recreation rather than an industry. Hunting is also popular, with the mountain area of some fifty square miles for deer and goat, and a still larger area in which pheasants and smaller game birds abound.

The economic life of the island is, obviously, based on the plantation. Most of the gainfully employed persons work for the plantation and the others provide services to the plantation community. In terms of type of employment, the island population of 2,597 in 1939 was distributed as follows: plantation employees, 327; wives of these employees, 290; independent commercial operators and employees, 70; professional (including 33 school and nine church), 60; public officials, 6; wives of last three groups members, 33; children, 1,056; retired, 64; self-employed or unemployed, 66.

According to the 1930 Census, the median income of families and unrelated individuals was slightly less on the island of Lāna‘i than it was for the entire Territory—$2,076 as compared with $2,758, or a difference of less than 2 per cent. Somewhat more than half (54 per cent) of the employed families on Lāna‘i had incomes in excess of $5,000, as compared with 18.6 per cent in the entire Territory. The Lāna‘i plantation workers, however, have shared in the striking gains in income which have occurred throughout the islands during the past ten years. Under the 1930 contract with the L.W.U.C., the hourly wage for male workers grade I was $1.37; grade III $1.45; grade V, $1.65; and grade IX, $2.09. In 1936-1939 seasonal workers of grade I were employed for 24 six-day weeks. Year round workers, averaging more than 5 days a week, were employed in 1935 and continued 1935-1939 as follows: grades I and II, 261; grades III and IV, 72; grades V and VI, 102; grades IX, 24. For five months the work week is six days, for seven months five days. Thus some four hundred workers are in the $2,000 to $3,200 bracket; twenty-four in the $4,000 to $6,999 bracket.

RECENT CHANGES

The life of the island has undergone tremendous changes with the coming in 1946 of the union (L.W.U.C.) whose present membership is 500. In addition to the fact that wages are now set through collective bargaining between the L.W.U.C. and management, fundamental changes have come about through the elimination of the system of penalties. Housing, which formerly was assigned by the management, is now handled by a separate organization, called Lāna‘i Community Housing. Individuals are free to choose size and location of houses without racial area grouping. Rental ranges from $50 a month up to $810, the latter being in the lower bracket at an average rental of $50 per month.

Health services, formerly provided by management, are now paid for by the workers, most of whom carry medical insurance. A dentist and a doctor serve the community. The 25-bed hospital, formerly owned and managed by the plantation, has been chartered by the Territory and its policies are established by a board of local citizens.

Some of the recreational facilities, such as the bowling alley and the motion picture house, which formerly operated by the Welfare Association under managerial supervision, are now privately operated. In 1956 the union dedicated a memorial building which provides office
Politically, Lanai, like Molokai, in part of Maui County, which provides governmental services on the local level. There is little delay or crime on the island so the need for police services is not great. However, the Lanai School, like other schools in the Territory, depends upon county government for the building and maintenance of school buildings, including the teachers' cottages. There is considerable feeling among Lanai residents that their geographical separation from Maui limits their influence in county political affairs and, consequently, the amount of services they receive. This feeling is expressed particularly in connection with school maintenance.

Even though, as communities go, Lanai has a relatively small population and cannot exchange social participation with neighboring communities, the residents have a choice of a variety of activities in educational, recreational, cultural, welfare, and religious associations. In addition to the P.T.A., organized group activities are carried on by a University Extension Club, a Hospital Guild, a Filipino Club, a Lions Club, a Chamber of Commerce, and a Welfare Association. Religious ministries are provided by a Roman Catholic church, a Buddhist Temple, a Hawaiian church with services in Hawaiian, a Union church with Congregational affiliation, a Mormon church, a Baptist mission, a Seventh-day Adventist church, and a center of Jehovah's Witnesses. Several organizations sponsor Boy Scout and Girl Scout Troops.

BOOK REVIEW (Continued from page 19)

The author was employed for five years, from 1935 to 1940, by a Madison corporation which operated several plantations on Oahu, Maui, and Molokai, and, in addition to numerous visits to the Molokai plantation, described in his book, he lived in the community continuously for fifteen months during 1939 and 1940. A visit of several weeks in 1948 gave him opportunities of observing the social structure of the plantation, with its numerous residential and recreation activities. The author, in his book, gives a vivid and authentic picture of the social aspects of plantation life, as well as of the problems of the workers. He describes the various activities of the workers, their daily routines, and their social customs. The book is an excellent source of information on the social structure of the plantation, as well as on the problems faced by the workers.

Among the many valuable contributions to knowledge afforded by this book, I would especially call attention to the author's discussion of community social relationships and the social changes which are occurring.

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(Continued on page 60)
KOHALA, A RURAL MICROCOMOM
Frank L. Tolerah, M.D.

Well known to Hawaiian Nii, but perhaps not to the world, is the unique northwest corner of Hawaiian known as the Kohala district. This point of land, an area of roughly 325 square miles, is indeed a little world containing a rich variety of industries, population groups, and social patterns.

Three features in Kohala determine the division of land for productive uses - altitude, rainfall, and prior ownership. As in much of Hawaii Nii, large areas of Kohala are held by the Territory for lease purposes. The chief control by large estates and corporations, in leasing and owning the available land, largely determines the type of industries that exist; those in turn are dependent on wide micro-climatic differences throughout the Kohala area. There is virtually no free market in land exchange, in agriculturally important areas and on beach lands. There are those who feel that this limits potential economic development, but, on the other hand, skillful management of a few industries by large operators with capital and skillful marketing techniques probably brings more economic gain to this area now than would scattered marginal endeavors by individuals.

The Kohala Sugar Company, a large well-organized corporation, grows cane and mills and ships raw sugar. Its holdings are a large part of the arable land in Kohala, as well as an appreciable portion of the major watershed windward of the Kohala mountains. This company employs about 600 men of various racial extractions whose wages and working conditions are purportedly the best of all sugar workers in the world. This was not always the case, but since World War I, enlightened management has largely solved the excesses of the past, while maintaining a reasonable balance between efficient production and the demands of labor leaders - increasing demands which could conceivably destroy the sugar industry. The Kohala Sugar Company is wisely endeavoring to tap wider markets by including in its plantings considerable Macadamia nut acreage, and has under investigation many tropical plants that would serve to diversify its operations if it becomes desirable to de-emphasize sugar production.

Besides the Kohala Sugar Company, other sugar producers exist, whose economy is directly linked to that of the Kohala Sugar Company, a fact that became painfully apparent to them during a recent sugar strike. With some assistance from the plantation, these growers cultivate cane on leased or privately-owned land. Their cane is harvested and milled by the plantation. The income from this endeavor has made many independent planters wealthy. However, during labor strikes, they face the same problems as plantation management but have no voice in labor relations; curiously enough, some independent growers, as plantation laborers, at times have had to strike against their own interests.

Next in importance to sugar production, cattle ranching dominates the Kohala economy. Kaua Ranch, a division of Parker Ranch, and several smaller cattle operations use almost all of the land on the Kohala side of the Kohala Mountains. The cattle are shipped to local and Honolulu markets mostly on the hoof by large out of Kailua harbor, a newly developed installation of major importance to the future of this area. Kohala ranches are owned by individuals or partnerships and are operated by the owners or hired managers. An interesting contrast in labor problems exists between the sugar and ranching industries in Kohala. Big labor organizers have achieved universal control of the multi-racial sugar workers - yet not one Kohala ranch has any form of union.

On the contrary, a social system reminiscent of the European feudal economy at its best exists on the ranches, and it is doubtful whether a union organizer would survive an attempt to minimize these Hawaiian cowboys, who seem to enjoy a mutually harmonious relationship with their employers. On one ranch, all the workers and their families receive in addition to their cash income, free and complete medical care, housing, fuel, an acre of land for gardening, free milk (may amount) practically free meat, and occasional use of a jeep, with pig-hunting and fishing privileges. This paternalistic relationship, almost extinct in the business world, still provides an abundant and happy life for many laboring people within the framework of our economic system.

Fishing and general farm activities are facilities in Kohala which, although small, are important. Although most fish are caught from Kailua by fish peddlers with small trucks, one commercial fisherman, a Japanese, works out of Mahana, a small port on the island.

Farming in leased gardens - the raising of taro, bananas, pigs, chickens, geese and other farm products - occupied only a few people as a full-time occupation, but many Kohala people of all levels on the economic and social scale do a little farming - raising vegetables, fruits, Macadamia nuts, and farm stock. Two very successful small agricultural ventures are the Macadamia nut processing plant, and a kim chee (Korean condiment) factory where the Korean school teacher has developed an astonishingly successful business, shipping its product by the plane-load to Honolulu and California. More such small businesses might be successful, but the cost of transportation has been a deterrent. However, new roads to Kawaihae and surfaced transportation to Honolulu will change this situation.

Kohala stores amaze the malihini. Scattered along the populated area from Kawaihae to Niihu are many general stores, mostly operated by Japanese or Filipino families. The range of goods, foods, hardware, feed, furnishings and clothing in each store is unbelievable compared to stocks of products from Japan as well as the USA, particularly in foods and vegetables. One can easily purchase a Japanese umbrella, a jar of soy sauce, a Filipino condiment, consisting of fermented saltfish, a Coleman lantern, Betty Crocker cake mixes, dried lilikoi flowers, chun yi mei (a Chinese preserved orange peel), Portuguese codfish, New Zealand apples, poi, curry and an electric mixer - all wrapped and delivered to one's door. The stores are rarely closed, service is continuous - nights, Sundays and holidays, a retailing practice which is quickly becoming standard in the life of the mainland cities. These stores are the meeting-place for many of our people - time spent browsing, sitting on the front steps discussing the news of the day, is reminiscent of the cracker-barrel stereotyping of the old West.

Kohala has theaters, electrical suppliers, barbers (one a girl), a Chevrolet dealers, garage facilities, a photography studio, a tailor, and most of the enterprises essential to daily living.
The few products and services not available in the district are readily found in Hilo, about three hours away in time and to which daily truck and passenger service is available.

One Hawaiian industry that is absent in Kohala is the tourist trade. It is doubtful that a dozen tourists a year see Kohala, beautiful as it is. Development in this field would come slower because there are many Kohalans who feel that at present the affairs of the district are better without the additional problems of the tourist industry.

The public school system in Kohala is excellent. There are three elementary schools, good bus service, and a central high school of modern construction and operation. It is interesting to note that the quality of instruction in the elementary schools is considerably superior to that of most Mainland schools. The level of achievement in basic schooling - reading, writing, and arithmetic - is in some instances above that of comparable age groups in West Coast schools. This fact astonishes many island people who have not experienced the changes of Mainland education in the past twenty years. Kohala schools are still teaching with the dedication of a generation ago - most of the older teachers are Oriental, middle-aged people who give all they can of themselves to their work for the benefit of their classes. Other children find difficulty in securing college entrance work in high school because there is a serious lack of science teachers; music and art teachers are also scarce, and other more intellectual disciplines are often missing in the curriculum for want of instructors and students. It is hardly practicable to provide teachers in these more specialized fields since enrollment in the sciences, languages and arts tends to be small. Thus many Kohala children contemplating college enrollment are sent away to secondary schools.

Kohala medical services care for about 3,500 people - most of these families live on the plantation - some are not sugar workers, but all use the plantation medical facilities as either private or pre-paid patients. Patients come to the plantation medical offices from more distant parts of the island as consultation cases, or for other reasons. A rather free exchange of patients occurs between plantations in emergency care, and consultations are easily arranged with suitable specialists. A union medical committee consults with the company and its physicians in case of conflicting interests, but it is rare that such problems arise.

