Social Process In Hawaii

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FOREWORD

BERNARD K. YAMAMOTO

It is perhaps a sign of Hawaii's "coming of age" that increasing public attention is being directed to the problems of community disorganization. The dislocation of industry and society growing out of the recent depression, coupled with the individual maladjustment resulting from the conflict of cultures, has necessitated the enactment of considerable social legislation in the Territory. The amount of such legislation has been conditioned by the energy of interested citizenry on the one hand and the indifference of legislators on the other.

"Social security" is coming more and more into the forefront of our community thinking as a consequence of the crucial issues arising out of unemployment, social and mental diseases, family conflicts, and broken homes. The need for accurate knowledge, not only of the extent of these problems, but also as to their causation, has likewise been impressed upon the community and a series of fact-finding surveys and researches with respect to these problems have been undertaken during the past few years. During the summer of 1937, Dr. Franklin G. Elbaugh of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital directed a survey of the mental health conditions in the Territory, which resulted in the creation of a mental health clinic on a demonstration basis by the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the City and County government of Honolulu. During 1938-1939 the Honolulu Council of Social Agencies made a survey of the juvenile delinquency problem in the Kalihi section of Honolulu with special emphasis on the function of the family in the misconduct of young offenders. A series of basic studies in the field of social pathology have been undertaken by the Department of Sociology of the University of Hawaii and by various civic organizations in the Territory.

It is in the spirit of adding somewhat to a scientific knowledge and a sympathetic understanding of the problems within this field that Social Process in Hawaii has selected the articles for this issue around the central theme of social disorganization in Hawaii. The dynamic qualities of any community lead to growth and decay; and disorganization is no less natural or inevitable than organization. The peculiar character of Hawaii's plantation economy, necessitating the large importations of cheap labor from Asia, Southern Europe, the West Indies, Oceania, and more recently from the Philippines, has intensified the problems of cultural conflict and disorganization found in any immigrant community. It is perhaps for this reason that the following articles may appear to be unduly weighed with a consideration of the problems of the immigrant groups and the break down of their cultures.

A predatory statement on social disorganization in Hawaii is designed to orient the reader to the theme of this year's issue. Dr. Andrew W. Lind calls attention first to the community disorganization growing out of the conflict of cultures and the weakening of
old moral values which accompany the growing secularization of life in the Islands and secondly to the community disputation occasioned by the maturation of Island plantation economy and the increasing influence in Hawaii of mainland conceptions of industrial democracy. He points out that the rapid glutting of the labor market with both trained and unskilled workers and the growing manifestation of labor unrest as manifested in strikes and lockouts are causing Hawaii's social planners apprehension concerning the future.

Dr. Herbert Blumer, visiting professor of sociology from the University of Chicago, affords the student of social psychology a keen insight into the problems affecting the interaction of races and groups of people of diverse cultural backgrounds. Dr. Blumer contends that racial prejudice is essentially a group manifestation of dislike for the stranger, based upon a psychology of ethnocentrism. Racial prejudice becomes excessive under conditions where the ingroup assumes a position of social and political superiority over the outgroup. An individual comes to exhibit hatred and dislike for another group only when his own group has defined the situation for him. And conversely where only a small number of another group appear in the immigrant community racial prejudice will be less acute.

A study of Honolulu Japanese barbers girls which is presented in this publication is an abstract of a larger study by Miss Yukiko Kimura, Japanese secretary of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. and formerly a resident of Japan. The abstract reveals something of the cultural conflict in the lives of the barbers girls who are precluded by their minimum training in the public schools, long working hours, and the close supervision of the proprietors, from a vital participation in the American community about them. Their personalities have been largely formed around the old country values and standards. However, the very fact of a superficial and secondary contact with the American culture is resulting in overt behavior which the outsider may interpret as disorganizing—the reading of cheap American magazines, going to movies, and engaging in off-color conversations.

Social workers particularly will value the article by Miss Eileen Blackey, director of social work training at the University of Hawaii. She has provided a working compendium of the major cultural factors in the local situation of which the social worker must take account. This article should prove a useful corrective for the common tendency of recent arrivals from continental United States to interpret social relations here in terms of mainland values and stereotyped attitudes.

The article by Charles Keau, student of Hawaiian culture and a parole worker in Honolulu, reveals the manner in which certain persistent elements in the native culture have run counter to American laws and moral standards as interpreted by social workers.

The paper by Bernard K. Yamamoto develops the proposition that Japanese juvenile delinquency was formerly kept at a minimum by the strong control of the Japanese ghetto, but today the Japanese rate is steadily increasing because of the break down of old country customs and institutions as a result of the interaction of cultures.

The peculiarities of the local cultural situation provide the basis for the article by Caroline Lee, junior student in sociology, on the problem of desertion in Hawaii.

The paper on the administration of public welfare includes objective data concerning dependency in its various aspects in Hawaii and the problems faced by the social worker working in this field. In this paper Iwa Minuta deals especially with the case worker's problem of budgeting the client's monthly allowance.

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SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION IN HAWAII
ANDREW W. LIND

Hawaii may be thought of, from one point of view, as an area of profound and widespread social disorganization, a region in which cultures are breaking down and moral systems are losing their influence. As in other places where different races and cultures meet, the building of a common order in which all may participate is contingent upon a certain disruption of established customs and values—in short, of what we ordinarily mean by social disorganization. The price of Americanization, of a working unit in an immigrant situation of diverse cultures is always a greater or lesser degree of temperate disorder and disorganization. This is perhaps self-evident, but like so many truths, it is frequently overlooked.

But the extent and character of the disorganization has obviously varied from time to time and from place to place. We cannot speak of the differences from the conventional term of behavior during the adventurous Sandwich days as being in quite the same category, let us say, as the secularization and individualization of conduct which is going on today. Nor is it particularly enlightening to discuss the wild and variant behavior of the early womenless and homeless labor immigrants to Hawaii as being of the same character as the gradual enactment of the second generation from the rigid rules of the first generation ghettos. The flaming of conventional American sex mores by the scrubbing tourist in Hapa's Acre and the casual shipping in and out of common-law marriage relations in Hele's Acre may both be regarded as "problems" by different groups of observers.

Social workers, teachers, publicists, hana-waachs, and even tourists are constantly calling attention to "problems", social situations which distress and disturb them, and "neat which something ought to be done". They have included all of the phenomena just mentioned and a great many others ranging from nude-bathing to suicide. A classification of these "problems" would desirably be reconciled to the common conception of social disorganization in Hawaii, but unfortunately there is too little agreement as to what constitutes a "social problem". For what is one man's vice is another man's pleasure.

The common element in the "problems" with which we shall be concerned in this paper is the dissolution or multifaceting of the accepted rules of behavior in the Hawaiian community. The breakdown of social controls is, of course, as complete as long as society continues to function at all, and it is always accompanied by the correlated reforming or reorganizing tendencies of the community. The special function of this article is to take a look at some of the causes which contribute to social disorganization in Hawaii.

The social forces released with the discovery of Hawaii in 1778 were responsible for a series of social dislocations which are still marked in the islands. The devastation of the hapa system, "keystone of the arch that supported the traditional culture of old Hawaii," was thought by many students to be complete before the arrival of the missionaries. Actually the more significant, if less dramatic, phases of the process occurred as late as the nineties. During the greater part of the last century the system of moral values and of institutions which had given meaning and direction to the lives of the native Hawaiians during the generations prior to Captain Cook was gradually losing its effectiveness under the steady impact of Western influences. Special, particularly, but also the missionary effort and the plantation system. This collective desocialization, measured by the widespread loss of confidence in the old system of values, had probably reached its peak nearly a century ago.

There was on the other hand the disorganization typified by the sailor and beachcomber who left their marks at home. The accounts of drunken brawls and riots which fill the pages of Hawaiian journals and memoirs during much of the nineteenth century are a reflection of the wild expressive behavior of young men away from home and family controls, as well, perhaps as of the reaction to the rigid discipline and monotony of life at sea.

Both of these types of disorganization have their counterparts in the experience of the subsequent immigrant groups. First in point of time has usually been the individualized expectation—the risible behavior of the recently arrived immigrant who has been released from the restraining influence of the name of the homeland and is not yet initiated or responsive to those of the new. Without exception each of the various ethnic groups has been subject to criticism for the moment of disorder occasioned by its single men soon after their arrival in Hawaii. The rigorous control of the plantation served to diminish but not to eliminate such vices as prostitution, gambling, and the use of drugs, but in the urban communities particularly these forms of variant behavior found expression. Usually the arrival of a sufficient number of immigrants with the same cultural heritage and the establishment of a stable family life in the new community brought about a reorganization of life largely on the basis of old-country standards.

The demands of the new situation however, placed serious obstacles in the smooth functioning of old-country morals in Hawaii. For the orderly, well-organized immigrant community might be, its members usually secured their livelihood outside the racial ghettos under circumstances which compelled some critical evaluation of their own moral standards. Merely to discover that there are different conceptions of right and wrong, different modes of securing and treating a marriage mate, of controlling and organizing of current events, is typically called
into question the sanctity of the old values. Continued contact with peoples of widely differing cultural systems leads inevitably to moral relativism and the individualization of behavior. The urban setting particularly, with its greater freedom of movement and emancipation from conduct-defining groups such as the family, church, and neighborhood greatly intensified these disorganizing tendencies, and we may anticipate a continuation of these trends as the plantations and other rural areas are increasingly brought within the sphere of urban influence.

The so-called "second-generation problem" represents one of the more dramatic aspects of the disorganization arising from the meeting of several cultures in Hawaii. For the Island-born children of alien ancestry conduct becomes a matter, not of blind adherence to customs, but of choice between the rigid standards of their parental culture and the somewhat flexible moral definitions of the American community. That in the process many should avoid the dilemma by following merely their own inclinations and desires is surely not surprising. As in other areas of extensive immigration, the second generation contributes much more to crime and delinquency in proportion to their numbers than do the first generation, and there is evidence that the ratios are increasing as the process of Americanization continues.

A new element has been injected into the Island situation as it affects social organization and disorganization through a fundamental shift in the economy. Whereas a generation ago Hawaii was clearly a region of "open resources," where the means of securing a livelihood were open to all able-bodied persons in the community, within the past fifteen years definite limitations to the occupational opportunities within the territory have begun to appear. There is evidence of a differential rate of maturation of island economy as between industry and population, with a consequent state of disequilibrium. For the first time in history, Hawaii's labor problem has shifted from one of providing an adequate supply of workers for an expanding industry to one of finding sufficient employment for an expanding population.

It is estimated that under conditions which existed in 1936 an excess of approximately 3,000 persons were being added annually to the employable population over fifteen years of age, while at the same time the total employment remained practically stationary. For the first time during the past eight years, unemployment has been a reality in Hawaii. Territorial planners estimate that there are between four and five thousand unemployed at present (May, 1939) and the number is expected to increase by another two thousand in the near future. The effect of widespread unemployment upon individual and community morale in a region where self support is still part of the mores is not difficult to imagine.

The problem may be conceived somewhat differently in terms of the mounting surplus of adults with vocational and economic hopes and aspirations which cannot be realized under the existing economy. Hawaii has been for long a land of opportunity, where the penniless immigrant found not only a livelihood but frequently also a road to wealth, that it is difficult now to accept the reality of a changed situation. Less than one fifth of our employed population are engaged in the so-called "preferred positions"—professional, proprietary, and clerical—and there is little prospect of this ratio increasing materially. The bulk of our vocational opportunities, over 65 per cent, fall in the least desirable fields of unskilled and domestic labor. Certainly the preferred fields in Hawaii cannot accommodate even the major portion of the 3,000 annual graduates from our public and private high schools. The misplaced hopes and ambitions and the subsequent disillusionment of youth in Hawaii are perhaps similar to those of other areas, but the greater magnitude of the striving of Island young people intensifies all the more the loss of confidence, not only in the social system, but in themselves, when their hopes prove futile.

Still another and closely related form of social disorganization in Hawaii which has attracted public attention only within the past few years is the problem growing out of industrial conflict. The political character of the plantation, with its system of peonages, bonnies, contracts, and private policing, has served to discourage the over expressions of labor unrest. Labor, on the other hand, because of its racial and cultural cleavages, its lack of a tradition for organization, has failed thus far in achieving a solid front in its struggles. Within the past five years, however, as a consequence of a growing class consciousness on the part of an educated and vocal citizenry whose expectations of individual advancement along the economic ladder had been rudely shaken, and as a consequence of mainland legislation, labor organization in the urban centers has greatly increased. A number of serious strikes and lockouts have occurred both on the plantations and in the urban centers.

As the lines between labor and capital are more sharply drawn, and classes are more effectively organized for conflict, the dangers of community disorganization obviously increase. The immediate future is almost certain to increase the points of friction which public interests suffer. It is still too early to predict the manner in which the conflict may be resolved.

Finally some attention should be directed to the problem of race prejudice, from which Hawaii has been relatively free thus far in its history. The historical accidents responsible for what Dr. Adams calls "the unorthodox race doctrines of Hawaii" or its "mores of racial equality" need not particularly concern us here. What is significant, however, is the appearance of a...
number of intrusive factors in the local situation—the mounting influence of the military and the malahini tourist population with their traditions of a racial caste system, the diminishing opportunity for occupational advancement, and the corresponding rise of a large lower class citizenry—which now constitute a definite challenge to Hawaii's system of race relations. Despite the steady process of assimilation, assisted by the forces of school, press, and political party, barriers to full participation are likely to evoke and intensify the latent prejudices within the racial situation. The strength of the older Hawaiian tradition of race relations will unquestionably serve to defer and mitigate the dangers of this form of community disorganization, but they can scarcely prevent it entirely.

The correlated process of reorganization, without which this picture of the Island situation is obviously incomplete, will be discussed in subsequent issues of Social Process in Hawaii.