The two doctors employed by the Kohala Sugar Company have private practices in addition. A long-term study of the effects of tablet fluoride ingestion on dental decay rates in Kohala is in progress, financed by the Kohala Sugar Company, which makes every effort to provide the district of Kohala with the latest medical techniques and equipment. Pleasant dispensary facilities are provided and maintained by the plantation. Hospitalization is available in a well-equipped, clean hospital of fifty-six beds which is county-operated and staffed by competent nurses and technicians. The hospital acts as a clearing point for all calls outside of office hours, an arrangement that insures 24-hour emergency service.

Much Hawaiian medicine is still practiced by kahuna or skilled laymen who use ancient remedies, massage, and bone-setting techniques of early Polynesian times. Many of these old practices are most effective.

Crime and delinquency in Kohala is largely limited to pilfering from the plantation, occasional "sex" offenses which are usually committed with the full cooperation of the "crus", and an occasional cock fight. The latter occupation of the "crus", however, accounts for much of the police activity in the community. An astonishing array of men and radio-equipped vehicles are dedicated to eliminating this pest of the Filipino men - few of whom are ever found on the public relief rolls from gambling. Court is held weekly in a small frame building that also serves as a police station. A judge from Hilo hears the occasional case that comes to trial. Sentences, particularly for serious driving offenses, are so light that local police find traffic law enforcement difficult. The police station is closed at night, but 24-hour protection is virtually unnecessary in the district, and the police chief can be called at his home if needed.

Fire protection in Kohala is minimal. The Kohala Sugar Company operates a small engine, but because of the great distances it must cover, and the lack of hydrants, its use is limited to minor fires, and the protection of property surrounding them. A centralized call system is in operation however, which enhances the effectiveness of the equipment.

The most colorful characteristic of Kohala is its people. Seven ethnic groups are present in pure and mixed forms. Each brings to the community novelty and cultural richness that is unique, and demonstrates by working together in harmony and mutual respect that peaceful and intelligent cooperation in community affairs can effectively cut across ethnic and religious differences. Population statistics of the portion of North Kohala in which the plantation is located reveal the following number of residents by ethnic origin in 1950:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1398</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4200</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As compared with the population distribution throughout the islands, this portion of Kohala had a decided over-representation of Filipinos and a marked under-representation of Chinese and of Caucasians. The distribution of the males employed within the major occupational groups is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical and kindred workers</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farm managers</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, sales, and kindred workers</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and kindred workers</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers, except private household</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers and foremen</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers, except farm and mine</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations not reported</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kohala workers are over-represented as operatives and farm laborers and are under-represented in all other occupation groups as compared with the rest of the islands.
Most of Kohala’s working people live in “camps” or small aggregations of rental houses owned by the plantations. These camps are the vestiges of housing sites of the previous plantations, now merged into the Kohala Sugar Company. Some of the camps are largely occupied by one ethnic group; others have tenants of various ancestries. Often a large family will account for nearly all the members in one camp—several generations living in the modernized equivalent of a tin can society. In the near future, these colorful camps with their pigs, chickens, gardens, and flowered hedges will be replaced by more modern housing, under an individual ownership program planned by the plantation. Some families, particularly in Maluaula and Piedi, live in picturesque gable-roofed, heavily planted with banana groves, coconut, taro and ti. Most of the pure or nearly pure Hawaiians left in Kohala live in these two truly beautiful spots, closer to the ways of their fathers than other areas of the district would permit—fishing, gathering shellfish, weaving lauhala, and enjoying life in general.

Most Kohala families have TV sets, deep freezers, cars (often the oldest and newest models), and are fairly solvent. They are rapidly becoming enthusiastic consumers in the Madison Avenue sense. Drinking and smoking is the rule among all except the Mormons and certain other religious sects. Although sometimes a problem, chronic alcoholism is not limited to any ethnic group, but is rare among Orientals.

The wide variety of ethnic groups in Kohala invites extensive comparisons, but for the purposes of a short paper such as this, the comparison of reactions to emotional stress has been selected to display some of the interesting ethnic differences in our people. Puerto Rican and Portuguese members of the community often show a very low threshold of emotional homeostasis. “Nervousness,” a mild but universal complaint, ranges through various manifestations in the most agitated hysteria in times of public stress such as a death in the neighborhood. It is not unusual to find, in such a situation, two or three mourners (not necessarily the immediate kin of the deceased) sprawled semi-conscious on the floor, their fingers interlocked with head bows. This makes an interesting contrast to the quiet dignity of death in Japanese families. Whether this results from the basic differences between their respective philosophies of death or habit patterns of other differential situations is difficult to determine locally.

Chinese burial customs with elaborate ceremonies and paid mourners are well known, but exhibit a degree of sobriety that is inherited in Chinese activities generally. The Filipinos also suffer their difficulties in silence—little is said and a practical resignation to fate prevails. The widely held notion that Filipinos are poor citizens and often “run-smok,” is largely a myth—here, at least, the Filipinos are a visible and valuable part of the community, although many of the older men do not have families in Hawaii. Hawaiians and Haole alike show little emotional instability, but there is an interesting conrivity to this observation—many frank peaches occur in these groups.

The question of racial tensions arises in any consideration of a mixed population. Over the years Kohala has treated its racial relationships with humor, and has found and a sense of human values that has dissipated most socially damaging tensions. That tension does exist there is no question, but when the cause, if there is one, is not based on racial at all, but the result of misunderstanding due to difficulties of communication. As time goes on, it is likely that even these tensions will exist.

Nearly all social functions in Kohala at present are inter-racial, ranging from the Parent-Teachers’ Association carnavalis to the annual Japanese Bon Dance. These are attended by people of all the different ethnic groups and religions, without any trace of hostility, suspicion, superiority or bigotry. On the contrary, the varied cuisines, foods, and observations are shared and enjoyed by everyone. The negating effect of the few dis-harmonies that do not join in the experience of the community is lost in the general feeling of well-being among the people of the district.

Most organizations of a racial nature still exist, but these are rapidly losing community importance. There is a “Puerto Rican Club,” a “Social Club” of Cazauilat membership, the “Kahumau Society” composed of Hawaiians before the “Chinese Benevolent Association,” and the “Filipino Brotherhood.” Most of these organizations exist mainly for some specific purpose, such as charity, or burial insurance, or simply for an occasional party. Little interest or animosity is generated by the activities of these groups.

A number of service organizations which are open to everyone are operative in Kohala. The Lions Club supports eye-care for indigents and a blood-bank. The American Legion has an active post. Scout and Cub Scout programs are well-supported. The Young Farmers, 4-H Club and University of Hawaii Extension services are excellent. It is difficult for many strangers to Hawai to understand that all these social activities exist in a completely tension-free atmosphere, although seven ethnic groups are intimately involved. It is indeed a singular situation on American soil, and one that should encourage the proponents to the propagation of racial equality everywhere.

There are many temples and churches in Kohala. Several Buddhist sects are represented. The Christians have a number of ethnic churches, some of which exist as missions, and many citizens simply have no religious affiliation. Children of Buddhist parents often attend Christian Sunday schools, partly for social reasons and partly because Buddhists wholeheartedly encourage the study of other religious philosophies. The lack of English-speaking Buddhist priests is a serious problem for Japanese families who wish to retain their religion. Most of their children do not know enough Japanese to find it useful in religious instruction and hence the drift to English-speaking Sunday schools. Japanese language classes are taught at one temple, and are open to anyone, and people of all faiths are cordially welcomed to the religious festivals.

An interesting facet of the religious life of Kohala is the fact that individuals of almost all ethnic and religious groups divide their loyalties between old religious and new. It is not unusual for a “good” Mormon Hawaiian, for example, to keep his beliefs in the old gods, an occasional Japanese still worships the fox, and many “Christianized” Oriental people are not certain if they have given up or are changing religions.

This paper has discussed several features of the Kohala district, its people, industries, and economy; first, its isolation, contrasting with the multiplicity of available goods, services, and activities; second, a brief comparison of ethnic groups, netting the rather typical reactions to stress; third, the picture of Kohala’s ethnic variety matched by deep harmony, colored by some observations on the religious life of the area. Admittedly much of importance, sociologically, must remain untouched, but a community of this type might well serve as source material for valuable research in resolving racial problems on the Mainland.
STATEHOOD AND THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADER

Alphonso Fonseca, Executive Director
Hawaiian Homes Commission

With statehood virtually upon us, the native Hawaiian now on lands made available to him under the terms of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act as well as the many Hawaiians on the waiting list seeking land awards under this Act, may be said to be the most bewildered and disturbed of our populace. Many of these Hawaiians have raised the question: "What is to become of us and the lands set aside for us by an Act of Congress of the United States after Hawaii becomes a state?" Perhaps a brief background on this important piece of legislation will help in understanding the native Hawaiian's dilemma at this most vital and important stage of the political life of his land.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was signed into law by President Woodrow Wilson on July 9, 1921, bringing into reality the wishes of the 1919 Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii which advocated the rehabilitation of Hawaiians. The introduction and subsequent passing of the House Resolution in Congress to its final enactment was the most important legislative achievement of the late Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole, Hawaii's Delegate to Congress from 1912 to 1922.

It is very interesting to note that after an on-the-spot study of the situation in the Hawaiian Islands, the Honorable K. Franklin Lane, then Secretary of the Interior, testified before the Congressional Committee on Territories in 1920, thus:

One thing that impressed me there was the fact that the natives of the islands, who are our wards, I should say, and for whom in a sense we are trustees, are falling off rapidly in numbers and many of them are in poverty... at any rate, they are a problem now and they ought to be cared for by being provided with homes out of the public lands. One needs to be careful not to mortgage and could not sell.

The House Committee considering the bill contended that two pertinent factors demanded its passage: first, that the Hawaiians were a dying race whose numbers had decreased by about 120,000 in the 30 years prior to 1919, at which latter date there were about 22,900 full-blooded Hawaiians, and second, that all the methods of land distribution up to that time had been ineffective when weighed against the actual benefits the Hawaiian derived from such land distributions. The House Committee recommended the following:

1. The Hawaiian must be placed upon the land to insure his rehabilitation;
2. Alienation of such land, not only in the immediate future but also for years to come, must be made impossible;
3. Accessible water in adequate amounts must be provided for all tracts;
4. The Hawaiian must be financially aided until his farming operations are well underway.

Basically, the intent and purpose of the bill which eventually became the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was spily covered by Representative Dowell, a member of the House Committee on Territories, who stated: "The purpose of this bill is to permit people of Hawaiian blood to again get possession of land in Hawaii."

To help achieve the intent and purpose of the bill as presented by the House Committee which encouraged its passage, the following were considered necessary and made a part of the original Act:

1. About 200,000 acres of land were designated by general description as "available lands" set aside for agricultural and pastoral use to be leased to native Hawaiians;
2. The establishment of a Hawaiian Homes Commission made up of the Governor of Hawaii and four other members, two of whom were required to be native Hawaiians, to administer the rehabilitation program was authorized;
3. Provisions for the leasing of these lands to native Hawaiians under specific conditions were set up;
4. The revenues derived from the leasing of cultivated sugar lands and water licenses on Territorial Public lands were designated as the main source of revenue for the operation of the program;
5. The employment of a staff, including agricultural and other experts, to carry out the work of the Commission was authorized.

The bill was enacted into law on July 9, 1921, for a probationary period of five years. In 1927, the Territorial Legislature made a thorough investigation of the rehabilitation program as administered by the Hawaiian Homes Commission on the islands of Molokai and Hawaii. They concluded that the work of the Commission should be extended to the other islands of the Hawaiian group, whereupon it passed Joint Resolution No. 1 declaring the project a success. The Legislature requested the Secretary of the Interior to approve the extension of the activities of the Hawaiian Homes Commission and to urge the Congress of the United States to extend the program while recommending certain amendments to improve its administration. The Congress was receptive to the request of the Territorial Legislature and on March 7, 1929, the President signed the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1928 an amended and made it a permanent part of the Hawaiian Organic Act, Sections 201-215 inclusive. The rehabilitation program has continued uninterrupted since the original Act was approved in 1921 and from time to time thereafter amendments have been made to assist the administration of the program and, in certain instances, to change the status of small portions of lands deemed necessary for the public good.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act defines a native Hawaiian as "any descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1874," or simply, a person having 50 per cent or more of Hawaiian blood. Only persons so qualified are legally entitled to awards of leases for land under the rehabilitation program. Because of the possible sociological problem which may arise in the case of families wherein succession is leaseholds may be legally
impossible, the Commission, by policy, has set up a system of priorities in accepting applications for an award. They are:

1. Priority 1: Those applicants whose spouse and children all qualify by blood as native Hawaiians.
2. Priority 2: Those applicants whose spouse does not qualify but whose children qualify by blood as native Hawaiians.
3. Priority 3: All other applicants who qualify by blood as native Hawaiians.

Without such a priority system, succession becomes a problem insurmountable at all successions to leases must qualify by blood as native Hawaiians. There are several other statutory requirements in addition to the blood requirement and include, briefly, the following:

1. An original leasee shall be not less than 21 years of age;
2. The leasee shall pay a rental of $1.00 a year for his tract, the lease to be for a term of 25 years.
3. The leasee shall occupy and commence to use or cultivate the tract as his home or farm within one year after the lease is made;
4. The leasee shall thereafter so occupy and use or cultivate the tract on his own behalf;
5. The lease shall not in any manner transfer, or mortgage, pledge, or otherwise hold for the benefit of any other persons, except native Hawaiians, his interest in the tract, and then only upon the approval of the Commission;
6. The leasee shall pay all taxes assessed upon the tract and improvements thereon, except that an original leasee shall be exempt from all taxes for the first seven years from the date of the award of the lease.

At the end of 1959 the number of active applicants on the Commission's waiting list for awards of leases numbered 2,232. Of these, 1,679 were applicants for awards on Oahu where there are four settlement areas—Nanakuli, Papakolea, Kewalo, and Waimanolo. Ironically, the amount of land available for settlement in the least on Oahu where the demand is the greatest. Most of the land conducive to settlement is on the neighboring islands, and this too is limited. Most of the lands set aside for rehabilitation of the native Hawaiian are in remote areas such as on the slopes of Kaua'aina on Hawaii, or at Kohala beyond Kilauea on Maui, or in the various forest reserve areas throughout the islands. For actual settlement and rehabilitation in the current milieu, only about 2% of the lands set aside may be properly developed at reasonable cost, while an added 25% could be put to use for pastoral purposes but at a cost too prohibitive to be considered at the present time. Thus, imposing on 200,000 acres of land may seem.

It is more important to realize that only a small fraction of that larger area is suitable for the rehabilitation of native Hawaiians, the remainder being more suitable for the rehabilitation of goats.

In the past two years, the demand for land elsewhere than on Oahu has been static, while on Oahu it has increased. This has been brought about by two important factors. The first of these, an economic factor, was the influx into Honolulu of native Hawaiians from neighboring islands seeking employment opportunities which have diminished totally on those islands. The second of these, a social factor, was the condemnation of lands in Kona's long-established and well-settled communities and urban areas to make way for highways and other municipal developments. Aggravated by the restrictively high cost of land in Oahu, and particularly in Honolulu, the lot of the native Hawaiian on Oahu bordered upon dispossession and in the majority of cases he may well be identified as a displaced person. The result was that many native Hawaiians who heretofore felt no need for individual rehabilitation found himself forced to turn to the Hawaiian Homes Commission for succor. Thus, contrary to popular belief, we find more native Hawaiians applying for land now than during the decade immediately past.

What happens when a parcel of land is awarded to a native Hawaiian? First of all, it is proper to indicate that there are three types of land awards made, namely: a residential homestead no larger than one acre in size; an agricultural homestead no larger than 40 acres in size; a pastoral homestead ranging from 40 to 1,000 acres in size. After being awarded a lot, a homesteader may borrow money from the Commission's Home-Loan Fund for any one of three purposes: (1) for the erection of a dwelling and the undertaking of other permanent improvements. (2) for the purchase of livestock and farm equipment; (3) for the general development of the land. The maximum loan to a lessee of an agricultural or pastoral homestead is $12,000; to a lessee of a residential homestead lot, $6,250. Such loans shall not exceed 30 years and all unpaid balances of principal bear interest at 2-1/2 per cent per annum.

The welfare of native Hawaiians arises as we move into statehood simply because they have not been informed properly as to what will happen to their lands not only immediately after we become a state, but more important, at a future date. At the Constitutional Convention in July, 1959, a great majority of the people of Hawaii expressed through their elected delegates their sincere desire to preserve the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. The Hawaiian Statehood Bill, which passed Congress on March 12, 1959, has further reinforced this desire by stipulating that the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, already incorporated as article XI of the constitution of the State, shall not be changed in its basic provisions except with the consent of the United States. This being the case, it is apparent that the rehabilitation program under the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act will continue unchanged into the future.

The second factor is more important. It will depend on the electorate of the State of Hawaii and its selection of representatives to the State Legislature as well as to the Congress of the United States. It is here that the native Hawaiian faces a dilemma for, as much as he would like to trust his land to an elected official of any ethnic group, he has a feeling within him that not only the only person who will protect him and his land is someone within whose veins flows the blood of the native Hawaiian. For the many Hawaiians, native or otherwise, who take the latter position strongly, there is a challenge to seek out one of their own who is able, reliable, of undenominational integrity, and a political opportunist, and who will represent his people properly. When such a person is found, it is most likely that he will be widely accepted by every ethnic group in the State of Hawaii.
POPULATION AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF HONOLULU'S RACIAL GROUPS, 1957

Robert C. Schmitt
Territorial Planning Office

This study describes some of the differences in population and housing characteristics found among Honolulu's various racial groups by a recent survey. Each household included in the sample was classified by racial ancestry of household head—whether Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, or other. Questions were also asked regarding home address, military status, household size, number of children under eighteen years of age, residence one year earlier, place of work, family income, home ownership, rent, number of rooms, age and condition of home, and other subjects. Answers to these questions disclosed many inter-racial differences in the household composition and housing accommodations of Honolulu residents.

Definitions and Methodology

The data were compiled as part of the January 1957 "consumer analysis" undertaken by the Honolulu Star-Bulletin with the technical assistance of the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency. Detailed definitions used in the survey, methodology, reliability of results, and selected findings have already appeared in Star-Bulletin and Redevelopment Agency publications.

Area sampling techniques were used in conjunction with a questionnaire mailed to a systematic sample of addresses supplied by the publishers of the Honolulu city directory. Surveys were made, from each of the eighteen survey areas were limited to those based on household estimates prepared by the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency.

Respondents were personally interviewed. The questionnaire specified that the completed form was to be brought by an adult member of the household to the Star-Bulletin office, where replies could be checked by experienced interviewers. Respondents following this procedure were each given a large shopping bag filled with groceries and other items.

The basic unit of measurement was the household or its housing equivalent, the occupied dwelling unit. A household includes all the persons who occupy a dwelling unit. A person living alone in a dwelling unit or a group of unrelated persons sharing the same living accommodations as partners is counted as a household. An occupied dwelling unit in a group of rooms or a single room occupied as separate living quarters by a family or other group of persons living together or by a person living alone. To qualify as a dwelling unit, a room or group of rooms must have separate cooking equipment.3 Rooming houses, barracks, institutions, and other nondwelling-unit quarters were omitted from the survey.

Households were classified by ethnic origin of household head. Part-Hawaiians were grouped with pure Hawaiians; other mixtures were assigned to race of father. No information was obtained on the ancestry of household members (formerly different than that of the head) other than the head or persons in "quasi-households," such as occupants of rooming houses, barracks, and institutions.

The survey covered Honolulu proper, from Red Hill and NHA-2 to Makapuu Point and from the Ko'olau Mountains to the sea. It thus excluded the many households in suburban and rural Oahu.

The sample of 2,000 households included 143 classified as Caucasian, 243 Chinese, 75 Filipino, 222 Hawaiian, 600 Japanese, and 75 other (chiefly Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and Samoans).

Except perhaps for the smaller groups (Filipino and "other"), the survey would appear to have a fairly high degree of reliability. External evidence indicates an underrepresentation of one- and two-person households and one- and two-room dwelling units in the sample, but otherwise no appreciable bias is evident. Stratification by survey area probably reduced sampling variation to a level appreciably below that found in unstratified samples of similar size. Even so, sampling variation must remain a problem where cross-tabulations sometimes involve subsamples having fewer than 100 cases.

Except for totals by ethnic group and survey area, the data obtained from the survey were expressed as percentages and independently rounded. As a result, detail may not always add up exactly to indicated totals. Medians were computed directly from the basic data.

Findings

Caucasian household heads were the most numerous single group in 1957, followed closely by the Japanese. The Caucasians accounted for about thirty-seven percent of the total, a proportion well over their 1950 level but little different from that existing in 1940. The Japanese represented slightly less than a third of all household heads, up somewhat from their 1940 ratio. Smaller proportions were reported by the Chinese (one-eighth in 1957) and Hawaiians (one-ninth), and still fewer by the Filipinos and miscellaneous ethnic groups.

3. These definitions correspond to those used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, as reported in the U.S. Census of Population: 1950, Census Tract Statistics, Honolulu, T. H., and Adjacent Area (Bulletin P-20), pp. 1-6.

4. Naval Housing Area.
Table 1.—NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY RACE OF HEAD, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: 1940, 1950, AND 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1940</td>
<td>April 1950</td>
<td>April 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All races</td>
<td>28,728</td>
<td>24,708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>9,364</td>
<td>5,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>4,890</td>
<td>2,706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other races</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>846</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


No consistent trend is apparent for any of the major ethnic groups. The 1950 dip for the Caucasians was obviously the result of the economic recession and cutbacks preceding the Korean War, just as their 1957 rise unquestionably derived in large measure from the 1950-1957 influx of servicemen and their dependents. The greater importance of the "Japanese" races in 1956 resulted largely from their stronger Island ties, somewhat limited mobility, and concentration in industries less affected by the events of the War. In 1957, higher death and birth rates for the Filipinos and "other ethnic groups" after 1956 may not be statistically significant.

In 1957 data reflect the large (and growing) number of Caucasian military families. Although the total military establishments in Hawaii in 1957 was less than twice as large as the 1940 counterpart, the number of military dependents living in the Islands was many times as great as the pre-World War II total. Households headed by a full-time member of the armed forces accounted for 12.5 percent of the Honolulu total in 1957. Among Caucasian households, 12.5 percent were servicemen. The ratio was much lower for other groups—11.0 percent for the Filipinos, 3.3 percent for the Hawaiians, and 1.5 percent for the Japanese, 1.0 percent for the Chinese, and 1.3 percent for the "other ethnic groups".

Table 2.—GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: JANUARY 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic area</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu-Fay Heights</td>
<td>28,728</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailua</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaneohe Bluffs-Pearl Harbor</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Harbor</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Harbor Naval Base</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Harbor Annex</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl Harbor Naval Supply Base</td>
<td>14,359</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No data is shown for areas where less than 100 households (residential).

Table 3.—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: JANUARY 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military status</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Percent of Households</th>
<th>Time of work of head of household</th>
<th>Median number of weeks worked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All households</td>
<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other races</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.—GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY RACE OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD, FOR THE CITY OF HONOLULU: JANUARY 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military status</th>
<th>Number of Households</th>
<th>Percent of Households</th>
<th>Time of work of head of household</th>
<th>Median number of weeks worked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
<td>68,218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
<td>32,122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
<td>20,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other races</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
<td>16,006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Average household size was found to differ markedly from group to group. The largest households, on the average, were those headed by Hawaiians (4.8) and Filipinos (5.6). The smallest average was that of the Caucasians (2.9). These figures show a rough correlation with birth rates, which in turn appear to be inversely related to incomes, educational attainment, and (with the notable exception of the Hawaiian) date of migration.