THE NATURE OF RACE PREJUDICE
HERBERT BLUMER

When one views the recent and present relations between races in different parts of the world he must necessarily be impressed by the magnitude, the tenacity, and the apparent spontaneity of racial prejudice. That it is exceedingly common can scarcely be denied. That it may persist as a chronic attitude over decades of time can be shown by several instances. That it may emerge immediately in new contacts between races can be easily documented, especially in the contacts of whites with other ethnic groups. Indeed, so impressive is its extensiveness, persistence, and apparent spontaneity that many students regard it as inevitable. They believe that it arises from some simple biological tendency—such as an innate aversion of race to race—which is bound to express itself and to dominate race relations.

Interestingly enough, the actual facts of race relations force us to adopt a very different view. For, frequently, racial prejudice may not appear in racial contacts; if present, it may disappear; or, although present, it may not dominate the relations. Instead of thinking of racial prejudice as an invariant and simple matter it must be viewed as a highly variable and complex phenomenon. This is shown, first of all, by the markedly differing character of race relations themselves. There are many instances where members of divergent races may associate in the most amicable and free fashion, intermarrying and erecting no ethnic barriers between them. Other instances there may prevail rigid racial exclusion supported by intense attitudes of discrimination.

Between these extremes there may be other forms of association. Further, the history of any fairly prolonged association between any two ethnic groups usually does not show the continuous existence of any fixed or invariant relation. Instead the association and the attitudes which sustain it usually pass through a variety of forms. The markedly differing and variable nature of race relations should make it clear that racial prejudice is not inevitable or bound to dominate the relations. Even though it be very common and very tenacious it must be recognized as merely one form of ethnic relation. It must or may not be present; and even when present, it usually arises inside of a temporal sequence of relations.

Even more important is the realization that racial prejudice is highly variable itself. Instead of always having the same form, nature, and intensity, it may differ a great deal from time to time and from place to place. A comparison of instances of racial prejudice shows that it may differ in intensity, in quality of feeling, in the views by which it is supported, and in manifestation. The prejudice of the American southerner toward the Negro may be great, but it is recognized by many as being less than that of the South African white toward his colored neighbors. The attitude of prejudice of the gentle toward the Jew has varied in intensity and form from locality to locality and
from time to time. Ethnic prejudice may be bitter in one situation and mild in another. The fact that we generally speak of an increase or decrease of prejudice points to its variability. 

Thus, while prejudice is very real and obtrusive, and while it is permissible to treat it as a type phenomenon, recognition must be taken of its changeable and differing character.

The fact that prejudice is not a constant companion of race relations, and that it is variable in its nature, indicates that it is a product of certain kinds of situations and experiences. Two problems are immediately apparent: (1) what are the situations which give rise to racial prejudice, and (2) what experiences account for the variation in its nature and form. Before discussing these two problems it is advisable to consider briefly the nature of race prejudice and point out some of the features by which it is usually identified.

Race prejudice always exists as a group prejudice directed against another group. This means two important things: (1) it exists as a collective or shared attitude, and (2) it is directed toward a conceptualized object or abstract category. Each of these two features requires some explanation. Race prejudice is a collective or shared attitude in the sense that it is held by a number of people, who stimulate one another in the expression of the attitude. Through this form of interaction they build up, sustain, and reinforce the attitude in one another. Through conversation, through the observation of one another’s actions, through relating one’s experiences, through the expression of one’s feelings and emotions before others, through circulating tales, stories and myths, the members of an ethnic group come to build up a common or collectively shared attitude. This shared character of the attitude of racial prejudice raises the interesting question as to how far the attitude is shaped by the interchange of experience, rather than by direct contact with the group toward which the attitude is directed. All that needs to be indicated here is that this character will differ in accordance with what enters into these collective experiences.

In speaking of race prejudice as directed toward a “conceptualized object” or abstract category, all that is meant is that the object toward which it is directed represents a classification of individuals and so is an abstract category inside of which we conceptually arrange individuals. For example, we may speak of prejudice against the Jew, the Negro or the Oriental; in these cases, the Jew, the Negro, and the Oriental stand respectively for certain large classifications or categories in which we conceptually arrange people. The prejudice exists as an attitude toward the classification or is built up around the conceptualized object which stands for the classification. Or, paradoxically, we may say that the prejudice exists as an attitude toward what is logically an abstraction.1 The prejudice is manifested against a specific individual by identifying the individual with the conceptualized object and then directing toward him the attitude that one has toward the conceptualized object. Thus one may identify an individual as being a Negro, and thus be led to direct toward him the attitude that one has toward the Negro. If a Negro successfully disguises himself (as by wearing a turban which gives him the appearance of being a Hindu) so that he is not detected or classified as a Negro, he will escape the attitude which is held toward the Negro. Perhaps all this is obvious; but it is important to recognize that racial prejudice is directed toward a conceptualized object, and that individuals come to he the brunt of this prejudice to the extent to which they are identified with the conceptualized object.

The two features which we have just discussed—the fact that the attitude is a product of collective experience, and that it is directed toward a conceptualized object—are intimately interrelated. Generally we may say (a) that the content of the collective experience determines the form and nature of the conceptualized object, and (b) that the conceptualized object becomes a framework inside of which collective experience may take place.

Let us explain each of these two statements. With reference to the first statement it should be pointed out, first of all, that the content of collective experience of one group will determine what classifications they will make of other peoples and so what conceptualized objects they will build up. This gives to the conceptualized objects a somewhat arbitrary character. Thus the American gentile will ordinarily have a concept of the Jew which takes no recognition of the keen conceptual differentiations that the Jews are liable to make among themselves, such as between Spanish Jews, German Jews, Russian Jews, or Polish Jews. Or the American white may conceive the Negro as consisting of individuals who have any trace of Negro ancestry, whereas what the Frenchman means by the Negro is likely to be a very much narrower group. Many other instances could be given; but the illustrations will suffice to show that the particular classifications which are made or which are selected out may vary considerably. The variation seems to be due to the differences of group experience. Not only is the form of the conceptualized object determined by collective experience but the way in which the object is conceived is determined by this experience. This should be self-evident. 

Swelling white with their experiences during the war and following the civil war formed a conception of the Negro which was necessarily different from that developed by the whites in Brazil, where the line of experience was essentially different.

While the conceptualized object is formed, shaped, and colored by the experiences of the group, it is equally true that the conceptualized object, orders, directs, and constrains the experiences of the group. So we come to explain object (b) mentioned above. When a concept of an ethnic group is formed and that group is conceived in a certain way, the concept and the conception will influence to a large extent the kind of experience that people will have in their association with members of that

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1 This point is of considerable importance because when the object of a given attitude is an abstraction, it is possible for individuals to abstract and extract before which may vary widely from the facts of concrete experience.
ethnic group. They will subject this association to the form and framework that is laid down by their concept and conceptions of the ethnic group; accordingly, the kind of experiences they have with members of another ethnic group is largely coerced by this framework. The southern white in his contact with a Negro acts toward him on the basis of a pretty fixed conception that he has of him, expects from him a certain kind of behavior, is sensitized to perceive certain actions, is prepared to interpret these actions in well-defined ways, and is ready to respond emotionally in a fixed manner. This will suggest how the conceptualized object which is had of a race may largely predetermine the collective experiences that come from association with members of that race. Reasons will be given later to suggest why this predetermination of experience by the conceptualized object may become rigid and extreme, and under what conditions it may be slight and malleable. Here it is sufficient merely to point out that collective experience and conceptualization interact to control one another, and to suggest that this mutual control may become so tight that they become essentially one, or their natures identical.

The experiences of ethnic group A with ethnic group B, built up as they are largely in terms of the interaction inside of group A, will reflect themselves in the conception which group A has of group B; this conception will largely control the nature of the experiences which the members of group A have with group B, and the way in which they digest these experiences in their interaction with one another. The history of race prejudice is a history of the interaction between concept and experience. This is what is involved, then, in the statement that race prejudice is a case of prejudice of one group against another group.²

It is time now to consider what is peculiar to the attitude of racial prejudice—what distinguishes it from other kinds of racial attitudes. The usual tendency is to regard this attitude as simple or unitary, as if it were made up of a single feeling such as dislike or hatred. Such a view, however, is impossible and cannot be squared with facts. Admittedly, the chief feeling in racial prejudice is usually a feeling of dislike of an impulse of aversion; but it is a mistake to regard such a feeling or impulse as the only one, or even necessarily always the main one. Instead, racial prejudice is made up of a variety of feelings and impulses which in different situations enter into the attitude in differing combinations and differing proportions. Hatred, dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, secret curiosities, sexual interests, destructive impulses, guilt—these are some of the feelings and impulses which may enter into racial prejudice and which in their different combinations give it a differing character. Some of these feelings and impulses may be vivid and easily identified; others are obscure; and still others may be present without their presence being realized. We are forced, I think, to realize that the attitude of racial prejudice is constituted and sustained by a variety of impulses and feelings, and that it gets its peculiar complexion from the peculiar nature of these impulses and feelings. In this way we can account for the differences in racial prejudice that have already been mentioned. The impulses and feelings that come to be embodied in a given instance of racial prejudice have been induced and shaped by the past and present experiences of the given ethnic group. From this point of view we can regard race prejudice as a medium for the expression of various feelings and impulses, some of which may be the consequence of experiences that have no reference to the group against which the prejudice is manifested.

The complexity of the constituent and sustaining elements of an attitude of race prejudice makes it difficult to explain exhaustively the experiences and situations that give rise to racial prejudice. Yet, certain of the more important lines of origin can be pointed out. One of them, undoubtedly, is the general ethnocentrism of groups, showing itself in some aversion to strange and peculiar ways of living, and in a feeling of the inherent superiority of one's own group. There seems to be little doubt that many actions of a strange and alien group may appear uncouth and sometimes repulsive and lead to the formation of an unfavorable impression which may come to be built up into a collective attitude. Such an attitude because it springs from the perception of actions which seem to be offensive and occasionally disgusting may get rooted in the antipathies of people. In addition the general feeling of the superiority of one's own group leads easily to the tendency to disparage other groups, to discriminate against them, and to take advantage of them. There seems to be little doubt that ethnocentrism, in these two phases, is a primitive tendency of group life; as such it must be reckoned with as a nucleus around which an attitude of racial prejudice may develop. And the greater the ethnocentrism, the greater is the likelihood that it may lead to group prejudice. Something of this is to be seen in the frequency with which racial prejudice appears among expanding imperialistic peoples.

Yet, however important ethnocentrism may be as a factor in racial prejudice, it does not seem to be the decisive factor. Of more importance is what amounts to a primitive tribal tendency in the form of fear of an attack, of displacement, or of annihilation. This is suggested by the nature of the situations where racial prejudice is usually most pronounced and serious. Racial prejudice is usually most acute in a social situation which has the following characteristics.

1) The two ethnic groups live together in some degree.

² It is clear that whether an individual generalizes his distasteful or distasteful experiences into an attitude of prejudice against a group depends largely on the presence of conceptualized objects in his culture. An American white may have highly distasteful experiences with one or several red-headed people; he is very unlikely to develop an attitude of prejudice against the "red-head," because in American culture there is no conceptualization of the "red-head" which would encourage this. The same is true of experiences with Negroes; one might easily lead him to form a prejudiced attitude against the Negro; in this instance the form of conceptualization would easily permit and justify such a generalization of experience. Further, even if one does develop an attitude of prejudice against a conceptualized group built up out of his own experience it is likely to be weak and ineffective unless shared by his fellows. One is largely sustained in his attitude by the reinforcement which he gets from his fellows.
The subordinate ethnic group is accepted to some extent, in the sense that it is associated with and depened upon by the dominant ethnic group. The relation between the two groups may be one of more accommodation or symbiosis, but in any event, the two groups live together inside of a common terri-tory as parts of a unitary society.

2) The acceptance of the subordinate ethnic group, however, is limited and involves various kinds of ex-clusion and discrimination. There are certain privilie-ges and opportunities which its members are regard-ed as not being entitled to. In this sense, the subor-dinate ethnic group is assigned to an inferior status or, as is frequently said, it is expected to keep to a certain place.

3) The dominant ethnic group has a fear that the sub-ordinate group is not keeping to its place but threat-ens to claim the opportunities and privileges from which it has been excluded. As such, it is accused and felt as a threat to the status, security, and wel-fare of the dominant ethnic group.

It is in a social situation with these three features that racial prejudice seems to have its primary setting. As the saying goes, as long as the subordinate ethnic group keeps to its place, preju-dice toward it is at a minimum. Indications of getting out of its place are felt by the dominant ethnic group as an attack and in-voke primitive feelings of tribal protection and preservation. Some of the areas of exclusion have a particularly strong symbolic sig-nificance, so that entrance into such areas is an especially acute sign of what is felt to be unwarranted and dangerous aggression and attack. Unaccustomed economic competition ranks high here; also entrance into the more intimate sphere of exclusion. What adds pecularly to this feeling of being attacked is the fact that the dominant and subordinate ethnic groups, as mentioned above, are usually living together. This means that the attack seems to come from an "inner enemy." The resulting apprehension seems to be of peculiar complexity—more abiding, more perplexing, more worrisome and more unstable. The fact that the threatening group must be accepted yields an anomalous and instable charac-ter to the feelings of apprehension.

The greater the threat which is felt, the greater is likely to be the prejudice. The size of the subordinate ethnic group, its degree of militance, its degree of claustrophobia, and the extent of its claims are factors which are likely to determine the extent of the threat. On the other hand, the dominance of the group, the degree of ethnocentrism, the degree of tribal solidarity, the rigidity of the idea of its own status, and the tightness of the lines of exclusion which it involves are factors which increase the likelihood of its construing actions as an attack upon it.