A similar range was evident in data on the percentage of household members under eighteen years of age. More than half of the members of Hawaiian and Filipino households were under eighteen, compared with a maximum of 42 percent for other major groups.

Mobility, as indicated by place of residence a year earlier, was quite high for Caucasians and low among the remaining groups. Two-fifths of the Caucaisan households were occupying a different house in January 1957 than in January 1956, and one-fourth had moved from another island, the mainland, or a foreign country during the year. At the other extreme were the Chinese, whose members included very few movers (more than eighty percent were still in the same house) and even fewer migrants from other islands or the mainland (9.8 percent). These great differences in mobility are considerably reduced, but not eliminated, when only civilian households are considered. They thus represent the effects of both civilian and military mobility. They also reflect the high proportion of Caucasians in the areas from which Hawaiians draw its new residents.

About sixteen percent of all household heads in the survey were employed in downtown Honolulu, that is, the area bounded by Nuuanu Stream, School Street, South Street, and the harbor. The Chinese had the largest proportion of household heads (1.8 percent) working downtown. The percentage was somewhat lower for the Hawaiians and the Japanese, still lower for the Caucasians, and lowest for the Filipinos and "other races". Caucasians were more frequently found in the Pearl Harbor-Bikini area, with its many military bases, Filipinos, in the Pearl Harbor-Bikini area and on the industrialized east side of the city, location of many docks and canneries; and Chinese, Japanese and Hawaiians, on the westside of Honolulu. If data are restricted to civilian household heads, the Caucasians likewise show a gradation to the westside of the city.

The median time required for the household head to go from his home to place of work was 24.9 minutes for Hawaiians, 17.0 minutes for Japanese and 20.0 minutes for Hawaiians. These differences were not statistically significant.

Median yearly income before taxes showed major inter racial differences. For all groups combined, it was $5,216. The Chinese reported the highest median ($6,260), well above the Japanese (8,000), Caucasians (8,975), Hawaiians (8,714), and Filipinos ($5,000). The surprising low ranking for Caucasians was a result of the high percentage of military households in the group. When tabulations were limited to civilian households, the Caucasian median was $6,250, compared with $5,250 for the second-ranking Chinese. Caucasian military households, incidentally, had a median income of $4,317. Excluding the Chinese, the Filipinos had the fourth among the five major ethnic groups, the income median for civilian households showed a close correlation with educational attainment and length of time in Hawaii. The Caucasians and Chinese, earlier immigrant groups to arrive in Hawaii and the last educated at the present time, reported the highest income; the Filipinos, most recent to come to Hawaii and still relatively low in educational attainment, ranked last in income.

### Housing Characteristics

Housing characteristics are summarized in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military status and years of household head</th>
<th>Personal income</th>
<th>Monthly income of spouse</th>
<th>Median income year before taxes</th>
<th>Percent of occupied</th>
<th>Percent married</th>
<th>Percent in urban areas</th>
<th>Median household size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>All households</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All races</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other races</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Civilian households</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All races</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
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<td>36.2</td>
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<td>22.5</td>
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<td>41.5</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Median not shown where base is less than 50 occupied dwelling units (unoccupied).

Forty-two percent of the occupied dwelling units in Honolulu were occupied by their owners. Most of these units were on land owned in fee simple, but many were on leased land. The Caucasians had the lowest home ownership rate (25.6 percent, including units on leased land), the Chinese the highest rate (70.0 percent). When military households were excluded, however, the Caucasian owner occupancy rate became 47.7, approximately midway between the top-ranking Chinese (72.8 percent) and last-ranking Filipinos (31.8). These rates included varying proportions of owner-occupied units on leased land. Such household properties were relatively common among the Filipinos (18.7 percent of all households, civilian or military) and Caucasians (7.8 percent), and extremely rare among the Japanese (2.3 percent) and Chinese (1.2). Although income seems to be a factor in these inter racial differences, geographic mobility (greater among the Caucasians and least among the Chinese) and traditional attitudes regarding home ownership and land tenure appear even more significant.

More than thirteen percent of all Honolulu households occupied dwelling owned or operated by the Hawaii Housing Authority or armed forces. One in four Caucasian households live in such public or military housing, a proportion slightly greater than that for the Filipinos (2.1 percent) and well over the rate for Hawaiians (12.3 percent), Japanese (5.2 percent), or Chinese (2.1 percent). The high figures for Caucasians obviously resulted from inclusions of military households, many of whom were occupying on-base quarters near Pearl Harbor. When data were limited to civilian households, the Filipino and Hawaiian rates remained high but the Caucasian figure dropped to 5.0 percent. The civilian house- hold data reflected the high proportions of Filipinos and Hawaiians in Hawaii Housing Authority projects. It is not surprising that the rates showed a high and inverse correlation with relative income. Median monthly rent was highest for the Caucasians ($76), many of whom had relatively high incomes or were recent arrivals still unable to
ON FACING EVICTION FROM PUBLIC HOUSING

Clarence H. Glick, Robert Boyd, Lois Morinaka, Ivan Takewa

On June 1, 1946, the Monos War Homes project was officially opened. This project, costing $2,000,000 and covering an area of 63 acres, consisted of about 1,000 units and was an attack on the pressing housing problems faced by the Territory. It was set up originally by the Federal Government for the housing of war workers. However, occupancy was later restricted to the families of veterans and servicemen.

This project was established over the objection of many Monos homeowners and with the understanding that it would remain only as long as there was a local need. In April of 1945, as a result of the establishment of other housing projects and general improvement in the housing situation, the Hawaii Housing Authority unanimously voted to tear down the Monos War Home units and not build any permanent units in that area. At that time demolition was expected to be completed by June of 1946.

In January of 1946, Lee Maioc, Hawaii Housing Authority director, announced that all vacancies occurring at Monos War Homes would be frozen. Reassignment in other housing projects of the HHA was also planned at that time for families in the lower income brackets. However, families whose incomes or resources by then exceeded the maximum of those qualifying for public housing were expected to secure housing for themselves in the private market.

In June, 1946, an extension of the lease was obtained. At that time all occupants were notified that they were expected to vacate their homes by midnight March 31, 1949, so that the land could be cleared and returned to the owners by June 30, 1949. Because of the higher cost of acquiring an extension of the lease for another year, the rental fee, which included electricity and water expense, was increased from $44 to $56. At the time of our study, December, 1948, less than 10% of the original 1,000 units remained. They were confined to one small section of the original occupied area.

The object of our research was primarily to study the attitudes of residents of the higher income group in Monos Housing at a time when they were confronted with a situation that threatened the stability of their housing, one of their fundamental needs of life. We chose to study particularly the resident of the higher income group because we felt that his problem would be more acute than that of members of the lower income families because he could not be placed in a similar housing project of the HHA.

Of the then remaining 100 families, there were 26 who composed this higher income group and were thus the sample for our study. Of these 26 families, 24 were interviewed. These interviews included Portuguese, Japanese, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Mainland Blacks.

Economically, the families were generally in the lower-middle income group comparable to those families not living in public housing areas. Almost all families possessed a washing machine, television set, and a telephone. The average number of children in these families was three. Almost all families possessed a washing machine, television set, and a telephone. The average number of children in these families was three. Almost all families possessed a washing machine, television set, and a telephone. The average number of children in these families was three. Almost all families possessed a washing machine, television set, and a telephone.
The interviews showed that the "higher income" residents were generally satisfied with Manor Housing. They found the weather to be pleasant. They were able to save. The utilities were paid for. The area of work. For some, the area was good for their health. For others, the residents were reluctant to move out of the housing.

This place is the best compared to other housing areas. It's not as crowded. We have a certain amount of privacy. It's much better here.

Maybe I'm prejudiced. Here, there is more respect for people's privacy. Mixed Japanese or Japanese people would make fine neighbors, I know from experience. They typically respect your privacy more than other nationalities. I could be prejudiced.

The weather is good and the stores are nearby. It is very cool and the air is very refreshing. Whenever I go to town or any place and come back home, I have to take a shower because the air in other places is so dirty. We don't have to pay the utilities. So nobody has to tell us how much water we should use and not to waste electricity. And the house is real nice compared to some houses people live in.

It's a pleasant place and comfortable to live in. And we don't have to pay for the utilities. The rent is very reasonable compared to the outside. The Housing is a safe place for the children while they are little. There are not too many cars and the Housing streets are not the main highway.

This is a convenient place, good location. It's a good place for those people who need it. My husband is the one who wanted to come here. I have allergies, and this cool climate is good for it. We lived in Kapahulu before, but it was too dry for me.

Well, the advantages would be mostly economical. Small rent, good neighbors. It was near to the U. of H., when I was going there, and now it's not too far from my working place, at least not too far like the countryside. Also one big factor is that the small rent helped us to save a little financially.

But with the insistence of eviction, the residents of the "higher income" group were compelled to consider one of three alternatives since residents had to face the prospect of purchasing a house, renting a house or apartment, or moving in with relatives.

The interviews showed that buying a house was difficult or impossible for most of the residents in the income group.

With all the doctor bills we just couldn't make the $700 downpayment. I would like to own my own home with a yard, it would be good for the kids.

There's a lot of things you have to take into consideration when you buy a house. You can't buy any old house and then regret it. I want a good environment and near a school. Preferably, I want a place in Kaimuki or Aina Haina. Kaimuki is convenient and the class of people is better than Palolo. Oh, it's convenient there too, but that place has a bad record. I want Aina Haina for the same reason I want Kaimuki.

Like buy, but not now. Now too much too much money. Downpayment so big. Countryside can go. Over that down-payment not too big. But I no like, Country far from town. Not good for children because my girl come like country girl. School too far for children so I no like. I want to go seeing school and English school, but country too far.

My husband don't want to buy because maybe in between he can't work and then we can't make the payments then the place will be repossessed. He says we have to think of the future.

We were saving for a little while for a down-payment on a house. But my husband is the oldest one in his family, so when his father bought a house, he had to help out. He even went back to Kauai to help his father. So now we cannot buy a house for ourselves.

We wanted to buy but they told us we have to pay $81 a month and add to that water, gas, that's too much to pay. We can buy a house in Waipio but that's 17 miles away, then we have to sell our car. How is my husband going to work? Walk? What do they expect from us? My husband don't have a steady job.... So you see it's hard to keep up with the payments and if we move one they take the house away from us.

Renting in private housing was more of a possibility, but each family had to consider the possible disadvantages. At the same rental, which in the Housing included utilities, only poorer living accommodations without utilities and in poorer surroundings could be obtained. Moreover, it is very hard to find rental accommodations for families with children.

It's very hard to find an apartment or a house, with my six children. I want to go where I'm wanted. My husband is an alien so he can't speak English very well. Well, you can say that I'm the sole supporter of my family. I've explained to the man that that resides in my family. I have an aged mother and an aged mother-in-law to support and that we Orientals have pride and we are for our elders, not like the Americans, but they didn't take my problem into consideration.

What landlord wants six kids? When I called for an ad in the paper and I tell the landlord we have six kids, they say you don't need a house you need a hotel. So I give up calling already.

The other day, the assistant manager came to me and said, "Mrs._______, I found a place for you about $60 rent." I said, "Oh, please, if I go into that high rent, all the collectors would be after me!" After all, after paying utilities we'd be paying over $10 a month.