The foregoing discussion should make clear the general char-acter of racial prejudice and the lines along which it is formed. If ethnic contacts are attended by feelings of ethnocentrism, and if the ethnic group in the dominant position feels that its common status is insecure and is under the threat of an attack by a sub-or-dinate ethnic group, prejudice seems to be the inevitable result. Ethnocentrism helps to set and sustain patterns of social exclu-sion. Failure to observe these patterns by the excluded group are felt as threats and attacks to tribal status, security, and welfare. Feelings of aversion, fear, and hostility—all more or less in a state of suspension—seems to be the result.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the formation of racial prejudice is not an immediate or inevitable matter but that, instead, it is a product of collective experience, and is dependent upon the extent to which this collective experience fits the condi-tions which have been specified. The initial conditions of ethnic contact may or may not be conducive to the development of racial prejudice; if the framework of ethnocentrism is not laid down along ethnic lines, racial prejudice is not likely to get started. (As in the case of the early expansion of Mohammedanism which, while involving extensive ethnic contacts, was organized on the basis of religious ethnocentrism and gave rise to religious preju-dices. Further, the incidents of experience in the association between ethnic groups may or may not lead a dominant group to feel that it is being threatened.

When specific instances of racial prejudice are traced through it will usually be found that the prejudice has followed upon a series of experiences or incidents which are resented by a domi-nant ethnic group and construed as affronts, unwarranted aggres-sions and attacks—usually as signs of a possibly more abiding and more threatening attack. The history of race prejudice could be written (and would have to be written) in terms of such inci-dents, especially the more exciting ones. For it is such incidents that stir people, arouse feelings, and initiate that interchange of experience that we can speak of metaphorically as a process of collective digestion. Such collective experiences yield the new meaning and content that become fused into the "conceptualized object" which the one ethnic group has made of the other. Since these collective experiences are an outgrowth of primitive and deep seated feelings, it is not surprising that the conceptualized object becomes emotional and fixed in nature, and that in acquir-ing such a form it exercises a coercive control over subsequent col-lective experience. A social situation favoring (and attended by) a run of incidents, especially of a critical nature, which make a dominant ethnic group feel that its position is being jeopardized and its security seriously threatened can easily condense to tenacious racial prejudice. A very powerful complex of feelings and sen-timents may develop, under the influence of collective experience, and become fused into the conceptualized image of an ethnic

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It should be realized that an attitude of racial prejudice once formed, is transmissible. It may be brought into a situation where it has not previ-ously existed or contributed to those times, but circumstances have not brought about a consideration which is not subject to the situations which do not have the features which we have been showing.
It is not surprising that the attitude of racial prejudice should become deeper embedded in the individual as the collective feeling becomes more intense and the conceptualized object more emotionally involving. It may even deeply rooted in the individual's antipathies so that the individual's organism rebels at even the thought of entering into certain kinds of relations—especially intimate touch relations—with members of the other ethnic group. Such antipathies seem to be in the nature of strong defense reactions which seem to be symbolic of the collective feelings of exclusiveness and fear of invasion. Indeed, although it might seem incredible, the primitive feeling of tribal preservation may become transferred to the antipathies so that some of them become more important than existence itself. The Southern whites would probably prefer the thought of annihilation to the thought of their women becoming the consorts of Negroes.

The analysis of racial prejudice which has been made should throw some light on the uniqueness of behavior in which racial prejudice may at times express itself, and on the ease with which it may become a scapegoat mechanism. Since the attitude of prejudice is rooted in a primitive feeling of tribal preservation and may, under the influence of historical experience, become highly symbolical of such a tribal position, it is not surprising that in response to a critical incident, it might express itself in vicious and brutal behavior. Deep rooted fears, restrained and simmering hatreds, strong defense feelings, and strongly felt antipathies may all gain in expression at such a time. Indeed, many other feelings and impulses which enter into the structure of the attitude—especially the more unconscious ones—may gain expression at this time. (It is well to remember, as stated previously, that a variety of impulses and feelings may enter into the attitude of racial prejudice as a result of the collective experiences of the group.)

Light is also thrown on the ease with which racial prejudice may become a scapegoat mechanism. Mention has already been made of the fact that the interchanging of experience between members of an ethnic group may be more influential in the formation of their attitude than actual experience with the group toward which prejudice is developed. This condition the subordinate ethnic group is no longer felt as a threat. This may be brought about in a number of ways. The subordinate ethnic group may keep itself so assigned to some place or to some dominant group that it is no longer felt as a threat. Or the subordinate group may retreat to a segregated position, reducing its contacts with the dominant group, and building up a bilateral society. Both of these adjustments have gone on, and are going on today, in different parts of the world; but they seem to be only temporary appeasements—under modern conditions of communication and contact such adjustments can scarcely be expected to solidify or endure. The other way by which the subordinate ethnic group is no longer felt as a threat is by the dominant group changing its conceptualization of the subordinate groups, so that the group is no longer regarded as offensive and unacceptable. To the extent to which the group is regarded as acceptable and amenable, to this extent it ceases to be regarded as a threat. Where the acceptance is full, the meaning of the original ethnic classification has disappeared.

Modern intentional efforts to break down racial prejudice...
are usually always along this third line, that is they try to change
the idea which people of one race have toward another. We see
this effort in the case of some churches, some educational agencies,
and some humanitarian groups and individuals, all of whom try
to point out the injustice and absurdity of a prevailing view of ra-
cial prejudice. The importance of such efforts is not to be mini-
imized, but it is essential to determine whether the introduction
of new social life into personal antipathies and these do not
change easily even though it be shown that the conceptualiza-
tion is false and unjustifiable. Efforts to have members of differ-
ent races appreciate their common human character by entering
into personal contact are likely to be more fruitful; for where
people have an opportunity to identify themselves with one an-
other and to learn each other’s personal experiences, a collective
conceptualization is difficult to maintain. But even such efforts
are limited in possibility and run counter again to antipathies.
Any profound change in antipathies is likely to come only as a
result of a new body of collective experience built up, either around
new issues in which the ethnic factor is of no import, or based on a
shift in the social scene (such as an extensive population change)
in which races are brought into new forms of interdependence.

In closing this paper I wish merely to note that no discussion
has been given in it to the topic of counter-prejudice—the defen-
sive prejudice of the subordinate ethnic group against the domi-
nant one. In many ways this countervailing force is more compli-
cated, interesting and important than direct racial prejudice. It
has been little studied.

AN ISLAND COMMUNITY
ANDREW W. LIND
(The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1938)

Hawaii’s incorporation into the world economy has brought
with it many changes in the Islands’ economic and social struc-
ture. Trade, in particular, has been a factor in the disorganiza-
tion of native life and aided in the depopulation of Hawaii.
The production of island crops for world markets—par-
ticularly sugar—absorbs increasing areas of arable land and at-
tracted large amounts of foreign capital and labor. The popu-
lation, recruited from Europe, Asia, and the South Seas, to supply
the labor demands of the plantations, has swelled the island’s
population by 500,000 people.

The absorption of these peoples in an area of limited re-
sources has not been without its difficulties. The fact that the
plantation laborers and their children in Hawaii will not be
tied down to the soil but caused a series of occupational displace-
ments and subsequent repercussions in attitudes and legislation.

Hawaii today is an area of closed resources as attested by the
30 year effort of Hawaii to invest its excess capital in foreign
fields, the ceasing of immigration and the beginning of a small
but significant emigration of native-born, and the dependence of
the Islands upon the protection of American sugar tariff for its
survival in competing with such areas as India, Java, Cuba, and
Puerto Rico. Substantiating factors are the trend toward a more
scientific land utilization and the increasing surplus labor which
presents an immediate and serious problem affecting the relation-
ship in the struggle for social status and economic security.

Dr. Lind’s book, which gives perspective to Hawaii’s human
problems in the light of ecological changes, is an added contribu-
tion to a growing list of valuable scientific treatises on Island
conditions. — I. M.

WHETHER HONOLULU

“If the existing city is not to go downhill in population, it
must make itself over into the sort of environment in which
having children will not be a burdensome liability. This calls
for the systematic improvement of housing, the prevention of
overcrowding, the establishment of healthy standards of density,
the creation of necessary public open spaces. Such measures
should be framed and applied to all undeveloped areas at once,
to keep them from turning into slums and blighted districts; it
calls likewise for their early application to older parts of the city,
and in particular to those ripe for demolition as pestilential
slums. Finally, it calls for the provision of gardens, parks, and
recreation grounds on a scale that will give to the city all the
advantages that the suburb usually has at the beginning of its exis-
tence—before the suburb itself becomes a prey to speculative dis-
order and competition.

Ultimately, every well administered municipality, in order to
save itself from bankruptcy and hopeless arrears, must offset the
tendency toward reckless suburban growth by taking substantial
measures toward its own renovation. Not merely must the munici-
plity discourage such unforeseen growth by resisting prema-
ture subdivision, by withholding consent from ill-advised express
highways, bridges, or tunnels that open up cheap land outside the
municipality’s area of control, what is much more important is
that it will seek to make the city itself permanently attractive
as a human home by slim clearances, large-scale housing, neigh-
borhood planning, and park development.” — Lewis Mumford,
HONOLULU BARBER GIRLS—A STUDY OF CULTURE CONFLICT
AN ABSTRACT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF HONOLULU JAPANESE BARBER SHOP GIRLS
YUKIKO KIMURA
The study of the barber girls in the shops of Honolulu was undertaken for the purpose of determining the degree of assimilation that is now taking place in a small part of the Japanese community. It must be remembered that assimilation is a slow process and takes longer only as the immigrant group is disposed to shed its old world patterns on the one hand, and so it is accepted in the wider community, on the other. The process has been hastened or retarded by factors such as education, language, social contacts, race prejudice, and ethnocentrism but at best it requires generations for completion.

The study of the Japanese barber girls is of special moment in the understanding of this process for by the very nature of their occupation the barber girls come into intimate contact with a varied clientele, and as a consequence one might expect a high degree of assimilation. The manner in which the girls have responded to these influences—the extent to which they have become "Americanized" in a fundamental sense—provides an important test of the assimilative process.

The entrance of women into the barber's trade grew out of a family relationship. About 30 years ago when the Japanese men began entering into the commercial life of the city, the wives of men who owned barber shops began helping their husbands when the latter found work outside of the shop itself. This arrangement worked very well, and gradually more and more women entered the trade until in 1929 it came to be known as a "woman's trade." At present no young Japanese men will enter the field because it is felt that it belongs to the women.

Another reason for the restriction of the trade to women lies in the desire of the first generation Japanese to give their sons (in the traditional family pattern of the superiority of men) the opportunities of education. This necessarily meant that the daughters and wives, not the sons, had to work in the shops. Eighty per cent of the 85 girls who answered the questionnaires felt that the barber's trade was definitely a woman's occupation. Although some of the first generation proprietors of shops say that female workers attract increased trade and thereby increase profits, they insist this is a consequence and not the motive for hiring girls as workers.

The wage scale has been a further factor in restricting the field to women. Whereas men barbers ordinarily get a weekly wage of $15.00, the girls have to be satisfied with a weekly wage of $12.00. Since no men would enter the field it was found cheaper to hire and keep girls.

Most of the shops are in the central business area and the adjacent vicinity. Those outside of this section cannot afford to employ workers and it is necessary for the wives of the proprietors to assist if there are too many customers. All Japanese shops in the downtown area and Wahiiki employ Japanese girls to do the work.

Of the 38 shops, 17 are owned by second generation Japanese all of whom are women. The remaining 21 are owned by the first generation, 15 of whom are women and 6 men. These figures seem to indicate that the barber trade is not only a woman's trade, but also woman's business. They may also indicate that the Japanese woman is taking an increasingly significant place in the world of business, something that was not true earlier in the life of the Japanese in the Islands, and certainly not characteristics of the women in Japan.

Only 9 proprietors actually work in their shops, indicating that they have other activities and that the operation of the shop, the actual work of shaving, hair cutting, etc. is done by a woman in her tasks.

Ninety-eight girls and women are employed by the 38 shops. Fifteen shops employ 2 girls each while 9 shops employ 3 girls apiece. There are 6 shops employing 4 girls to each and another 6 shops employing only 1 girl each. Of the remaining 2 shops, one employs 5 girls while the other employs 8. On the other hand, 3 shops employ men also—one using 2 Japanese men and another employing 6 Filipino men.

The study is based on the answers of 87 employees. Eleven did not wish to submit answers.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the barber trade is the intimate contact between the barber girl and the patron. This close contact suggests a high degree of exposure to a variety of cultural and moral influences—factors that may be instrumental in breaking down the cultural patterns of the Japanese group, and in altering the personalities of the girls. It is conceivable that their attitudes towards living may be greatly changed by their coming into such personal contact with numbers of their own as well as of other racial groups in their work.

The survey reveals that each girl serves from 5 to 30 customers per day, or an average of 13 customers. It also reveals that the girls serve all nationalities groups. Among these are the local laborer, tourist, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, the service men, and the seamans. Twenty-four of the girls stated that all these nationalities came in more or less equal proportions while 14 girls answered that, although they serve every group, the proportion of customers of different races vary, some having more Caucasians, others having more Oriental.

With regard to these contacts it is interesting to note the reactions of the girls to customers—their topics of conversation, their relations with them outside of working hours, if any, and their attitude towards the different groups that they serve. Twenty-six girls noted that the most interesting thing about their work is the meeting of all types of people. Of these two answered that they find "kidding the customers" a most interesting di-

1. Hawaiian _terra cotta_ necklaces of North European admixture.
Some of the shops observe the birthday of the Japanese Emperor as a holiday and close their shops.

Wages range widely from $10 to $100 per month, the arithmetic average being $30.44. Seven of the 56 who answered the questions on wages receive between $10 and $20 per month, while 13 earn between $21 and $30 monthly. The greater number of girls, 22 earn between $21 and $40 monthly. There are 9 girls earning between $41 and $50 monthly while 6 girls receive between $51 and $600 monthly. Only one girl earns $100 per month, but the work includes doing housework for the proprietor. There were, on the other hand, twelve girls who receive no wages except board and room. Five of them were the daughters of the proprietors. It is estimated that approximately $30 in additions should be allowed for this source of income in the case of the 54 girls residing with their employers. This obviously affects the general wage scale.

Intimately bound up with the question of wages is the additional income from tips. It was found that many of the girls depend on tips for their personal expenses since they give all or the greater part of their wages to their parents. Sixty-one girls indicated receiving amounts ranging from 76c to $25 per month in tips of from 10c to 15c each. The average was $8.25. Although this practice is unknown in Japan, it is evident that both the employers and the girls accept tipping as a regular supplement to the wages. In addition, 79 per cent of the girls regularly receive Christmas presents or New Year's gifts from their employers.

It is apparent that the girls have neither the leisure time nor the necessary money to cultivate many non-Japanese acquaintances outside of their working hours. Moreover the relations of the girls to their employers and parents provide another set of limits to rapid assimilation.

Forty-three of the 87 girls in this survey indicated that the parents determine the choice of an occupation for them. Parents consider an apprenticeship in bartering a fruitful means of training their children for a profitable trade, as no fees for learning the trade are required, hence at the same time they are given free room and board and, in most cases, a small wage allowance. Thus, there is no financial burden involved for parents to have their daughters trained as barbers. Eighteen girls replied that they entered the trade through their friends or relatives, suggesting that parents are most likely to enlist the help of friends and relatives in locating suitable work for their daughters. In these cases, although the trade was not selected by the parents, the final decision for entering it was made by the parents. The survey further indicates that fourteen girls are working in their parents' shop, while 8 girls work in the shops of their relatives, including sisters. Thirty girls work in the shops of friends of their parents. Of the 17 girls who were strangers to their proprietors, only 17 girls were barbers were strangers to their proprietors.

What role does the girl who works in the barber shop play in her family? Is she regarded solely as a wage earner, or is she accorded certain privileges because she is able to go out and earn
money for the family? Are these privileges reflected in more freedom for the girls in personal spending money, or complete breaking of family ties?

Forty of the 87 girls stated that they turned over all of their wages to their parents. This practice is in conformity with the traditional Japanese idea that everything belongs to the family, and is at the disposal of the father to lay aside as his daughter's future or for family needs. The patriarchal family pattern is still effective, the daughter accepts as a natural duty the surrender of her entire earnings to the head of the family expecting only the return of her a small portion for spending money. There are, however, 39 girls who keep part of their wages for their personal expenses, the amount ranging from $2 to $27 per month. Only three of the 87 girls keep all of their wages.

The significant role of the employer, not only as the source of income and vocational instruction, but more particularly as a substitute for the parent in the discipline and control of the girl is apparent throughout this study. The survey indicates that of the 87 girls, 54 are living with their proprietors' families. Of this number 27 live in the same house where they work. Eighteen commute back and forth to the shops with the proprietors, and 9 live in houses close to the shops. Thirty girls live with their own families and go back and forth to work, while three live with relatives or friends.

The period of apprenticeship varies according to the individual aptitude and ability of the girls. Some of the girls have learned the trade in less than 10 months, while others have taken as long as two years. The period of apprenticeship is considered advantageous to both parents and apprentices, since the girls usually receive tips and free living with the proprietors, along with the instruction in the trade. Moreover they frequently receive useful instruction in cooking, sewing, and household management.

Further evidence of the paternal relation between the proprietors and the girls is provided in the early age at which many of them started their apprenticeship. More than two thirds of the girls began work between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, and four were at work before they were fourteen years of age. This means of course that many of the girls also left school at an early age. Eighty-one per cent of the girls did not go beyond the eighth grade in school. Seventy-two per cent of the second grade, others left after the fifth and sixth years of school. Only two of the girls went as far as the 12th grade. The need of supplementing the family income and the lack of interest in or inability to do school work were doubtless responsible for the early age of apprenticeship. The net effect, however, was to transfer from parents and school to the employer the responsibility for the guidance and discipline of the girls.

The majority of the girls come from conservative homes of very limited economic resources. Most of the homes are in the congested areas of the city while a considerable number are in the country and on plantations. Most of the girls come from large families, 64 per cent of the homes having five or more children and ten percent having more than nine children. The fact that 27 per cent of the girls were the oldest in their families is also significant since the old Japanese family pattern lays tremendous responsibilities on the oldest child, among other things, assistance in the economic support of the family as soon as he reaches maturity.

Religious affiliations of the girls similarly suggest a conservative background. Fifty-seven of the girls stated that their religion was Buddhism and that they go to temples on certain ceremonial days, to give offerings and to worship with other members of their family. Three of the girls designated Shintoism as their religion and replied that they went to the shrines on ceremonial days. Only four replied that they were Christians, although they no longer go to church. Twenty-one girls answered that although their family religion was Buddhism, they themselves had no particular religious faith.

In an effort to ascertain the effect of the prominent contacts and the nature of the occupation upon attitudes and social outlook of the girls, a series of questions were asked the girls. Most of them find the work at least moderately interesting, ten stating that it is distinctly uninteresting. As stated earlier, the variety of contacts particularly appeal to them. Many of the girls find the long hours and the waiting for customers without anything definite to do very monotonous. Most frequently mentioned among the disagreeable aspects of the work are shaving and massaging, children's haircuts, ear-cleaning, washing the hair, and talking to "silly men.

Evidently most of the girls are experienced in dealing with "fresh customers," the most common technique being to pay no attention, or to tell them to keep their places or get out. Others prefer to joke with them. Some call the policemen and get rid of them quickly. However, the proprietors state that more commonly the girls do nothing to offend them since "customers are customers."

Socially, contacts with the customers tend to be of a social, transitive character. Although most of the girls have learned to chat informally, and if necessary to indulge in repartee on off-color subjects, apparently, they do not extend their contacts outside of the shop. One girl out of four indicated that she is asked for dates, although 76 of the girls indicated that there might be opportunities for marriage to the customers, most of them disagree with interracial marriages and have few friends not of their same racial group. If there were an opportunity for marrying a customer, most would marry a Japanese and no other racial group. More than thirty percent of the girls prefer the Japanese to the American wedding despite the tremendous expense involved in the former.

Since the things a person buys are often an indication of the values he holds, they also provide a useful index of his assimilation.
The average barber girl spends $14.94 per month upon purely personal expenses; the remainder of her income goes to her family, and ordinarily covers board and room. The largest single item of her personal budget is $8.38 for savings, suggesting a maximum of old country thrift. The next largest item of $2.35 is spent for clothing, which in terms of the standards of American adolescent girls would appear to be very small. The expenditures for recreation and amusement ($1.07 per month) are largely confined to movies to which they go on an average of four times per month. American influence is apparently responsible for the moderately large expenditure of $1.66 per month for candy, partly perhaps because of the lack of sugar in their predominantly Japanese meals. The "American habit" of chewing gum is also well established. For cosmetics they spend on an average of 92 cents per month, 56 cents per month for gifts, 59 cents for magazines and papers, and 60 cents for doctor's fees.

The smallest expenditure (5 cents per month) is in the field of educational and social activities. The long hours prevent the girls from taking advantage of courses offered by the different agencies in the city or from participating in their programs. None of the girls belong to any other organizations except, in a few cases to their family temple. Labor unions do not exist in the thinking of the girls. Any interest that they might take in them is discouraged by the proprietors. The spare time of most of the girls is spent in doing household chores, in visiting, swimming, fishing, and going to the movies. Others knit or crochet—the only creative activities that occupy their time.

Their reading is largely confined to the sort of magazines found in the shop, including Look, Pic, Chick, Life, Liberty, Good Housekeeping, and other home, screen, detective, and story magazines of varying qualities. Forty-eleven girls stated that they read these publications in different combinations. Thirty-five read over 6 different kinds of Japanese magazines containing stories, histories, hints for homemaking, information about Japanese movies, current news, etc. Many of these magazines are read to pass away the time while waiting for the customers. Very few of the girls deliberately chose their reading. However, much of their knowledge of the world both American and Japanese is gained through such reading. The extent to which this reading influences their attitudes toward their work, themselves and society cannot be ascertained in this exploratory study.

The answers to questions regarding their preference for Japanese or American things are also interesting. All of the girls like Japanese food, but 52 girls replied that they also liked American food. With regard to motion pictures, 51 or 58 per cent of the girls indicated a preference for Japanese movies, 28 for the American pictures, and the other nine like both kinds.

Sixty-five girls stated that they prefer Japanese to American music. In both instances, however, their standard of music is the popular variety commonly presented over the radio, and which is easily learned by the girls.

The foregoing study of the Honolulu barber girls and the condition under which they live and work suggests five significant points:

1. Receiving only a minimum training in the American public schools, these girls have been definitely limited in their opportunities for experiencing the different aspects of American culture. Because of early conditioning they are particularly responsive to their parents' culture.

2. Because of the long working hours which prevail in the barber trade, contacts with the wider American community is limited to the superficial, touch-and-go relations of the shop and to such experience as can be secured through popular American literature and the movies.

3. The almost over-powering influence of the proprietors and the parents have resulted in building up attitudes among the girls which are decidedly Japanese. Due to this factor the girls' relations with their custumers remain generally superficial. Loss of conversation with customers may be accentuated by the fact that such behavior increases business.

4. Judging by their attitudes toward interstracial marriage as the ultimate criterion of assimilation, it would appear that Americanization is proceeding slowly.

5. It is probable that owing to the educational and social selection of the barber girls, the mere reduction of the hours of work would seem to increase their contacts with the more superficial and disorganizing aspects of American culture which they now enjoy. Irrespective of the other consequences, the close scrutiny of the proprietors and the present long working hours unquestionably reduce the amount of personal disorganization that one might otherwise expect.

6. Many of the social obligations of the families are taken care of by the parents of the girls and these, therefore, do not need to expend much money along these lines.
CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CASE WORK IN HAWAII*  
EILEEN BLACKEY

As I try to clarify my thoughts in regard to this subject of culture in case work, I am reminded of a nationally known social worker who had been invited to talk at a conference of social work in a state that was struggling at first-hand with many of the problems on which they were seeking her help. She scrapped the " neat phrases" she had formulated as she saw in this frontier of social work, problems so rooted in the experiences of its people that infinitely more growth could come from within than could be introduced from without. In her own words she "had come to this meeting to talk, perhaps she feared, to pontificate a little, but she stayed to listen and to learn."  

After three years of close association with social work in Hawaii, there is still so much to listen to and to learn that I am afraid I shall be guilty of many " neat phrases" without the accompanying good sense to scrap them. If this discussion provokes further analysis of the premises and problems presented, even though the findings be in disagreement with what is propounded here, perhaps this paper will have served its purpose.

In many ways Hawaii's experiences parallel those of the country as a whole; in other respects they do not. The entire history of the United States reveals a panoramic procession of peoples bringing with them their ways of doing, thinking, and feeling, some of which have survived the transplanting while others have been merged or submerged in the process. In this panorama Hawaii has played a vivid role. As individuals or as groups we seem to attach distinction to the claim that the problems of one's own community are "different," usually with too little insight into the rationalization such a claim provides for our inability to work with these differences. At the risk of being thought a protagonist of such a belief, I am going to present in the premise of this article the statement that the problems confronting Hawaii are "different"- in degree and extent, though perhaps not in case work on the mainland.

Hawaii's volcanic origin suggests an analogy in attempting a description of her social and economic growth. The Hawaiian culture, like the heart of its volcanoes, lived and struggled within itself for centuries until the fascinating red glow of its eruption became visible and attracted peoples from other shores. Each new culture group came in large numbers and covered the islands like the lava flows of old Mauna Ka'a or Mauna Loa. After each such immigration, there was a process of "settling and cooling" during which the new cultural strata tried to adjust itself to what had gone before it, only to find that long another cultural flow was encompassing it. Today Hawaii's cultures like her volcanoes have ceased their frequent eruptions. The integrating process has set in. It is this integrating process which presents to social case work a challenging but baffling intensification of the human problems confronting social workers everywhere. In a class in social case work where one meets students from eight major cultural groups, Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Canadian, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Filipino together with those who present many combinations within these groups, one finds a miniature laboratory for a reflection and study of case work problems.

Rather than approach this discussion through an analysis of the various cultures in relation to particular case work problems, I have chosen to select the more important areas in which social case workers experience difficulty and discuss them in the light of the cultures involved. It must be kept in mind, too, that all of the questions raised here will need to be weighed and interpreted in the light of the varying degrees of cultural liberation.

The fabric of the family, whether that family be Oriental, Hawaiian, or Caucasian, is of primary concern to the case worker in her approach to the problems which the individuals of that family may bring to the agency. In Hawaii the patterns of this fabric may stand out so prominently in outline as to be so intricately interwoven that the worker must know her cultures as well as her case work techniques. One question which will be raised again and again in this discussion, but will not be answered, involves not only the role of culture in case work but the part case work plays in the approach to culture. There are those who feel that as we become skilful in the use of our case work tools, we should be able to discern, understand, and treat the factors in a culture which are contributing in any way to the situation presented, whether we are members of that particular culture or of any other. There are those, too, who feel that for the present at least there are many situations here in which appreciation of another's culture and possession of case work skills may not be enough to open the door all the way. Where we are confronted with the problem of the first generation, particularly, language itself often prescribes the need of a worker from the same cultural group. But aside from the language difficulty, work in the older generation an observance of customs and etiquette which provide a smoother berth for the worker who is "to that manner born." Assuming the right kind of personal qualities in the worker, the first generation Japanese family will respond more to him if he is Japanese and if he proves himself a master of his culture by such evidences as bowing respectfully and frequently, removing his shoes before entering the house, and patiently submitting to the preliminaries of serving tea or the discussion of community matters before the real reason for the worker's visit is broached. To the young Oriental worker who rejects his culture because of the unhappy conflict it presents to him, however, such formalities may be distasteful and he may be even more unacceptable to the older person than someone from an entirely different culture.