As soon as you mention children - you're out. The prices are always high. It's silly to pay such a high price. You might as well buy a place. If I can find a two-bedroom house for $50 plus all the utilities, sure I'll be glad to move in.
We had a place in Kapahulu for $30. We went down to look at it. The apartment was in the basement. It was so dingy. There were no shelves in the rooms. The windows were so small. That's why the place was so dark. There was only a concrete floor. It was really not healthy. We had to get our own heater and stove. For the heater we had to put in our own plumbing, upstairs tenants. How, how are you going to tell us how to pay for the utilities and the garbage fee. The plumbing part! I could get my kid brother to help me, but the rest is too much. It would really be expensive.

Impossible. You could never get anything with what you pay here. You couldn't find a place like this as long as you live, unless in a depression.

Rent good place cost $100. I can not pay. I like house maybe $50, $50, $75 because I like save the money. If house far from school I no like. My friend bought so make me scared you know. Pretty soon I be all alone.

The resident also found that for comparable living quarters more of the family income would have to go into such items as rent, utilities, and house repairs. Such increased expenses for housing would require curtailment of other family expenditures on luxuries and even on some necessities which the family can now afford.

We have to have about $60 every month for food. My husband doesn't stand for it if I eat it down. I was thinking of cutting down my milk bill. You know, my girl drinks about $15 worth of milk every month and that's quite a lot. But my husband won't stand for it if I cut it down. So I have to cut down on the utilities and gasoline. We just bought a car so I've been driving it around both and forth. I have to cut that out. I really have to budget my food and utilities.

Once you move out you have to readjust your living expenses, you know. And buying expensive toys for my children. I guess we have to be sort of practical.

If we stay we have to cut down more even more than now, our kids would feel it too. They couldn't go show and toy as much as they do now.

I guess we have to cut down everything. I think the food bill would be cut most. When I shop, I don't buy the very best like I've been doing or buying carrots good we can do without. Boy maybe the second best. Maybe my husband can quit smoking. He tried to quit before, but he couldn't.

I guess we could cut down on food. Not be too extravagant. Recreation, bowling like that we can cut down. Kids things we can cut down too. Unnecessary things we don't have to buy.

The alternative of moving in with relatives was strongly resisted even though most of the interviewees came from groups in which, traditionally, relatives did live together with three or four generations in one household.

Definitely not. I wouldn't even think of living with relatives. I rather live in a shack than live with any relatives.

No, we don't want to move in with our families. My brother wanted us to move in with him, but we didn't want to. You just can't do what you want living with relatives.

My husband doesn't want to live with them. In fact, at one time, my father sold a place. He thought it would be cheaper if we all lived together. But my husband didn't want to live with my side because, I guess, he would feel out of place. I would feel the same way with his family.

I don't want to live with my relatives. I had enough with my in-laws. They lived in the country... They were typical Japanese, Real Japan style. I really hated them. I prepared meals and I had to eat last. I used to work too. So if I eat last I just lose my appetite. So I really lost weight. My mother always used to tell me how come I'm so skinny. My father-in-law had to go June to take a bath first. Everything, he was first. You see, I married the oldest son.

The residents anticipated a lack of privacy if they lived with their relatives.

We never thought of moving in with relatives. My mother's house is too small. But if worst comes to worst, we'll probably move in with my mother-in-law as a last resort.

For one thing moving in with relatives would be too crowded. We wouldn't know where to serve our meals. Any way it's better to keep away from relatives. We'd be a lot happier living alone.

There would be less privacy for both families and the children. There may not be enough living space. People will be getting into each other's way.

My father won't bother I think. But I think my friends wouldn't want to come over because of my father. They wouldn't feel comfortable with him around.

Yah, we wouldn't have any privacy because like if we moved in with my sister, they have a studio apartment and just one kitchen and bathroom. It would be like a community bath. My husband, he wants to take a bath when he feels like it and do what he pleased, so it wouldn't work.
Interviewers also anticipated complications which would arise in living with their relatives. Also, the residents felt that there would be a greater likelihood of conflicts concerning the children and their control.

That's the worst thing to do, move in with relatives. You know old folks, they complain about little things. It's better to arrange yourself than to move in with relatives.

Conflicts would arise. We lived with my husband's folks for about one and a half years, and somehow their ways and my ways never agreed.

There wasn't any real trouble, just the usual things that happen in every family. And too, maybe because my brother-in-law was important in the family. He was first in everything, that's why.

There would be differences of opinion especially with the older people concerning the children. You don't want to raise them in the old-fashioned way but in the modern way.

For a couple of months things would run smoothly, but then there might be trouble. My brother-in-law is married now so you can see already what would happen. If my daughter makes noise, she wouldn't like it. My sister-in-law is pregnant so more she wouldn't like it. And if I don't work, she might go and tell my mother-in-law.

The attitudes of the residents towards living with relatives seem to confirm the existing trend in American culture toward keeping the "small family" (parents and children) as an autonomous unit, without extraneous relatives.

Thus at the time of the interviews—approximately three months before
the March 31st deadline—the residents regarded the necessity of moving with some misgivings. Many of the residents were searching for a place to rent and were hopeful of finding one. Two, in fact, had already leased homes for themselves.

We haven't given up, we're still looking. In February, I have about a two week vacation coming, so I've decided my time looking for a home.

We found a house already. We're going to move in a few weeks. So we're not worrying anymore. Before that I couldn't sleep at night.

Now that we found a house I feel very much relieved. Before that I used to worry so much that I couldn't sleep at night.

Several of the residents felt that they could do nothing but wait for the day of eviction to come. Some of the residents still hoped that somehow the Hawaii Housing Authority would take care of them.

We're curious about where we're going and we're sort of worried—this if the HHA will find a place. At least the children have a school; that's all I care about. We're waiting for the HHA to call us if they have a house. We're not worried about anything else. They'll find us something. But if I could I would get my own house. But we just don't have the money. It would be nice to have our own home. I think everybody wants their own home someday.

I'm still working. Everytime in the newspapers. Some people don't care, but I do. I think we're still going to be here when the time comes. But I don't think we can make any living like that. It's not there something that says because we're citizens that we have our rights and that they can't just throw us out on the road?

I think I will still be here in March. We tried hard to find a place, but we just can't. I don't think the government will ever kick us out. I knew them pretty well and they wouldn't do anything like that. Well, if some of us are still here—I think we will be temporarily placed in another housing. What can we do if we can't find a place to live?

There was a feeling among the interviewees that the maximum income for those qualifying for public housing should be raised. In families where both the husband and wife worked, there was some discussion as to whether the wife should quit her job in order that the family income might fall down into the range of those qualifying for public housing.

If there was no other way, I guess I would give up my job at ... and tell them. "Okay, I won't work so our income would be low enough so we can go into some other housing." Or maybe the HHA would let us go into another housing temporarily until we can find another place.

Then, there was also a feeling of injustice among a few interviewees because neighbors in public housing failed to report all their income and thus continued to qualify for public housing.

I used to go to the manager and argue. Some families have higher income than us and they have less children. But they still get into another housing. But he said he couldn't do anything. Some people can lie about their income and they don't put everything down in their tax questionnaire—the extra money they make. Some or later they're going to get caught.

Me, I can never lie.

Another group of interviewees felt that the Hawaii Housing Authority should do something for the "higher income" residents like themselves.

As for myself I don't have any grudges for having to leave here. But my husband is different. He says they will have to carry him out. He thinks the HHA should find a place for us. He says this place should never be given up.

They don't do anything for the middle income people. That darn HHA. They're not doing anything to help us. Somebody should look into the government. I don't see why they have to provide housing for only the low income people. What about us middle income people? Some of those low income people are far better off than us. We pay more taxes and they get all the benefits. Might as well not make much money, too. You can see that the government is building housing for the low income people. If I knew who to see, I would really squawk. This whole thing is unfair.
I don't see why the Territory is making so many roads. Why don't they make more housing? Only people get killed on the roads.

The majority, however, agreed that the land should be returned to the owners, and a majority also felt no ill-feelings towards the Hawaii Housing Authority. These views were felt fortunate that they had been able to stay in Manoa War Houses as long as they had, for after all they had been enjoying low rents, during a period of unspecified length, after the family income had risen above the maximum figure allowed for persons qualifying to enter the housing.

As far as the landowners are concerned, it's up to them—it's their land. But the HHA are very arrogant. I'm telling you! They think that everyone who is in here are shiftless and don't have a reason or purpose. Anyway a housing project in the Manoa area is ill-advised. It's too beautiful a spot.

In summary, the opinions expressed by the residents of Manoa War Houses were generally those of satisfaction with the advantages they gained by living in public housing, such as the relative convenience of the area, free utilities, and the opportunity to save.

Because of the high cost of a down-payment on a house, the residents were reluctant and in most cases unable to purchase a house. The residents seemed more disposed to rent a house even though they anticipated several major financial readjustments in their present standard of living, in conformity with the American value of having one's own home exclusive of relatives. The residents were most hesitant about sharing a home with their relatives even in a time of desperate need.

Despite the difficult situation the residents have had to face because of the eviction notice from the Housing authorities, most of the residents hold no ill feelings toward the HHA or the landowners, although several felt that the HHA could provide some housing projects for the low-middle income families like themselves.

At the time of this study, about four months after the interviews were made, there are about 37 families still left in the Housing. Thirteen of these were among the 38 families in our sample who were not eligible for placement in other public housing.

Of the 35 families in the sample who have left the Manoa War Houses, nineteen families are living in rented homes in such areas as Kailua, Kapahulu, Manoa, Kaimuki, Laie, and Waialua. Six families have bought houses in the following areas: Aiea, Hauula, Pearl City, and Kailua. None of the families from our sample of 35 residents have moved in with their relatives. However, since the lease has been extended until May 31, 1959, it remains to be seen whether any of the remaining 13 families will move in with their relatives.

Note: In June, two of these thirteen families moved in with their relatives for the following reasons: the incompleted house of one family at the time of deadline, and the inability of the other family to meet the downpayment on a house.

KALAEHO VILLAGE, A NEW COMMUNITY

Edward K. Hino

The national trend of a declining population in rural areas and a subsequent increase in the urban areas has been going on since the new state of Hawaii for a number of years. In Hawaii the movement has been from the rural islands to the capital city of Honolulu. Added to this is the influx of people from the mainland of the U.S., many of whom were here during the recent wars and were attracted to island living. There are others sent by their employers or the federal government for terms of service.

With the growth of Honolulu has come a supplementary movement of population into suburban areas. This is also a part of a national trend of the rising middle class moving out to the urban hinterlands in order to get the benefits of larger space and a more relaxed and informal way of living. Improved highways and new tunnels through the Ko'olau Mountains are easing the problem of commuting for the employed and the frantic construction of new schools and the establishment of branch stores and other services have made suburban living a desired way of life for their families.

LOCATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF KALAEHO VILLAGE

Twelve miles from Honolulu on the windward side of the Island, along the shores of Kualus Bay, is the suburban community of Kualus. The cooling trade winds with their occasional sheltering clouds make the temperature two or three degrees lower during the day than in Honolulu. In these islands where temperature changes are slight, this difference can be readily noticed.

Three years ago the area extending on both sides of the boundary line between Kualus and Kaneso from the Kawainui Canal to the Kaneso Bay Drive was covered with low kahoe trees and small, scattered farms growing such produce as papaya, corn, tomato, beans and watermelons. One heard talk of the "five hundred homes" that were going to be built there but had difficulty picturing the area transformed into a human community with clothes hanging out to dry, men working in yards, and children playing about.

Then bulldozers and other heavy equipment began uprooting the trees and grading the slopes in preparation for the building of homes. The dust and steady noise from the operation told you that work had begun in earnest. This was the beginning of Kalaeho Village.

The land is owned by the Kaneohe Ranch Company which decided to subdivide this area to meet the growing demand for more homes and to make better use of the land. Center Construction Company of Dallas, Texas, the only Mainland home builder at Kalaeho Village, and one of the largest of its kind in the U.S., has built the majority of the homes in this area. Four local companies—Pacific Development Company, Q. C. Lum, Better-Built Hawaii, and Custom Builders, Ltd.—are building there also. Hawaiian Housing Corporation is handling all sales for the builders. All the homes are on land which is leased on a 50-year basis. These three and four bedroom, two-car garage homes range in price from $17,000 to $25,000.
Over three hundred of these residences have been built and sold and Hawaiian Housing Corporation says that definite plans for an additional two hundred during 1958 have been made. The development after that will depend upon public demand. The few remaining farmers are naturally wondering how soon they, too, will have to move to roam parts of the islands to make room for city people who need a place to live.

PEOPLE OF THE COMMUNITY

Who are the people and why have they bought these homes? Various reasons were given for buying but the one always mentioned was that it was the best buy the interviewee had seen. The residents of Kalahoe are overwhelmingly middle-class Americans, reflecting a characteristic ambition to "move ahead" and a corresponding concern for the comforts and convenience of life. The community has a distinctly cosmopolitan atmosphere, with many racial feelings carefully submerged. The following rough-sketches of typical residents of the area lend support to the general characterizations thus far suggested.

H. K. is the business manager of an electrical company and has been doing construction work and knowing something about it, he was impressed by the work and materials that went into his home. The H. R.'s, who are of Korean ancestry and had lived previously in Honolulu, moved out to Kalahoe Village because of an opportunity to "live in a nice place for the price they wanted to pay." They found the type of neighbors they had hoped for in this new community, with interests and aspirations comparable to their own. Mrs. H. R. was born on one of the rural islands, educated in Hawaii except for a Master's degree from the University of Michigan. He was an officer in the Air Corps at one time. His wife is a local girl but had lived on the mainland a number of years, too. They have three children, one of whom is in the intermediate school.

The H.'s are both Caucasian college graduates, and had previously lived in Seattle and Chicago. They experienced suburban living for the first time in Hawaii three and a half years ago and liked it so well that they didn't even think of looking elsewhere for the larger house required when their family increased. They have no children, and are happy to get away from the noises and congestion of city life. They moved to the present location because they thought it was going to be a nice neighborhood in the subdivision. Mrs. H. is glad she doesn't have to watch her children constantly while they are out at play and Mr. H. doesn't mind the trip into Honolulu to his work. "We just love it here and plan to stay permanently."

The J. S.'s moved out there from Honolulu because it was the doctor recommended it for his sinus trouble. Mr. J. S. is a Niase, son of a sugar planter, who was born in Hilo, and his wife is a Caucasian from Missouri when he met while in medical school. They have two children, of whom one is in grade school. They moved out of Honolulu because their house was too small for their growing family. They like the area and are happy to get away from the noise and congestion of city life. They moved to the present location because they thought it was going to be a nice neighborhood. Mrs. J. S. is glad she doesn't have to watch her children constantly while they are out at play and Mr. J. S. doesn't mind the trip into Honolulu to his work. "We just love it here and plan to stay permanently."

The D. family moved out there from another suburb because of Mrs. D.'s health. The house location was much closer to the mountains and consequently the rainfall was about twice what it is in Kalahoe Village. They like the drier climate and are pleased with the school situation and the playmates for their children. They are a Caucasian family, residing in Hawaii for a limited time and expecting to go back to their native Texas. The work and improvements they are putting into their yard, they reiterally, will not only be for present enjoyment, perhaps for a higher resale value.

Mr. J. S., a part-Hawaiian, frankly regards his place as a good financial investment and has plans for moving elsewhere but he's found that Mrs. J. S. has become so attached to her present home that he may have to change his plans. He is in the teaching profession—proving a product of the wise counseling of a high school principal and teachers in the T.M.C.A. They moved out from Kalahoe because their house was too small and houses in Honolulu were too expensive for them.

Mrs. M. is a mainland New Mexican formerly married to a local professional man. They settled there because they heard that Kalahoe was a young and growing community. She says that they bought a new house because they didn't want to give someone a big profit on the purchase of an old house. They liked the architecture and thought this house was just right for their growing family.

The M.'s are a young local couple with one child, who moved out from a crowded section of Honolulu and are enjoying "the feeling of space and of not being pressed right up against your neighbor." They wanted "a place for their daughter to grow up in" and they also look upon their house as an investment. They like their military family neighbors and feel that they are very friendly but "not to the extent that they pester you."

The ethnic make-up of 263 heads of families from the middle-priced homes in Kalahoe is as follows:

- Caucasian: 204
- Portuguese: 17
- Part-Hawaiian: 26
- Japanese: 25
- Korean: 9
- Chinese & part Chinese: 3
- Filipino: 265

Homes are sold to any person recognized to have good credit and to be a good risk, regardless of his racial extraction. It would appear from the above statistics, however, that it is overwhelmingly the Caucasians who own the homes, and there are a few Orientals in the area.

There was no indication that a resident's ethnic background made any difference in his acceptance by Kalahoe community. This may be due to the fact that the Caulkins who have moved there are either local people who are thoroughly accustomed to a cosmopolitan type of community, or, as Mr. J. S. R., a part Hawaiian suggests, "They are people who've been around a lot and are used to persons of other racial extractions." People of Oriental and Hawaiian ancestry would not move into this community unless they wanted to live with people of other races, especially the Caucasian. Not a single one of the interviewees made any reference to the race of his neighbors. They were just neighbors and people.
The occupations of 161 owners of Conex homes is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manager</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Services Officer</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Employee</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales Representative</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Administrative Assistant</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Attorney</td>
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<td>Pilot</td>
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<td>Architect</td>
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<td>Personnel Officer</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Auditor</td>
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<td>Optometrist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dentist</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Teacher</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical Engineer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flight Chief</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aircraft Mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Longshoreman</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purchasing Agent</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Telephone Lineman</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Loss Investigator</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Radio Technician</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharf Clerk</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from this sampling that the majority of the residents are in the managerial or supervisory levels or in some profession. The list also reveals a few homeowners in occupations not usually considered as being in that income bracket but who evidently are moving into that level.

LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

Most of the families are still too recently settled in Kalaheo to have developed very much of an in-and-out-for-coffee kind of neighborhood. The women are usually too busy getting their homes in order, managing the daily chores of housekeeping, and taking care of their children. Many of the women, especially the older women, work away from their homes during the day and most of their social time is still with their relatives, business associates, or former friends. There is considerable casual visiting and visiting when mothers are out with their small children or hanging out clothes. Many people get acquainted through their children and the scope of their conversation ranges anywhere from children to how to get rid of cockroaches and the best floor wax to use.

The middle-class striving for higher status expresses itself in a certain reserve and a preoccupation with whatever contributes to improved status. This is one of the common gripes of the community—a need of

*Usually the Armed Services Officers must have the rank of major or above to be able to afford these homes.

unifying the population incidentally—was the disappointment over the soil in their yards. The excessive grading in preparation for this village has left adverse soil which provides poor drainage and it is very difficult to grow anything in it. Mr. E. W., who moved there from Hawaii, is an avid gardener who had high hopes of growing his own fruit. He planted orange, mango, limes and cirus fruit trees but they all died. Mrs. O. H. H. says that she doesn’t even attempt to do any work in the yard there. The soil is so thick and sticky that it is impossible for her to dig into it. The only solution is to import what is lacking and it is a common sight to see piles of top soil which have just been delivered on someone’s lawn.

The soil and trying to get things to grow is in a common problem of all new homeowners, which has created a feeling of neighborhood, especially among the men. They all each other where to get top soil, what will grow and how to grow it, etc. Mr. J. K. N. says that he and his neighbors have helped each other in doing work in their yards and putting up fences. It is not only cheaper that way but they enjoy the fellowship while doing it.

Mr. J. K., who is part Hawaiian, says that he has little time after he comes home from his work as a real-estate broker and salesman to do more than just chat with neighbors while doing his yard work. Many of his evenings are taken up with self-improvement courses at the University since his formal education consisted only of high school and army training schools which gained him the rank of major. His children, however, are quite friendly with other children and are invited back and forth to parties in the homes.

Two notable exceptions to this general situation were found. A group of families living in some of the most recently built homes already knew each other by their first names. They go to each other’s homes for cocktails and dinner and feel that they’ve known each other for years. This group consists almost exclusively of recently arrived Caucasians, some being service people and only one long time resident of Hawaii, but it also includes the K. K. family of Korean ancestry mentioned above. Mr. I. L. M., a neighbor, enthusiastically described the K. K. family, “They are wonderful people.”

The J. K. N.’s, part-Hawaiians, were distinctly “on guard” at first, to avoid making social blunders. Then a neighbor boy started coming over in the mornings and they gave him something to eat. This, and the fact that they were helping each other with their yards and minor repair work on their houses, broke the ice so that now not only the children but the adults go to each other’s homes for coffee and meals.

In both instances local people were involved and one suspects that these relationships beget both a sense of community and a feeling for which unusual social mobility and responsibility for which local people are sought. They were perhaps only spontaneous outbursts of this spirit with no thought that other people might not reciprocate these feelings, but strangely enough, people of more reserved backgrounds have liked it, too.

Children can, however, be a source of unpleasant feelings and friction in a community composed of so many young families. Absentee fathers in a community like this, add to the problem when their children get a feeling of loneliness and insecurity.

There is no playground as yet in Kalaheo, so the only place children can play is in their own yards or in the yards of other children. This
obviously may create many problems through the accidental breaking of plants or the many disagreements and squabbles which may occur. One group of women met this problem by an agreement that each one could declare her own yard "out-of-bounds" for a while to any child who came involved in what is strictly a children's problem. The mother in whose yard the children are playing is responsible and if the children get out of hand she can tell them to go home.

The absence of any business district within the community creates another sort of problem. Most housewives have become accustomed to relying upon a neighborhood store when they run out of some item, and in Kalahie this is not possible. Some women have partially resolved their problem by pooling rides for shopping and business. This has sometimes helped to promote a feeling of neighborhood. On the other hand, proposals for taking turns in watching children so as to free members for shopping or unattended work have not been enthusiastically received. The physical distance of Kalahie from the business centers on windward Oahu and from Honolulu has encouraged more than one housewife to learn to drive and the family to invest in a second car. Thus the two-car garage is shifting from the category of luxury to a necessity.

**BOOK REVIEW (Continued from page 29)**

within them. The problem of the barriers between the major economic and social groups within the pineapple community, particularly between the natives and the non-Natives has been better studied. Wright's interpretation of the lack of communication between these two elements as "deficient" is, in the light of recent research, a disservice. The massive evidence described, the entire story of what this means to the non-Native is largely left unexplored.

Pineapple Town. Hawaii sets a high standard of objective reporting and scholarly interpretation of an important phase of island life. It remains for the sons and daughters of Pineapple Town, perhaps some of the readers of this review, to complete the job as an equally high standard.

Andrew W. Lind

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**HAWE'S PUERTO RICANS: STEREOTYPE AND REALITY**

Robert F. O’Brien

Although agents of the Kingdon of Hawaii were sent to Puerto Rico in the 1900's to recruit laborers for the sugar plantations, the first large scale migration of Puerto Ricans to Hawaii came in December 1910. The initial group of laborers made the headlines in a near-riot over food service enroute to their jobs, and in the sixty years since that date Puerto Ricans, as a group, have found it easier to evade the headlines than to achieve a high reputation in the eyes of their neighbors.

Some of their difficulties lay in the fact that their homeland was the scene of poverty, chaos, and disease at the time of the first migration. The major handicap of the group, however, has been the social disorganization within the Puerto Rican community which has resulted in a high incidence of crime and a low degree of education and integration. More importantly it has led to the creation of social attitudes and habits unfavorable to the development of group morale and identification and the growth of civic organizations.