Respect for the wisdom of one's elders is a pattern of the Oriental cultures which makes it difficult for the young Oriental worker to secure personal or family history in his early contacts.
with the family. It is offensive even for friends to discuss what appears to be the intimate details of one's life, but it is even more presumptuous for a young person to question his elders in regard to such subjects as family finances or marital difficulties. Age itself has such intrinsic meaning for the Oriental that it is hard for the older person to accept the younger out of his role and what is even more pertinent to case work, it is often hard for the young worker to assume a role other than that defined by his culture. Chinese and Japanese workers say it is extremely hard for them to enter an Oriental home where the cultural values are still paramount and ask, as they need to do, specific questions about finances, health, or family relationships. In discussing the case of a Japanese family where a trained Caucasian worker had been able to secure a complete investigation for relief in the first interview, the Japanese workers felt it would have taken them two or three visits to acquire the same amount of material. This was based on their feeling that if they had sought the information as directly and as comprehensively as the Caucasian worker had done, the family would have felt they were being disrespectful and would have accused them of trying to be "harsh" in the way they went about things. On the other hand, they felt that a Japanese worker would have gained more about the feeling tones in the family and would have been more aware than the Caucasian worker seemed to be of how the man and woman really felt about their debts and their illnesses. The philosophy of "saving face," so inherent in the Oriental's thinking, influences his attitude toward vicissitude and suffering to such an extent that it is difficult for the non-Oriental to sense his true feelings. The Oriental family who has a Caucasian worker excuses his lack of cultural courtesy because he is "hands," but one is inclined to feel, at least with adults, that the polite exterior with which the "hands"' omissions are accepted also serves as a protective fence around the Oriental's innermost feelings—a fence which for the Oriental worker may eventually present an opening but for the "hands" worker may never do so. As our cultures become more and more removed from their original roots and their people accept more completely the Western ways of living there may be less need for emphasis on nationalities workers. In some instances, this is already true. Our Chinese culture in its third generation presents fewer hurdles in this respect, but in this interim period of adjustment, social work in Hawaii finds itself in as much of a quandary as many of its practitioners who are caught between two cultures and surrounded by many others.

The varying attitudes toward dependency in these groups is a source of concern to social workers as they try to apply their concepts and skills to the problems confronting them. Familiarity with the background of Hawaiian culture reveals the source of a philosophy which today makes many people characterize the Hawaiian as incurably lazy and lacking in ambition and initiative. Coming from a culture where one employs life because there was little need to struggle and where the essence of life was "to live it and not spend it trying to get somewhere else," the Hawaiian was geared to the needs of his own situation. Now he finds himself surrounded by an imported civilization and expected to show the same drive for achievement and material success as motivates those around him.

The Hawaiian resists regularity of employment. He proves himself a good workman, however, at such transient occupations as that of fisherman, cowboy, steevedore, musician, or lei seller. He cannot adjust easily to work on a WPA project or to the expectation that he should work on a plantation because work is available there. He will run up debts; his generosity and his cultural sense of cooperative living lead him to take on responsibilities of relatives when he is not really able to do so; he may expend his relief check on others; he may succumb to the need of displaying a status he does not have and spend a good share of his relief money on taxi fares or family feasts. He will not plan or save and this, together with the ever shifting size of the family as relatives move in and out, provides a dilemma for the case worker, particularly when he is dispensing public funds and the community is critical of expenditures.

The Hawaiian's attitude toward pensions is entirely divorced from his feeling about relief. He is ashamed to ask for relief, but he considers a pension his right. For years the Legislature of Hawaii has made provisions for individual pensions to Hawaiians on the basis of past service to the Territory on the part of the recipient or someone else in his family. These amounts vary with the degree of sentiment attached to the person involved and continue at a stipulated sum for the rest of his life. This tradition has caused the old Hawaiian to attach a similar claim to the old age pensions administered by the public welfare organization, but they do not look upon them as relief.

To add to the worker's confusion there is the contrasting picture of Oriental thrift, drive for education, capacity for sustained employment, and willingness to sacrifice immediate wants for future security. The Japanese, Chinese, and Korean attitude toward financial arrangements and indebtedness is of importance to the worker. The Japanese inomochi or Chinese hui are self-initiated financial enterprises into which the man of the family pays a stipulated amount, sometimes for the purpose of saving, but more often with a view to borrowing a sum of money for a particular purpose. The individual who may need several hundred dollars to pay off debts or meet some emergency, suggests that a tanomoshi or hui be organized among his friends and acquaintances. Each member contributes his share of the necessary sums and the man making the original request, or anyone else in the group, may bid for the money. The money goes to the highest bidder and the remaining members profit by the rather high rate of interest. Indebtedness of a family and their concern over loans is an uncommon problem for the case worker, but when it is tied up with group mores and a strong code of honor, it is rarely possible to dissuade the family from using their relief mon-

ney to meet this obligation. They prefer personal deprivation to “losing face.”  Where dependency does occur in the Oriental family, it may be intensified by the importance which is attached to the role of the father in the home. For the older Chinese or Korean, one’s real life ends at the age of 60, and at 61 a new life begins. This event is usually noted by family relatives and friends and the old person is disappointed and humiliated if he is unable to provide a feast. Families will sometimes go heavi-
ly in debt to meet their expenditure. At this age, the father may retire and expect his children, particularly the eldest son, to support him even though as the former head of the family, the father may be physically able to work and his children may be in strained circumstances. Old age should be spent in comfort and leisure, playing cards or chess, reading, discussing current events or visiting friends. This philosophy, while an enviable one, sometimes means denial of educational opportunities to chil-
dren, resentment on the part of the younger generation who ob-
serves a lack of such filial responsibility in other groups, conflict between the son and his wife if, even though married and support-
ing a family of his own, he is called upon to care for a father who may be very capable of caring for himself. There is less ex-
pectancy now on the part of old people that such retirement may be possible, but the sense of obligation on the part of children is still very strong.
In the Portuguese families we find a similar emphasis. It is ex-
pected that the boy or girl will stop school as early as possible and go to work in order to supplement the family earnings. This age would be much lower if it were not for the limit defined by law. Full earnings are turned over to the parents. In the Chinese and Japanese families there is great importance attached to the education of children but with the same goal frequently in view—future economic security for the parents, particularly in old age. The Filipino family maintains a strong sense of obli-
gation to its members. Old people are the rightful responsibility of their children and older brothers and sisters hold themselves liable for the support and education of the younger members. Whereas on the Mainland, case workers think more in terms of maintaining the sibling or daughter’s independence through planning only partial contribution to the family budget, in many in-
stances here such a suggestion would be misinterpreted by the parents and might in even some cases be unacceptable to the children themselves. On the other hand, the young son who is breaking away from the parental culture may refuse part or even all of his earn-
ings and the worker is confronted not only with the economic aspects of the situation but the cultural implications as well.
Korea’s political and social history has greatly affected the personality development of its people as we see them in Hawaii, particularly with reference to dependency. They are mistrustful of those they do not know and display what we might call aggressiveness when they feel advantage is being taken of them. They have a keen feeling of injustice and are perhaps oversensitive to

sights or discrimination. Case workers feel that the Korean is demanding in his request for relief and is apt to create more distur-
banes in the relief office than the people of other nationalities. He finds it hard to reveal his circumstances or to accept plans that are suggested to him and gives the impression of being on the defensive in his contacts with the agency. This attitude would seem to be in keeping with the Korean’s general feeling of national inadequacy. It is a part of his defense against further humiliation. A non-Korean worker needs to understand the res-
sistance which may be present in his early contacts with the Korean family, and he may have to spend more time reassuring the family of his sincerity and interest than might be the case in other groups. It is questionable as to whether a Japanese worker would be wholly accepted in a Korean home of the immi-
grant group where the feeling is still very strong. Where it would be necessary for the worker to make an adjustment in the budget or precipitate some other move not wholly acceptable to the fa-
mily, the Korean is apt to attribute it to the fact that the worker is Japanese.

Marriage and family relationships are fundamental concerns of the social worker and he needs to be aware of the factors which create them. Attitudes toward marriage vary to some degree in all nationalities and races. 2 In Hawaii the differences in attitude and practice are brought into sharp relief by the necessity of a dual adjustment—that of culture with culture and that of genera-
tion with generation in the same culture.
In the older Hawaiian culture, “marriage for the consumer was little more than a social contract. It was customary for hus-
band and wife to separate freely and remainary according to the dictates of temperament, habit, inertia and fame.” Common-law marriages are quite frequent among Hawaiians but many of them give evidence of long-time attachment and assumption of res-
ponsibility. Since the imposition of other moral codes in the community, periodic attempts are made by authorities to force legal marriage in these families. It is true, of course, that without legal sanction the wife and children are often penalized because of inability to secure support or inheritance, but case workers have not infrequently been witnesses to the psychological reaction which such pressure exerts. Friction or discord are sometimes precipitated in a heretofore satisfactory family life. The Oriental with his innate reserve about sex and marriage and the Caucasian with his own conflicting point of view concerning commensurate relationships and children born out of wedlock have made life a confusing one for the Hawaiian. The Hawaiian has a great love for children. He likes them whether they are born in or out of the legal ties. He likes them whether they are his or those of a relative or friend. There is no feeling among the Hawaiians against the children is not legitimate. The shame and disgrace attendant on such a way of living have come into Hawaii via other cultures much as the insect pests which came

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2 See also “Fourteen of Immigrant Families in Hawaii,” Social Service in Hawaii, I, 1, p. 49.
...attached to the family and the family bonds of the young people. In the Oriental family, the family is the center of life, the source of unity and strength. The family provides the young people with a sense of belonging, a sense of security, and a sense of identity. The family also provides the young people with a moral foundation and a cultural heritage. The family is the place where the young people learn about their values, their beliefs, and their traditions. The family is also the place where the young people learn about their responsibilities and their duties.

In the Oriental family, the father is the head of the family and the mother is his wife. The children are expected to obey their parents and to respect their authority. The children are also expected to contribute to the family by working and earning money for the family. The family is organized around the nuclear family, which consists of the father, the mother, and their children. The extended family includes the grandparents, the uncles, the aunts, and the cousins. The extended family is an important part of the Oriental family and provides the young people with a sense of belonging and a sense of security.

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tially broken down these attitudes and we find a rather general acceptance of more equal relationships. Even though the older Oriental woman feels freer because of these years of association with other cultures, she rarely takes advantage of her freedom. She still recognizes her husband as the undisputed head of the family and prefers to limit her social activities to women of her own group rather than mingle with her husband’s friends. In the younger generations much more democracy is apparent but where there is such a clear demarcation of role as exists in the more Westernized family, the case worker finds it difficult to secure a mutual discussion of the problems involved. Often the mother will take no initiative or assume no part in a plan which she feels to be her husband’s province. The case worker may have to make several visits before a decision can be reached in regard to plans under consideration. The woman refers the worker to her husband or asks her to come again after the matter has been presented to him. If the problem is one related primarily to the household budget or the children, the man likes to have the initial approach made to him as head of the home, but he then dismisses it as being in his wife’s domain and it is difficult for the worker to elicit his continued participation in the working out of these family problems.

In the Filipino family the father is the undisputed head of the family, but the mother remains the dominating factor in the management of all financial affairs. The Filipino wife exercises more control over the family income than does the woman in the Chinese or Japanese home. She receives her husband’s earnings and disburses them, even to the point of returning to her husband the amount required for his own expenditures. There is strong family unity, and parental control continues over the children even after they are married.

For the case worker, this shifting scene can be a puzzling one. An Oriental worker who has been raised in a conservative home may find himself in spite of his effort to be objective, showing intolerance of the free relationships existing in other groups, or many find himself identifying too strongly in the conflict between the younger and older generations in his own group. An intelligent, skilled second generation Japanese worker whose own upbringing has been more Oriental than Occidental found herself in the position of having to work through with a young Japanese client her hostility to a father who had rejected and condemned her. The worker’s own feeling of futility was so entrenched that she felt “it was not right for Minnie to feel that way about her mother,” and it was some time before she could free her own feelings to the point where she could allow the girl to express hers. It is true, of course, that all of us would have similar aros to bring under control in our preparation for the practice of social work and there is certainly every indication that as the worker sees more of various cultural groups gain knowledge and experience in the field of social case work, they are increasingly more sensitive to the part their culture plays. The point I should like to make, however, is that for the student or worker

here, the complexity of patterns puts one’s understanding and objectivity to a greater test than might be the case in a more homogeneous setting.

Since our chief concern in this matter of cultural adjustment is in relation to the children of our many races and nationalities, it is interesting to see at what points they come into conflict.

The Hawaiian’s love of children and his heritage of communal living have brought about one of the most intriguing and, from the standpoint of social work, one of the most perplexing customs in the islands. The hanai pattern of Hawaiian culture has resulted in some complicated problems for the agencies concerned with child welfare. Hanai translated literally means “to feed” and the name applies to the old Hawaiian customs of giving children away at birth. The hanai is reared as one’s own child, and it is customary for him to receive even more attention than the blood children. No legal procedure was considered necessary as the Hawaiians believed the verbal promise was as good as any law and should not be broken.

This custom has spread to other groups but it does not have the deep cultural significance for them that it has for the Hawaiians. The practice is dying out or is taking on the form of legalized adoption, but many cases known to agencies raise questions as to legitimacy, inheritance, heredity, and support. Records are unknown in the transfer of hanai children and in the case of a child whose adopted parents have died or for some other reason are out of the picture, the children’s agency is at a loss to secure adequate information regarding him. What significance the hanai experience has for the child emotionally or for the children of the family into which a hanai child is received is a question filled with possibilities for study. In many instances the child is in contact with his blood parents and the conflicts which arise as a result of this dual relationship create problems for the child and the case worker. When grandparents become rearing parents, they tend to pamper and indulge the child and if, through death or illness of the grandparents, he is again given back to his parents, the problems of adjustment are numerous. In some instances the identity of hanai children has become so obscured through changes in family name or frequent shifting among relatives that brothers and sisters may be under care of the same agency for some time before the kinship get untangled and the true relationships are apparent. When they are, the agency is confronted with the problem of having to reconstitute the family and making the most constructive plans for the adjustment of the children. Occasionally one finds a case which is both dramatic and tragic in its happenings. In the early days when the hanai custom was more prevalent, a boy of pure Hawaiian extraction was taken into a Chinese family and assumed their name. He lived with his adoptive family and after married into his own racial group. Of his

2 See article by Charles Kane in this issue.

3 The illustration the reader is to notice that all Hawaiian terms have been adapted to the use of social workers. (59)
three children, the second, a boy, was given to a favorite aunt. The mother died in giving birth to the third child, a girl, who together with her oldest sister was placed in an institution for care. This was twenty years ago, but today the case worker finds that the brother and sister, unconscious of their blood relationship, have married and are the parents of two children.

It is possible, of course, that the hanai pattern has sometimes been used as an escape from one's own responsibilities. James had been nauated by his mother to a friend. When the hanai father died, his wife lived in common-law relationship with another man and James took his name. By the time the hanai mother was hospitalized for tuberculosis and the commonlaw husband had abandoned the children, James was a serious behavior problem and already a juvenile court case. When he was referred to the children's agency for foster home placement his own mother was contacted, but she was not interested in the child and refused to assume his support. James is now in a Hawaiian foster home, but it will take a long time to compensate for the emotional deprivation of the past ten years.

While in the non-Oriental groups there is little preference in the matter of the sex of children, in the Oriental family great importance is attached to the birth of a boy child, particularly if he is the first-born in the family. The Japanese family that does not produce a boy loses prestige in the group. One family became known to an agency because the father, although apparently physically strong, declared himself sick and unable to work. There were eight girls in the family but no boys and the man seemed to feel a strong sense of inadequacy because of this. There were no physical findings as a basis for his illness and it was the worker's feeling that his failure to become the father of a boy contributed in some degree to his problem. Not infrequently a son is saddled with family debts, a mortgaged home or the education of younger children and as a consequence has to postpone his own marriage or if he rebels he may bring down on his head the disapproval of family and relatives and often that of the community.

The relationship between the non-Oriental parent and his child reveals a rather un inhibited manifestation of love and affection, but the immigrant and many times the second generation Oriental parent is reserved and undemonstrative in his manner toward children in the family. As children, these parents have been taught the art of self-control to an extent where they conceal suffering, hurt pride, resentment, or even joy. In the entrance to one of the hospitals one day I noticed two Japanese children of about four and six, both sitting on one chair primly and rigidly. They ignored the many attempts of passers-by to elicit a smile or a response and for the hour and a quarter during which they awaited their mother who was visiting a patient, they did not move, and one suspects they did not even equiv. This is unusual in Oriental children, but it was the accepted form

of behavior for their parents. In general, Oriental children are less approachable than Hawaiian or Caucasian children. Even though they have parents who are second or third generation, they seem to exhibit a reserve and a reluctance in their contacts with adults. Case workers who are concerned with the problems of foster-home placement find it very difficult to establish a free channel of expression with the child. Non-Oriental workers especially have felt it if it took them an infinitely longer time to know what the child is thinking and feeling than is the case with children who have less inhibited personality patterns. This whole subject raises many interesting questions from the standpoint of psychiatric treatment of the problems of both children and adults in the Oriental groups. One wonders, for instance, what the child brought up in such an orthodox fashion does with all his resentment and hostility which for the rest of us finds a way out in the very forms of behavior which are denied the strictly brought up Oriental child. The apparent "infantilization" of emotion that occurs as an Oriental father smugly tells of the suicide of his daughter or the death of his wife presents a different picture from the one we are used to in case work. We are apt to misinterpret it if we do not understand it and at the same time we are concerned lest such submergence of feeling is not devastating to the personality as against the release which comes through the temporary giving way to our emotions. The psychiatric approach to the individual has its greatest therapeutic value in the self-inventory which the person, with the help of the psychiatrist or case worker, is able to verbalize. Does the reluctance of the Oriental to talk about himself or to betray his emotions present a need for a further sharpening of our techniques and skills in working with him?

Foster home placement in the sense in which we think of it on the Mainland is a comparatively recent development in Hawaii. The whole subject of family breakdown here is another important area for comprehensive study, but there are several cultural factors in the process of child-placing which should be brought out here. The bilid piety which so strongly marks the Oriental family makes it difficult for them to understand and accept the giving up of one's children for any reason and consequently the number of foster homes is comparatively small. In Japanese, Chinese, and other Oriental groups have been comparatively few. In one Japanese family both parents had to go to Leahi Home for care and the question of placing the two children was raised. The agency found a good prospective foster home, but after consultation among themselves the family felt that to give the children over to strangers would be to "lose face" as it would indicate failure on the part of the family to manage by themselves. The children were taken by a paternal uncle to live in a crowded, poorly run household which already numbered nine members. The mother in Leahi was upset and preferred to have her children in a foster home, but she recognized the authority of her husband's family and realized the inadvisability of causing family discord.

Since a Japanese worker, whose appreciation of her parental

(40)
cultural heritage is as keen as her acceptance of Occidental ways, has been carrying on a process of interpretation and education in the Japanese community, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of Japanese families who are willing to accept foster children. It is questionable whether interpretation from someone outside their own group would have been effective at this point.

Foster homes are exceedingly hard to find in this community because of the comparative newness of this type of service, and placement of a child in his own racial or religious group is often an impossibility. The Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian foster home offers more of the emotional warmth which the case worker trained in working with Occidental families would feel was essential in a child's adjustment. Foster parents in these groups seem more able to reach out to the child and place fewer restraints on his normal activities. Portuguese foster homes are more numerous in comparison with those in other groups. This may have a two-fold explanation. The young Portuguese foster parent has usually grown up in a large family and is so accustomed to having children around the home that he applies to the agency for children to board until his own family begins or as companions to his growing children. Coupled with this interest in young children is the Portuguese' keen sense of thrift and their desire to supplement the family income through the payments made for foster home care. Chinese workers have made an interesting observation in regard to Chinese foster mothers. One worker describes them as “withholding giving” in their relationship with children, meaning, of course, their inability to give of themselves emotionally in the sense in which we usually think of it. This cultural trait, if it is one, is undoubtedly understandable as resulting from the reserved, unemotional upbringing of the first and sometimes the second generation Oriental parent.

It is easier to place Oriental children with non-Oriental parents than it is to interest an Oriental family in taking a non-Oriental child. Where adoption is involved, there is even greater rigidity in this regard; the Oriental family will not consider a child outside its own race. A childless Chinese family will sometimes adopt a child in the hope that as a “good luck” child he will bring them children of their own. Interestingly enough, when the couple's own children do arrive, the adopted child acquires even more status because he has fulfilled the original purpose of the parents in adopting him. When the mother of an Oriental family dies or for some other reason is no longer in the household, it is hard for the father to release his children for care in foster homes or institutions. He does the cooking and housework himself, or expects a daughter in the family, even though she may be fairly young, to assume home responsibilities. In the limited number of instances where housekeeper service has been tried it has not been very successful because of the cultural attitudes toward it. The man is often accused of taking the housekeeper as a “substitute wife” and the community gossips disapproves to a degree where he is so uncomfortable he gives up the plan. Yet if he gives up his children to the care of someone else he is also criticized. Finding a housekeeper from the same cultural group is another obstacle in the way of such a plan. Where the mother is still living but is hospitalized, her fear of being replaced in the affection of her husband and children makes her resist such a proposal for the family. As more educational work is carried on by the Oriental workers in their own groups, the more willingness there is to use the services of the child-placing agencies.

Health problems in the family offer the case worker one of his greatest dilemmas, for alien cultural patterns seem to be more operative here than in other areas. The spirit of the Hawaiian kahuna still pervades the thinking of many Hawaiians and influences their attitudes toward treatment of medical problems, although the original beliefs are greatly diffused and in many instances appear only in a mild form. Many Hawaiians still have great faith in herbs and vegetable compounds as curing all conditions. Some few may still attribute their illness to the “kahunism” of an enemy and are convinced that nothing they can do will shake off the sorcery. The legends are so dramatic in content and their prophecies have so often materialized that even an outsider senses the control which such convictions can exercise. Workers have many interesting stories to tell of their attempts to defeat “kahunism” and again one has the feeling that a non-Hawaiian worker might have less success in handling these situations. One worker found a client going to a kahuna for treatment of a condition which was seriously complicating her pregnancy. For weeks the worker and the nurse had futilely tried to have the woman go to the hospital for an operation. In desperation the worker, who was Hawaiian, visited the kahuna. She showed respect for his practice but explained the seriousness of the woman's condition and urged him to help in saving her life. The kahuna was persuaded to recommend hospitalization to the woman and at the same time retain her confidence by continuing to prescribe the harmless herbs in which she had such faith. Many Hawaiians who resist medical attention because of their superstitions will respond to the worker's suggestions that perhaps they have both “Hawaiian sickness” and “Haole sickness” and that they need both types of treatment. Thus proper attention is possible without threatening the beliefs which are so much a part of the individual's life. "Capping," or drawing out the bad blood, is practiced among some of the Oriental groups. The Okinawan group believes in another type of bleeding which takes the form of cutting the back of the sick person and letting out the bad blood. They seem to apply this to rheumatism or other pains in the legs and back. In the villages and outlying districts these practices are much more entrenched and it takes considerable ingenuity on the part of the worker to get something done about a serious health problem without alienating the client.

The attitude of the Oriental toward tuberculosis, insanity, or venereal disease is not only one of resistance to treatment, but
actual concealment of the condition. Any of these forms of ill-
ness are considered such a family disgrace that one can under-
stand what motivates the resistance, but it is discouraging to the
case worker who sees so many serious implications for the in-
dividual and his family. In the case of tuberculosis particularly
the family is protective because its discovery is not only a blot
on the family name but also limits the chances of marriage for
any of the children. Often the Orientals will reject the diagnosis
of the doctor and explain their illness as heart disease or some
other less objectionable ailment. They seem to have more faith
in doctors of their own race and will sometimes return to the
Orient for treatment. If the diagnosis of tuberculosis is given
them by several doctors, for instance, they resign themselves to
it, but they do everything they can to keep their relatives and
friends from knowing the true state of affairs. They fight hos-
pitalization in a tuberculosis sanatorium, for that pronounces
their condition to the world. They have a dread of any hospital
as it is considered by many Orientals as well as Hawaiians as
a place in which to die. This fear has often been based on actual-
ity since too many cases of tuberculosis have not reached the
hospital until in the final stages. The older Oriental attitude
of Western medical practice is one of suspicion. They as-
sociate its practice more often with operations and death than
they do with recovery. They prefer the reassurance and care
which they feel comes with worship at the family shrine or in
their temples.

Some Oriental workers have pointed out that like the advice
of the Oracle of Delphi, the words of the temple priest or the
communications from their gods are unconsciously construed by
the worshiper in his own way. A second generation Japanese
father, for example, explained his refusal to go to the sanatorium
on the basis that in his visitation to the temple, he had been told
he would be ill for three years but that the disease was not
cosmic and would not be inherited by the family. He clinched
his argument by revealing the fact that if he went contrary to
the advice given, the god would return to Japan. Such rationali-
zation of one's fears through religion is a difficult thing for the
case worker to meet. It calls for an appreciation of the under-
lying cultural motivations but it also calls for an accompanying
knowledge of case work skills. In this instance, the first worker
with the family had neither. She was so disturbed by the seri-
ousness of the man's condition and her inability to persuade him
to do anything about it, that she forced him into an even greater
need to protect himself through his religion by making the grant-
ing of financial assistance dependent upon his willingness to go
to the hospital. His resistance increased and his religious in-
terpretations became more persistent. The second worker, al-
though not an Oriental, sensed the cultural significance of the
problem and was able to meet the resistance where it really was—
in the man's fear of death and family separation. She demon-
strated her willingness to provide security for the family by grant-
ing financial assistance first and with that assurance the man
had less need to use his culture as a defense against a plan which
for the time being he could not accept.

Even after patients are hospitalized, the case worker's diffi-
culties may continue. It is hard for either the Hawaiian or the
Oriental groups to understand long-time treatment. They seem
to accept hospitalization or surgery fairly readily if it means
quick recovery, but if the illness involves a long hospital stay, the
patient either leaves or his family may insist on removing him
against advice. This is more frequent in tuberculosis than in
other illnesses. Sometimes the younger members of the family
are willing to accept Western medicine, but they are influenced
by the deeper cultural beliefs of parents or relatives. In these
instances, the worker has the task of working with the entire
family. In the Oriental groups a family council, including all
relatives, is frequently called for the purpose of deciding such
important matters as hospitalization, marriage, educational plans,
or placement of children.