The often quoted report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii spoke of them as having left Puerto Rico at a time of widespread social disorganization, extreme poverty, and a smallpox epidemic. On this point the report is supported by the materials of Albert E. Monville, the chief recruiter for the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association, and our interviews with more than fifty first-generation Puerto Ricans still living in the Hawaiian Islands. The hurricane of August 8, 1899, took a toll of over twenty thousand lives in Puerto Rico and caused property damage amounting to millions of dollars. This was followed by a smallpox epidemic which killed many and brought about increased disorganization. With homes broken, families separated, farms destroyed, and the population facing extreme poverty and starvation, the immigrants gladly accepted the offer to come to the Hawaiian Islands as contract laborers in the hope of repairing their fortunes and returning to their homeland.

Certain demographic facts about the Puerto Rican migration are quite clear. Mr. Monville's recruitment for the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation Association resulted in eleven shipments bringing to Hawaii some 3,500 Puerto Ricans between December 23, 1899, and October 19, 1901. Of this number, 2,200 were men, and the rest were women and children. Our interviews show that these men came as scattered few who arrived between 1910 and 1918, and no large group came until the summer of 1921 when two lots of laborers totaling 675 arrived. Emigration from Hawaii, not back to Puerto Rico, but primarily to California, amounted to 1,740 for the years 1910 to 1930. In the decade there has been some individual immigration of Puerto Ricans as evidenced by former servicemen who have moved 4 with the assistance of Ednette Tame, Patay Inouye, and Carolyn Matonu, who interviewed Puerto Ricans on the Islands of Cahu, Hawaii, and Kauai respectively.

to Hawaii after the war and have taken part in the various local civic organizations. Emigration is still a factor in the turnover of leadership, of which the Puerto Rican Civic Association of Hawaii, 220 members, and the Bienes, 32 from Honolulu, 9 from Maui, and 18

In spite of significant emigration and a large scale immigration ratio, which was 145 males per 100 females in 1960, the decennial censuses show the following Puerto Rican population for the Hawaiian islands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>4,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>5,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>6,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>8,281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>9,555</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not so clear are the demographic facts about the quality of the first immigrants. The United States Commissioner of Labor reports that the promise of any immigrants that ever disembarked in Honolulu" of half starved, emaciated, and in some cases petty criminals, whose ability to select on the basis of quality. One informant from Honolulu believes the immigration ratio, and the epidemic made an already difficult adjustment even worse. He cites language and specific cultural barriers, such as consensual (common law) marriage, giving the children the mother's last name, and the traditional pattern of carrying weapons for protection, as making it difficult for the Puerto Rican to be "understood" by their neighbors.

Whatever the facts may be regarding the selection of the first immigrants, it is clear that the Puerto Ricans have faced many problems of with a high crime rate. To what extent is the stereotype justified? to other ethnic groups in the Hawaiian Islands? What are the prospects for upward mobility in the decade to come?

Ten years ago my colleague, Lee M. Brooks, made a study of "higher level of Puerto Rican life in Honolulu" and concluded that "their big job is with and for the young people today and tomorrow." Has the Puerto Rican community in the Islands made any advance since the 1948 survey?

The results of our 50-item schedule used in interviewing first and second-generation Puerto Ricans in Honolulu and on plantations and towns on Oahu, Maui, and Hawaii, together with a critical reading of materials in the Honolulu Advertiser, Social Research Laboratory and interviews with knowledgeable educators, social workers, settlement workers, religious leaders, and police and other officials have led to the following conclusions:

1. The majority of the Puerto Ricans continue to live in the plantation and rural farm areas of the Islands. By 1930 only 15 per cent of their population had established themselves in Honolulu. The 1950 census listed 45.8 per cent as living in the metropolitan Honolulu area as compared to half the population of the Islands as a whole.

Although the last census figures showed that Puerto Ricans were dispersed into thirty-four of Honolulu's census tract enumeration districts, there was still heavy concentration in the Kaliihi-ala and Palama districts near the location of their social and religious organizations.

2. While individual members of the group, particularly those of missed ancestry, may rise to high position in the socio-economic system, Puerto Ricans as a group continue to be over-represented in the less desirable occupations. Lind's analysis of the 1950 census data underlines this problem.

Employed Males 14 years of Age and Over Among Puerto Ricans and in the Total Population by Major Occupational Groups, 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Occupation</th>
<th>Per cent Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Worker</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager, Officials, Proprietors</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical, Sales, and Kindred</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and Kindred</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Despite their more than fifty years of residence in Hawaii, the Puerto Ricans have not effectively used the educational system as a means of improving their socio-economic status. Over 20 per cent of Puerto Rican 25 years and older have had no schooling and another 47 per cent reported attending the sixth grade or less. Of the 8 per cent

References:

6 Andrew W. Lind, "The Puerto Ricans in Hawaii" (mimeograph) 1956, p. 5.
who began high school only 2 per cent completed the twelfth grade and
less than two-tenths of one percent went on to college.7

4. Crime rates, though on the decrease, have been high, frequently
exceeding those of any other ethnic group in Hawaii. While these rates
may be partly explained in terms of a bad stereotype and conflict
between their mores and those of the other groups, the fact remains that the
Puerto Ricans are contributing more than their "share" to arrests, divorces, crimi
nal and juvenile court cases.

5. In spite of the low socio-economic status of the Puerto Ricans
their rate of intermarriages has more than doubled since 1912. Our
interviews would indicate that a significant factor in the increase has been the
presence of service personnel in Hawaii.

Table: Inter racial Marriages as Percentage of All Marriages, 1912-1953

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage of Marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1912-16</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-26</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-36</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-46</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-53</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Less tangible, but nevertheless of great importance, is the
lack of group identification. A number of individuals who have achieved
high status in the educational, professional and entertainment world of
Hawaii have attributed their success to their Puerto Rican ancestry. But between
the two, the status of the group has changed from "outsider" to "insider" to some other ethnic group.

7. At the same time that group identification presents a problem
to the community, there is a new recognition for Puerto Rican achievement
expressed in the larger community. Long credited with accomplishments
in music and athletics, the group is now beginning to get publicity for their
contribution to community chest, cancer, heart, tuberculosis and polio
fund drives. Such the Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star Bulletin
station KIKI broadcast a weekly program which recognizes the activities of
the community. Carmen Torry, a University of Hawaii student of Puerto Rican
ancestry, was one of the students selected to represent the Territory
at the 1958 World's Fair in Brussels.

8. Finally, the most hopeful indication that the Puerto Rican com-

munity is coming of age lies in the development of new leadership and
a plan of cooperation between the four local social organizations-The
Association (1932), the Puerto Rican Civic Association (1933), the Puerto Rican
Civic Association (1948) and the

Puhape Dr. Brook's suggestion that the big job is with and for the young
people today and tomorrow still holds the key for the Puerto Ricans of Hawaii.

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7from a specially prepared table from unpublished tabulations of
the Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Washington, D.C.
8adapted from Andrew W. Lind's Hawai'i's People, Honolulu, 1955,
accurately speaking Hawaii's progress merely reflects that of our whole nation, which, like Hawaii, has added at least 2 decades to life expectancy since 1900.

What this means is that we are going to have an increasing proportion of aged in our midst. In 1900 only 4 per cent of the U.S. population was aged. In 1900 we had less than 2 per cent over 65. In 1965 we have 4.4,000,000 octogenarians.

It is true that our image of what old-age means is also changing. It has be to speak of 85 people. Instead we refer to later maturity, concept of retirement. What this implies is that a person at sixty-five, and acts younger to all of us than many persons of any age would have life. Thus, in addition to the registered retirement from the job, parents in 1980 it was typical for one of the two persons to die two years before the last of the children was married, today (1965) the death of the first parent occurs fourteen years after the last child was married.

The situation has been well put by saying that to add years to life the community has made possible a longer life span for people and encourage the community's almost on these people years of relative inactivity and unemployment which contribute to their becoming chronic patients.

As an increasingly large number of older people face the future, the figure for them each year is years of increasing difficulty, years of only partial living, of over-burdening costs for the children? Can the the community's almost on these people years of relative inactivity and unemployment which contribute to their becoming chronic patients.

E xt nt of Other Disabilities

Besides the increasing number of aged we have many other categories of people who should be included in any discussion of the blind, the deaf, the physically disabled, the mentally ill, alcoholics, very long. In analyzing the problem we are faced with the difficulty that in contrast to the problem of the aged population, these categories of the ill are far more difficult to define and count.

Recognizing the difficulties with statistics, let me present a few that I have gathered.

There are serious difficulties in arriving at the incidence of blindness and deafness due largely to the fact that both disabilities run a wide range and there is no complete agreement as to the points at which visual and hearing abilities become blindness and deafness. The number of persons in our country with seriously impaired vision, including "blindness," is given at 200,000; of persons with impaired hearing at a million and a half. The deaf are harder to identify and count than the blind.

In Hawaii there are 160 blind according to the Bureau of Right Conservation. This figure makes the problem almost as serious as on the Mainland. I found no figures about the deaf in Hawaii, although between 3 and 10 per cent of the school population have been found to have some hearing loss, a percentage similar to that usually given for the nation. Diamond Head School for the deaf and blind has 100 children with seriously impaired hearing.

According to Switzer and Rust, "there are more than 6,000,000 people who require artificial limbs. The national Multiple Sclerosis Society reports that from 50,000 to 100,000 persons are victims of this disease. More than 750,000 have epilepsy, and about 10,500 new cases of cerebral palsy appear each year." Added to these are new victims of poliomyelitis, victims of accidents, and physically disabled from still other causes: arthritis, stroke, muscular dystrophy, etc. They estimate at two million the number in the nation who could benefit from rehabilitation. Dannie Bernard quotes Sokolin's estimate of 5,000,000 persons in the United States who in 1984 had disabilities of at least six months' duration.

If the national figures are applied to the population of Hawaii we get an expected number of 6,500 disabled candidates for rehabilitation and over 15,000 long-term disabled (6 months of longer) persons. Actually the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in Hawaii is serving 650.

America's 80,000,000 people with disabilities and related disorders is the largest number of any disorder in this country. The sick and disabled number in the millions, yet there is no comprehensive program designed to meet their needs.

An adequate system of rehabilitation and rehabilitation training is needed. This would give Hawaii an expected 1428 patients. The Department of Health reports 970 active cases on register December 31, 1950.
These figures give us merely a suggestion of how serious the problems of chronic illness are both in the nation and in Hawaii. As a sociologist, area, because only with adequate statistics can we define and analyze the new concept of a study of the 3 percent sample of the age issue on the community. The National Health Survey Oahu, and this may improve our picture of the situation in Hawaii.

Chronic illness certainly incurs fantastically large costs in terms looking at the savings which good rehabilitation accomplishes. To quote

In 1894, for example, of the 50,000 persons who were rehabilitated by state and federal agencies, 12 percent had never worked and 75 percent were not working when their rehabilitation began. Of these in temporary, unsatisfactory work. At the end of the and they were earning $200,000,000, i.e., $80,000,000 more than before rehabilitation.

This income produced $20,000,000 in taxes. In terms of lost taxes, lost personal income, cost of special care and public assistance, the bill of chronic illness to the community must stagger and mounting.

Here too we do not know the facts. We can only guess at the impact, but how can a community fully experience an impact unless it learns the facts and their meanings through research.

ORGANIZED COMMUNITY RESPONSE

With the facts we can come the planning of the whole mobilized community as it responds to the impact. What for instance could Hawaii plan to make it an ideal center for the disabled from the Mainland, for they would be added to Hawaii's income and thus help our economy. Whether in one of the questions we would have to face, if affirmative answered, having apartments, learning centers, and public prepared to accommodate people in wheelchairs and putting ramps in public buildings.

At present there is no realization of the need for such changes to accommodate even our own disabled. Many doctors' offices and clinics being in which the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation and the Department of its toilet facilities are not entered by wheelchair. Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has not been able to offer part-time jobs in their own offices to disabled people on their rolls, because of these unnecessary difficulties.

There is only the faintest beginning of changes in the community, with splendid cooperation from the staff of the Library of Hawaii, and, in the first major project of the new local organization of the physically hard-

capped, Abilities Unlimited. The University of Hawaii has made some

There is even overt organized resistance in certain neighborhoods to the presence of housing and institutions for the elderly. On two occasions in the past few months in two separate neighborhoods took organized negative action. In one situation the people of what would probably be called a lower-middle class area publicly objected to a proposed public low-income housing project for the elderly. In another situation, property owners in an upper-class area took court action to close a convalescent home, in an old mansion in the neighborhood. Here the objection was that property covenants dating back to 1919, long before the complaining present owners had bought their property specified that no "sanitariums, asylums, and boarding houses" could be established in the area. The present owners argued that the "home" threatened their property values.

IMPACT ON THE FAMILY

Chronic illness, which communities will have to face, also hits families and patients head on.

The particular family may belong to an ethnic or religious group whose definitions of illness accentuate the problem. In Hawaii we are aware of the shame which some groups associate with tuberculosis, mental illness, Hansen's disease, and other chronic conditions. Witness the case of a Japanese family several of whose members were institutionalized for Hansen's disease. My student informant writes: "Family X has been our neighbor for as long as I can remember. We came to know each other quite well, sharing our troubles. But during all these years, Mrs. X is still very touchy about the subject of Hansen's Disease." Another student writes, "Grandmother says I should never speak to anyone about my aunt's having tuberculosis. I have been telling her that it is not a disease to be ashamed of and that anyone can contract it if he is careless, and not in top condition. Although she agrees with me now, she still doesn't like the idea of talking about it." The guilt with which some patients feel as they look in bewilderment for a specific moral offense which brought on the disease is a heavy burden to more families and patients than we realize. Going along with this is the desperate shopping around for cures.

Most families are quite unprepared for a chronic patient. Societies have not yet had the time to develop a tradition for the care of the chronically ill, of the sort that will meet the growing need. The one tradition which does exist in many cultures is the care by children of aged parents. In creating gaps in our urbanized society and persons traditionally considered responsible for the care of aged parents, such as the oldest sons in Japan, we are now experiencing confusion and feelings of guilt. See the study by Dr. Clarence E. Gluck's students as reported by him in his last year's Social Trends in Hawaii. A Japanese oldest son is quoted by his interviewer as follows:

Sending your parents to Kukini (Old People's Home) and places like that is just like charity. It's the last straw, when
they go up there. If they (children) do that, the rest of the people going start talking, and they all say a few of you. And you know how the old folk think. They differrent from the Natives. When they go up there (Koakhi) they feel just like they're going up there. They close their eyes, they say they're going up there. That's why he died earlier up there.

On the other hand, another oldest one said, referring also to Koakhi:

Some people enjoy it out there; you know living among their own kind. Like I know my father will have to stay here alone, since my wife and I work. Maybe he might enjoy the company there. If he wants to go there I have no objection to sending him there.

Younger chronic patients, particularly children, even when they show promise of filling their treat with more freedom, and ready for something else, are often over-protected, or because of the strain on the family, they are kept in an environment which may be more meaningful lives.

When a family experiences chronic illness in one of its members the whole family has a serious problem and should be looked at as the patient, for a group they need help. This is something I fear is not fully recognized by many members of the highly specialized medical profession.

I am convinced not only from a sociological research, but also from my personal experience with and observation of rehabilitation, that the realistic acceptance of a disability, the motivation for a program of rehabilitation, and ultimately the maintenance of an independent personality, are linked in such a way that the patient is not only the main beneficiary of the treatment, but also the rest of the family.

But the American family is faced with burdens greater than in most societies. Writing on "Illness, Therapy and the Modern Urban American," the Harvard sociologist, Talcott Parsons, and his colleague, high levels of emotional bonding with relatively little margin for "shock," of the sort which, for instance, many individuals would tolerate. Indeed, there are many indications that the level of the marriage relationship itself, as well as the social role system is even closer to the maximum it can stand than in other settings.

REHABILITATION AND THE COMMUNITY

Two final points about the impact of chronic illness. One relates to the subject, rehabilitation, which is to be discussed by another panel. In the next two years I will try to relate the findings of this study to the larger context of the community. The patient is not only the main beneficiary of the treatment, but also the rest of the family. It is not only the social-psychological and physical rehabilitation programs, but the whole program of chronic illness itself that can be defined and analyzed in new terms.

Rehabilitation is modern medicine's answer to chronic illness. I am thinking of the quadriplegic patient who told me that he lay flat on his back in hospitals for over a decade. He was a case of chronic illness. Today he is sitting up and living with his family. Although with only an intermediate school education, he has an unusually good mind and is now widening his educational horizons, a fellow-patient acting as his major tutor. Unfortunately very delicate, he still has periods of being bedridden, but certainly he now leads a fuller life as a person and is more sociable.

The community plays a significant role in the lives of chronic patients. It is important for the community to understand the needs of these patients and to be able to follow through on their rehabilitation and thus revert to a chronic state.

THE COMMUNITY'S MORAL PROBLEM

Finally, I must refer to something which I confess distresses me both as a sociologist and as a person, namely the capricious way in which the large costs of chronic illness and rehabilitation hit families and individuals. It is, according to the philosophy of modern medicine, a non-moral context. In this context, the doctor does not ask why a given individual was sick. He treats him as an individual, not as a part of the larger family or community. We in the medical field have to recognize this and to recognize it as the responsibility of the community.

But in meeting the costs, which we all know are tremendous, of chronic illness and rehabilitation, we must consider not only the family, but also the community as a whole. This is true not only of chronic illness but of acute illness, as well. The community can do something about this by concentrating on the moral problems and by being more willing to accept the moral responsibility.

70
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Statistical data on Hawaii are from the annual reports of the Territorial Department of Health, Hawaii Housing Authority, the Department of Institutions, U.S. Census Reports, and Hawaii's People (Hawaii, 1937). I also received information orally from a number of agencies and persons in Honolulu.

I frequently cite Dr. Howard A. Bank of the Department of Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation, New York University School of Medicine, and an associate editor of the New York Times, as the source of much of the information on "rehabilitation" in the Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook. His influence in the cause of rehabilitation is widely recognized and has been important as the establishment of the Rehabilitation Center of Hawaii.

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Data on the blind and deaf are from Lee and Lee, p. 272 and from Barker, "The physically handicapped and the quotation are from Lee and Lee, p. 272. The over-all figures for the disabled are derived from Alfred M. Solari, "Estimated Prevalence of Long-Term Disability, 1954," Social Security Bulletin, 16 (June, 1953).

Data on mental illness are from Clason, p. 8.

The figures for tuberculosis in Lee and Lee, p. 276.

The quotation from Bernard on the costs of rehabilitation is on p. 297.

THE SURFING COMMUNITY: CONTRASTING VALUES

BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND CALIFORNIA SURFERS IN HAWAII

Ben Fixler

The sport of surfing, along with the lei and hula, stands as a symbol of the Hawaiian Islands and their Polynesian inhabitants. Although the sport is an integral part in the image of Hawaii shared by the citizenry of the world, surfing has gone far beyond the boundaries of the Hawaiian Islands. It is now practiced by those on the shores of five continents, as well as in the Pacific Island area. However, Hawaii remains the world center for surfing where, each year, surfers from the world over gather to enjoy the tremendous Pacific surf. It is the purpose of this paper to describe one of these overseas groups in Hawaii, the California surfers, and to consider some of the factors which affect the degree and character of this group's integration with the local surfers of Hawaii.

The term surfing, or what may be more simply referred to as surfing, is defined as the sliding toward shore on a cresting ocean wave while standing erect on a surfboard. As such, surfing in ancient Hawaii was a well-developed pastime practiced by all ages and classes, as well as by both sexes. During the nineteenth century the sport, like so many other Hawaiian customs, declined almost to the point of total extinction. It is therefore significant that surfing survives in the modern era and even flourishes today, whereas other Hawaiian sports and games remain only as memories.

In the early part of this century surfing was revived at Waikiki through the conscious effort of men who were interested in perpetuating Hawaiian water sports. From this center on Oahu the sport spread by the Olympic athlete, Duke Kahanamoku, to California and Australia. Since then developments made surfboards popular in Peru, South Africa, New Zealand, France, and most recently, in Israel. Each year, an influx of surfers is seen on Oahu from overseas, mainly from Australia, Peru and California. The latter group is the largest in number as well as the most devoted to a regular yearly migration.

Early in the fall, small groups of athletic young men arrive from California at the Honolulu airport with rather unconventional baggage. A surfboard wrapped in a blanket and a small hand valise containing a bathing suit, wetsuit and wetsuit a change of clothing are the primary items of this surfer's baggage. His intention is to enjoy at least four months of solid surfing. At the end of this period his surfboard serves as his ticket home, for the re-sale value on the boards is usually high enough to purchase a fare on one of the more economical airlines to California. Upon arrival, his prime objective immediately takes him out into the "country," to the north-west coast of Oahu, for the big surf. He avoids Waikiki beach and Honolulu and may never go there except for that one time when he must trade his board for a return ticket to California. These surfers, totaling between

A comparison of the biographies of two men, one from each group, pertaining to their surfing life, further shows some interesting differences. Both the Coast Hoos and the Hawaiian have won similar honors and recognition as champion surfers. The Californian is somewhat typical of the migrant California group as he has a college education and is regularly employed in Honolulu, thus only able to surf on weekends and some afternoons. Nevertheless, his biography reflects a general picture of a Californian surfer. A brief summary of Bill's surfing history follows.

Bill started surfing at the age of fourteen at Malibu Beach in Southern California. He was taught by the older boys who had already learned how to handle a surfboard. All through his school years he kept on surfing steadily. Following high school he enrolled in a Northern California university where his studies and competitive swimming echoed his surfing time in vacation periods. In his last two years of college he dropped competitive swimming and switched to a less demanding major so he could spend his afternoons and weekends surfing. After receiving a B. A. degree, Bill was drafted and while stationed on the East Coast acquired some notoriety for body-surfing during a hurricane. Following the service he decided to become a teacher so that he might have the summer and other vacations of the school year free for surfing. Bill is now twenty-eight and unmarried. He had recently come to Hawaii to follow a life of surfing and teaching. In summary, surfing has been Bill's dominant interest since his early teens and it has influenced his choice of a profession and residence.

The other surfer selected is a Hawaiian. He is one of the best surfers of Waikiki. His interest lies with the "Waikiki surfers" and the Waikiki, his history may reflect the "Waikiki surfers" to some extent.

Kimo was born in Honolulu of Hawaiian parents. He started surfing at Waimanalo when he was four or five years old. His family had been active in surfing and his brothers, uncles and cousins were his teachers. All through his school days he surfed whenever he could. Upon finishing school he started working at Waimanalo as a beachboy. His job entailed giving surfing lessons, paddling and steering the surfing canoe, and, in general, providing recreational services for the visitors at Waimanalo. He has been a beachboy-teacher except for two years in the service and a few trips to the mainland. He is also in his late twenties but is married and has a family. Surfing has become, in a sense, his way of earning a living and it is one of his principal forms of recreation.

It may be postulated that there will be little integration of the two surfing groups into a single community of surfers as long as a contrast in values exists between the groups. With the increasing number of Californians coming to Hawaii, with many of them staying the year round, and with some of the California surfing beaches, there is a strong possibility that the values of one group might approximate those of the other.

3. Bill and his Hawaiian counterpart, Kimo, are fictitiously named.