A young Japanese girl had been committed to Queen's Hos-
pital for observation and it was the medical social worker's res-
ponsibility to persuade a resistant family that the girl needed
treatment in a mental hospital. The worker, a Japanese, knew
the importance of such a decision to the entire family and con-
sented to meet with them as a group. The girl's husband, his
parents, and the girl's uncle, since her parents were still in
Japan, were present. The family had felt the girl to be under
the influence of a sorcerer and had taken her from one "Meishin"
in another to hope that a cure could be effected through prayer.
The verbatim report of this case worker's interview with the
family, which culminated in their willingness to have the
girl committed, illustrates both cultural and professional finesse.
It would not have been enough to convince the girl's
husband. The entire family had to understand and accept the
plan. Judging from the close adherence of this family to their
cultural patterns and the reserved aloofness with which they had
met all previous interpretations of doctors and workers, one felt
that only a Japanese worker could have interpreted the problem
so effectively. Family consultations are diminishing as the vari-
ous groups imitate and assimilate the family independence of the
Western world, but the custom is still one to be reckoned with
even in the Hawaiian group where despite family disintegration
relatives play an important part in family decisions. The place
of the client in his own family group and in his racial unit is an
important one to him. In reality we find ourselves in the
very center of a process which case work throughout the country
is "hacking up" to have another look at—the client in relation
to his total milieu.
SOME HAWAIIAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS
RE-EXAMINED
CHARLES W. KENN

Disorganization appears to be the keyword which describes the status of present day Hawaiian family life. This impression is gained from a cursory observation of the situation. However, upon closer scrutiny, one finds important elements of the ancient culture still functioning, and the Hawaiians' attitudes toward them very positive. The importance of understanding the old Hawaiian family system insofar as it persists today can scarcely be over-estimated. Especially is this true for social workers who are daily confronted with questions of policy involving the older order.

In a previous number of this journal, an article described a few of those customs that have died hard. In this brief article, an effort will be made to further interpret and clarify these customs.

Such terms as ohana, hanai, hookama, ohua, and panalua, which are among those most frequently encountered by the social worker, can only be understood in the light of the old cooperative principle of Hawaiian life known as lima-lau, literally, "many hands." The ohana consisted of members of a clan related by blood and tracing descent from common ancestors. This was the unit of organization, and may be referred to as the "large family." At the head of this organization, there was the Alii-nui, or high chief. The Hawaiians did not think of their leaders as "kings" in the western sense, but more on the order of a patriarch as in the Orient.

This large unit was composed of smaller groups made up of those directly related to each other and having common parents. These smaller groups were commonly referred to as ohana-pono-i, literally "one's very own relatives or immediate family." It has been stated that the Hawaiians had no term for family in the modern American sense and that the nearest approximation was the word ohua, which Andrews describes but excluding the parents. Hanai has been defined as "foster child, one taken into the family and reared as a member thereof." According to Handy, quoted by Glick, "relationship in formal adoption was indicated by modifying the word for "parent" or "child" by "made-child" (hookama). The fostering relationship was indicated by "feeding" (hanai); thus, makua hanai, means "foster parent." Glick continues: "a child might be made hookama without coming to live with the adopting family, in which case the adopting parents would not be makua hanai. On the other hand, any waif taken in and fed and thus becoming a part of the ohua (household) referred to the parents in the household as makua hanai. We know little more about the system than that it exists, although we hear nothing of the first type of adoption of the hookama."

In early Hawaiian traditions, the Alii-nui or leige-lord was referred to by the people as their hanai and they, in turn, were his ohua. The ohua were designated as either houaina, tenants placed upon the land by agreement, or kupa, hereditary tenants. The word hanai, to the Hawaiians, meant more than just "the fostering relationship." It implied "a sympathetic embrace toward one, whose very existence depended upon that embrace."

In giving a child away, usually at birth, in order that the child might become attached to the new parents, the mother would utter the following words, "make a olu, kuka a naa," designating "the child is yours, never to be returned." If, after a time, the original parents (makua pono-i) wished the child to be returned to them, then the Hawaiians believed that since faith had been broken, the child would die. If, however, the child returned of his own accord, then he was referred to by the foster parents as "kuka ka ka hanai," the appellation given to "an ungrateful and unappreciative child, after all the care and attention that had been given to it." Children were often promised before birth, especially by one sister to another if the second had no work. The Hawaiians believed that to refuse such a request would bring bad luck to the child throughout life.

The foster child became a part of the new household (ohana) if the foster-parents were also blood relatives; otherwise, it remained a part of the ohua, or those that were attached to the household unit but not related in any way blood to the ohana, or family proper. The Hawaiians were very careful as to the parentage of a ketiki hanai or foster-child and did not "foster indiscriminately" as is often believed.

Household guests not related to the family proper, were referred to as ohana makamaka. They were allowed to share with the family whatever it had to offer, and were different from the ohua in that they were not compelled to do any work. They became the ainao, privileged to eat at the same eating place as the ohana. This was a high honor bestowed upon the guest in ancient Hawaii. The outgrowth of this practice has come to be called "calabash" relationship, in which one family claims relationship to another because in the past, their common ancestors ate together out of the same calabash of poi. A guest in a Hawaiian household today is still referred to as ohana makamaka (a face-to-face relative).

Today, there is often indiscriminate adoption without knowing the background of the child. It is likewise a common practice today to have the grandparents (kupa) foster the children. This is a carry-over from ancient times, as the grandparents were said to have more time on their hands, and more experience. This practice gave the young parents more time in which to perform their everyday tasks.

The term hookama, designating "legal adoption" in our modern terminology, is not clearly understood as to its ancient usage as witness the statement of Glick. This form of relationship existed in order to retain the power in a ruling house, and, most important of all, to keep the blood undefiled and so to perpetuate

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this same or psychic force in the clan. If a chief had no direct heir, he adopted one, but in doing so he had to choose from the closest of his children or his brother or sister only. In making a child "kokoana," he passed on to it all the prerogatives, rights, and privileges of his own high position, in order that it might succeed him to leadership. In the case of the hanai relationship, parents are not necessarily transmitted to the kokoana, or foster-child. Kokoana literally, "to cause to be made" is in essence, an elevating instrument. This form of adoption was also used in another way. For example, two brothers of royal birth might choose mates. The elder, designated as the kokoana and therefore possessing the right of leadership in his own generation let us say married a woman of low caste. His son, if born before that of his brother, became the kokoana within the new generation. If the younger brother married a woman of high caste and his son were born after his brother's son, this child, being younger, paid respect to his cousin. But, his grandparents, in order to give this second boy a higher place in his generation, might adopt him and thus bestow upon him all the rights and privileges enjoyed by themselves. This act immediately placed the boy on the same social level as his father, becoming, as it were, his father's brother. Although the son of the older brother was still the kokoana, the son of the younger brother automatically became the leader in his generation. This is done to retain the blood purity. Today, it is done, not for purity of blood, but for economic reasons.

The hanai relationship is seldom understood today. In ancient Hawaii, there were two interpretations. The first designated the relationship between a man's younger brothers and his wife, or that between a woman's younger sisters and her husband; the second designated the unfaithfulness of either marriage partners. In the first instance, the relationship worked only one way; while it was alright for a woman's spouse to take any one of her younger sisters as himself, or for a man's wife to take to herself the younger brothers of her husband, an older sister could have nothing to do with her younger sister's husband, and likewise, an older brother could not touch his younger brother's wife.

Today, the term is used more as one of disrespect, as "a rival," or as "indicating unfaithfulness to one's own.

This term, Usually used is known as kokoana (meaning "extra"), as hakani-manaiki, a male paramour. The word kokoana means "an in-law", as kokoana-waikane, sister-in-law, and kokoana-bane, brother-in-law. The Hawaiians have a saying as follows: "O ke kai, ke bale ia e ke pana; o ka pana, ke bale ia e ke kai," meaning literally, "The sea is the house of the coral; the coral is the house of the sea." The real meaning denotes a play on the word kai for kokoana, and pana for panaana. An interesting development of the panaana relationship, somewhat akin to the levirate among the Hebrews was the obligation of younger brothers or sisters to marry the mate of an older deceased sibling.

The hanai or fostering of children is practiced extensively among the Hawaiians today, in most cases, regardless of blood relationship. Not infrequently the social worker hears the statement, "I gave my first child to my younger sister, because she did not have one of her own, and it was promised to her before birth." Households have been broken up because of lack of understanding, as the following case will reveal.

Upon the death of his wife, the client's child had been turned over to his grandmother. The child grew up with the knowledge and belief that its grandmother was its own mother. One day, the client came to his mother's home, and demanded the child. His mother in turn of the Hawaiian saying, "Kuku ka hanai," implying that after she had undergone so much hard labor in order to bring up her monogna or grandchild as her very own, the child is now impatient and unappreciative to want in in with its father. Literally, the phrase used by the client's mother means, "the foster-child is indeed like dog," which was interpreted by the father as an insult to his child.

The kokoana, or legal adoption of children is carried on to-day, not so much to preserve status, but rather to insure economic security.

A client's wealthy brother had legally adopted her older daughter's children, which action placed them on the same level as her own children, enjoying the same income as provided by law. Her son wished to get married and thought that since he was her own son, he should receive a higher monthly allowance than his adopted brothers and sisters. He could not see why his sister's children should receive as much as he did.

The panaana form of relationship, especially the modern version in which one partner is unfaithful to the other, is widespread in Hawaii. Social workers are familiar with the type of client who, although legally married to one woman, lives in a communal relationship with another woman. The Hawaiians refer to the relationship of the two women as panaana.

However, very many social workers are familiar with the following type of situation:

When one of my clients was fourteen years old, his father request ed him to live with an older brother who was married. Not long afterward, the older brother died, and the father laid down the law that the younger brother must marry his brother's widow, or live with and care for her. She is very much older than he is, and they do not seem to be able to get along. Neither care to marry the other, but alone live together, but the 81 year old father who owns the house has spoken. When he was approached as to the reason for his sternness in this situation, he replied, "It is the custom among the Hawaiians that a man's younger brother marry his widow so that she be taken care of for the rest of her life, even if they both cannot get along together. I have given them a home in which to live, and it seems to me that they should make the most of it." This client goes out with other women around his age, and when his brother's widow hears about his activities,

(48)
she fits into a rag.

Many more examples may be cited, but the few already
tioned are sufficient to illustrate the varied forms of relationship
among Hawaiians which still persist and contrast the social caste
worker in Hawaii.

In ancient Hawaii, the above forms of relationship made for
unity and solidarity; today, they make for apparent disorganization.

THE ASSIMILATION OF THE JAPANESE
AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
BERNARD K. YAMAMOTO

Whenever a group of people leave their homeland to settle
in a foreign country, the general tendency is for them to remain
as a homogeneous group outside the native culture. So too the
Japanese who have come to Hawaii have continued to live to-
gether in ghetto-like communities of remarkable social solidarity.
However, owing to the assimilative process that has been going
on for the past several decades those Japanese ghettos are slow-
ly changing their character. They are losing their homogeneity.
Coincident with this change, has been considerable personal dis-
organization of which indices are found in the slowly mounting
police reports of crime and delinquency. Ecological invasion of
the Japanese neighborhoods by American institutions, the conflict
of cultures necessarily brought about by such an invasion, and
the breakdown of control have contributed to the disorganization
of the individual Japanese.

Hawaii has been for several decades the home for many
Japanese whose social organization has remained remarkably in-
 tact until the present. The fact that those Japanese tended to
 group themselves into strong, well-knit communities of their own
 help to bring about favorable adjustment of their individual
 members to the Hawaiian environment, and thus at first prevent-
ed the disorganization of their group.1

There were however, a few Japanese who settled more or
 less indiscriminately among the different racial stocks of Ha-
waii. Owing to their minority situation in a heterogeneous en-
vironment, where the American-Hawaiian culture was predomi-
nant, these Japanese suffered a breakdown of their own culture;
and as a consequence disorganization set in quite early.2

The contrasted situation of the Japanese ghetto on the one
hand, and the scattered individual Japanese families on the other
had been revealed in a study of the distribution of Japanese
delinquents over the city of Honolulu in 1925. It was found that
districts of residential concentration of Japanese showed little
Japanese delinquency, whereas the reverse was true of communi-
cities with only a few Japanese scattered among other cultural
groups.3

But changes are taking place in the Japanese community and
the controls which it exercised a decade ago in repressing ju-
vile delinquency are proving less effective today. First of all
the areas of high Japanese concentration are being invaded by
different racial groups of Hawaii.

The Japanese and Other Orientals alone have maintained their

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1 N. M. 1937, p. 373.

2 HAWAII, 1934, p. 373.

3 HAWAII, 1934, p. 373.
In short, despite the decline of the social barriers, there remains a certain amount of prejudice and discrimination against foreign-born Japanese and other non-white populations. This is particularly evident in the residential segregation of the city. The Japanese, however, have managed to maintain a separate identity and culture, even in an era of rapid social change. The result is a complex mixture of assimilation and resistance, as the Japanese struggle to maintain their heritage while adapting to the demands of American society.

The Japanese community, like other immigrant groups, has its own unique challenges. The children of the first generation often find themselves caught between two cultures,既要适应日本的传统文化又要适应美国的主流文化。这一代人往往感到有压力，既要保持自己的文化身份又要适应新的环境。

In conclusion, the Japanese community in this city is a testament to the resilience and adaptability of its members. Despite the challenges they face, they continue to maintain their heritage and contribute to the richness of American society.
received good training in Japanese customs at home.

According to the head matron of the Detention Home in Honolulu, many Japanese juveniles get into difficulty with the court because of their obstinate insistence upon American things.

Case one is a 15 year old high school girl. She told the head matron that her parents absolutely refused to permit her to go dancing, football games, or even to American movies. She had come to the notice of Juvenile Court authorities for going with a Hawaiian youth.

Case two is a girl 12 years of age who was brought by her highly indignant father to the Detention Home, because she told him that she wished to marry a Portuguese. She felt that she had the right to marry whenever she wished.

Out-marriage is of course a serious offense in a Japanese community and the opposition of Japanese parents to out-marriage of their children cannot be over emphasized. The following is an extract of a case taken from the files of the Juvenile Court. This case is a 17 year 7 months girl. She became illegitimately pregnant by a Chinese boy of 21 years of age. She has known him for about a year and at present is living with his parents. Her family absolutely refused permission for their marriage because of the nationality barrier. The boy's parents are fatal of her and are making no objections.

The girl certainly left home because her father beat her. Her parents are old-style Japanese, anti-Americans.

She makes a good impression. She tries hard to do everything that was asked. She apparently tries hard to look nice; she had a permanent wave in her hair and was wearing a pink rayon blouse.

She said that the last school semester she could not graduate with her friends. She had wanted to take naua's training. The girl states that she has always been fond of her family, although she has quarreled with her father on many occasions. She says her mother was a picture bride and both parents are very much opposed to the modes of modern young people and especially are incensed against the boy on account of his being Chinese.

The mother seems very disturbed about her daughter and says neither she nor the girl's father will consent to the marriage.

Japanese communities which formerly had no delinquents or at least a slight rate of delinquents are giving evidence of increasing disorganization. The boys' adviser at McKinley High School has noticed the rise of truancy and gambling among Japanese high school students of Lower and Upper Manoa and Sherman districts, areas of high Japanese concentration. Similarly it is reported that out of fifteen Japanese tenants at Kakahana Intermediate school during the school year 1937-38, 13 boys came from Kalihi-aka, one from Japanese ghetto.

Thus the disciplinary influence of the alien culture upon the second generation is slowly breaking down before the secularizing and individualizing force of the expanding American-Hawaiian culture.

CULTURAL FACTORS OF DESERTION IN HAWAII

CAROLINE LEE

Like all pioneer regions in which the family has not become firmly rooted throughout the population, Hawaii faces an acute problem of family desertion. As in the areas of older, more stable settlement, desertion in Hawaii is doubtless a normal pattern—"the poor man's divorce"—the easy way out of a distasteful marriage relationship. But desertion has unquestionably been accentuated in the Islands by factors which are peculiar to the local situation. Social workers and students of the local social scene are agreed as to the gravity of the problem; but evidently up to the present they have been too deeply engrossed in the task of dealing with the social consequences of desertion to devote much time to either measuring its extent or seeking its special causes.

The following statement, based upon personal observations, interviews with social workers, and an analysis of the records of social agencies, is intended to focus attention upon some of the special factors which contribute to desertion in Hawaii. It is hoped that others with more extensive experience in the field may subsequently amplify the account. The special significance of the following contributing factors in Hawaii's problem of family desertion will be emphasized in this article: 1. the native Hawaiian pattern of culture and the nature of relations between the yearty white visitors to the islands and native women; 2. the peculiar cultural traditions within various of the immigrant groups; 3. the interracial situation; and 4. the anomalous sex ratios of large groups of the Island population. It is not assumed that any one of these factors alone or all of them together are responsible for any specific case of desertion, rather these factors together in the total picture of desertion in Hawaii.

While the early Hawaiians did not merit the accusations of immodesty frequently directed against them by early white visitors, it is true that their conception of family responsibility was different from that of the invading white. Obligation was primarily to the larger kinship group (okule), thus tending to make less important ties within the immediate natural family unit. The term haole, which seems to encompass both abandonment and mutually agreed upon separation, was a term of accepted usage. Among the natives of an earlier period it was the custom for husbands and wives to separate freely and without formality when they were dissatisfied. Most accounts seem to indicate a considerable degree of freedom in the relationship of men and women as well as the absence of strict obligations toward the family. Handy, an authority on Hawaiian culture and society, comments on the freedom of sex and marriage relationship:

1 No comprehensive statistics could be secured as to the extent of the problem in the community.
... but this is not to say that promiscuity prevailed. Mating in general was distinctly an individual affair determined fundamentally by and dependent upon personal affection. In both pre-marital and post-marital relationships, women and men were subject to the same rule. The constancy of love or affection was a matter of the development of a personal relationship, not of rule or custom.

The consequences of desertion and separation in the early Hawaiian system were seldom drastic or disrupting to either the individual or the community. Remarriage was expected and almost inevitable. Under the prevailing family system, where the natural family seldom existed as a unit, but rather as part of the larger household of kinfolk, children probably suffered less disruption than the result of the separation of their parents. They might continue to live without change in the same household under the control and authority of the functional head. The fostering or adoption system which was universally practiced also served to minimize obligations toward the children as they were readily adopted by foster parents.

There is good reason to expect such conceptions to survive despite a century or more of competition with other standards of family relations. Reports of social agencies note the absence of divorced men or women among their older Hawaiian clients, but indicated that desertions and separations were relatively rare.

Dr. Romanzto Adams points out that Hawaiian separations were further accentuated as a result of the general social disorganization that followed the coming of the foreigners. Although a number of the foreign or native residents in Hawaii prior to 1830 entered into permanent and responsible marriage bonds with native women, still it can be surmised from early records and accounts that countless other foreign men, including traders and sailors, formed casual unions with Hawaiian women who persisted only as long as the foreigners remained in Hawaii. This transient pattern of family life, including the careless desertion of the native wives and children, has apparently been extended by the frontier nature and high mobility of the male population throughout the subsequent history of Hawaii.

The coming to Hawaii since 1830 of a steady stream of people from many parts of the world, with varied and conflicting moral standards, and their mingling here under strange and unfamiliar economic and social conditions has resulted naturally in considerable personal and social disorganization, of which desertion is merely one expression. It can be seen as arising from two aspects of the racial situation, namely: inter-racial contacts and interracial marriage; and certain traditions and conditions within the racial groups themselves. The operation of these factors is suggested in the following table:

3 See Otis Stettner, Intermarriage in Hawaii, 1937.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Husband</th>
<th>Rate of Divorce</th>
<th>Rate of Remarriage</th>
<th>Rate of Divorce Per 1000 Married Women</th>
<th>Rate of Remarriage per 1000 Married Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian &amp; Port-Hawaiian</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Caucasian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Husband</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although this sample is limited to families receiving assistance from one social agency, it is believed that the results are indicative of the total situation.
Certainly the most striking fact revealed by this table is the high incidence of Puerto Rican desertion among whom the tendency appears almost to have become an established tradition. The masses of the Puerto Ricans have accepted alike common-law marriage and its ready dissolution through separation or divorce. Moreover, the limited size of this social group, which makes cultural control difficult, and a low income status which precludes expensive divorce proceedings, are factors which accentuate the deeply rooted tendencies of the Puerto Ricans toward desertion. The following case reveals a picture of desertion and personal disorganization quite typical of this group.

The history of Mrs. A., a Puerto Rican woman of about thirty, whose case was handled by one of the local agencies, showed that she had been deserted when she was quite young by her Puerto Rican common-law husband. She married a white man and four years later became separated from him. She claimed that he had deserted her while he in turn said that she had left him of her own accord, taking his child with her. She did not obtain a divorce from him though she subsequently had relations with various other men. Altogether she has had children by three different men.

The high rate of desertion involving both Portuguese men and women is somewhat surprising in view of their nominal Catholicism, according to which the family is a sacred institution. Perhaps among them desertion is a less public and formal announcement of an intolerable marriage relationship than divorce, and one which is less likely to incur group disapproval. There is evidence in the table too of the frequency of unions between Portuguese women and husbands, presumably service men, which end in desertion. Again desertion may be a reflection of the disorganization that is inevitable with the slow secularization of this racial group from the former effective control of the church.

The Japanese reveal the lowest rate of desertion in proportion to their population, a reflection no doubt, of the effective group and family control. When desertion does occur in the Japanese family it appears to be the consequence of an unsuccessful picture bride marriage or of the gradual mental degeneration of immigrant wives who employ desertion as the simplest overt gesture of rebellion against unquestioned submission to an autocratic husband.

A Japanese woman, 45 years old, deserted her 57 years old husband and a family of eight children, five of whom were dependent on her care. The couple came to Hawaii together in 1916 as immigrants. When the woman deserted her family in 1938 she stated that it was just the climax of ten years of separation and "trouble," which she could no longer bear. Case workers cited the reasons for her action as arising out of a situation of conflict between husband and wife, chiefly over financial troubles. Seasonal employment and remitting on the part of the husband were factors contributing to their separation. The husband was reluctant to give her money for household expenses the woman claimed, he made a scene and resorted to cruel behavior each time she asked for money. She greatly resented the

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While the Chinese rate of desertion is not high at present a consideration of the earlier immigrant background of this group reveals some interesting developments. The factor of primary importance fifty years ago was the philosophy and attitude of the Chinese men of the immigrant generation which caused them to view their offspring in Hawaii, and consequently, the unions contracted during their stay, as being merely temporary in nature, to be terminated when they had accumulated enough wealth to return to their home country. The return movement of many Chinese, undoubtedly left many deserted native wives and hapa pake ho (half Chinese) children. Later native-born Chinese wives of older immigrant men were also to experience desertion when the latter returned to China, often to remain there with wives and families in their home villages.

It is commonly assumed by casual observers that marriages across race lines almost invariably lead to serious consequences, including desertion. Dr. Adams, following an extensive study of interracial marriage in Hawaii, came to the conclusion that union across race lines, even when marked physical and cultural differences are involved, does not necessarily result in maladjustment; but it does involve additional problems of adjustment which would not appear in marriages within the race. His statement on the high rate of divorces in Hawaii and its possible relation to interracial factors applies equally to the related problems of desertion.

It (divorce) does not appear to be the result of interracial marriage but of the circumstances that tend to free people from their traditional control. It is true doubtless that marriages of men and women who differ considerably in social traits and cultural backgrounds does involve some extra problems of adjustment. There may be clashing habits and standards. The difficulties in the way of understanding are greater. There is the question of wider social relations. Do the husband and wife wish to maintain social relations with his people or with hers, or both? Do they agree in their desires and are they able to win social acceptance according to preference? Do they find themselves more or less isolated socially? 5

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5 See also the extremely psychological approach of varying practices very little progress.
It is apparent that persons who marry outside of their own ethnic groups are likely to be deprived of whatever experience and control the group may provide in marriage relations. Not only are the tensions within the family greater but also it seems easier for mixed couples to slip out of their marital responsibilities by way of desertion. What proportion of these failures take place is not known. An approximate indication may be gained from Table 1 which shows 25 percent or 42 cases of desertion from mixed marriages. During the period 1930-34, 23.5 per cent of all marriages in the territory were between persons of different racial stocks. From this it appears that mixed marriage is disproportionately more frequent in desertion cases. Moreover, out-marriage occurs more frequently in the disorganized groups than in those which are able to maintain adequate traditional control.

Out-marriage is high among the Puerto Rican, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Filipinos, and the transient portion of the Caucaisan population. Some of these groups are in the main characterized by relative economic instability, and therefore tend to utilize desertion, the "poor man's divorce," as the easiest way out of marital troubles. (See Table 1.)

The special significance of the sex disproportions as a factor contributing to desertion appears particularly in the cases of the haka and Filipino groups. Due to their disproportionate sex ratio, the absence of the control exerted by home ties, and possibly reinforced by the conception of the tropics as the place of hospitable women, not a few haka men have established relationships with local women of various races. Although, many of these unions are legitimate in character, permanence is not the rule with most of these alliances. When through necessity or desire the husband returns to the mainland the island wife is frequently deserted without means of support for herself or her children. Divorce proceedings may be undertaken when the man is located by social agencies. While marriages of enlisted men is not encouraged by military and naval authorities, it is in some cases permitted. In a considerable number of cases, these men abandon their local wives at the end of the two or three year period of service in Hawaii, though a few leave the service with intentions of establishing themselves permanently in the community. The following case is typical of many others which follow a similar pattern:

A intelligent looking Puerto Rican girl Rose C. applied at an agency for financial aid for the support of herself and four young children. She had been married in 1932 to an army sergeant who deserted her the same year when he was ordered to a station on the mainland. Although he had promised to send money for her support until he could send for her and the children, he failed to do either. Through the help of the agency the soldier was finally located in Panama. But Rose says that though she wants support from him she doesn't care to have him back. In the meantime, she received relief from the agency while living with her family.

In another case of the same nature Alice M., a Portuguese girl, asked

for relief and assistance in locating her husband, a former soldier. Information from army sources revealed that he had applied for permission to marry this girl but the Army authorities refused him. The couple lived as common-law partners for about six months, after which time the soldier deserted the girl in dispute of orders. He became deeply involved in debt, was arrested and discharged from the army. He re-entered a job in town, apparently in a responsible position. However, he was responsible for a certain shortage of funds which he had been handling and he fled from arrest to his home town in Kansas. Negotiations made between him and his Portuguese wife showed possibilities of reconciliation, in spite of the fact that the woman accused him of often mistreating her and of drinking excessively.

The Filipino group also shows a moderately high figure of desertion particularly in relation to the Oriental groups. The sex disproportion is still acute, explaining the necessity for the Filipino males to find wives among women of other races (a stage in the immigrant experience which other groups with unequal sex distribution, such as the Chinese, have passed.) Related to this explanation is the fact that as a newly arrived immigrant group with a disproportionate number of single males, the Filipinos are at first oriented to acute social and personal disorganization which would reflect on family stability in general. The desire to return to the Philippine Islands on the part of a man who is able to secure passage for himself alone would account for some cases of desertion.

Mrs. A. (Hawaiian) is now 28 years old; her first husband was a Filipino who deserted her six years ago to return to the Philippine Islands. There were three children from this first union. The woman soon after took another Filipino man as a common-law husband, and had four children from this second union. The man was involved in a sailing case and was imprisoned. At present Mrs. M. is living with a Hawaiian man. The family has been on relief since 1927, the income now being augmented by the earnings of one of the sons who is at a C.S.C.C. camp, and by contributions from the Puerto Rican husband of the eldest daughter who still lives with the family.

It will be observed that most of the factors mentioned in this paper arise out of conditions peculiar to the frontier and may be expected to play a less important role with the passing of the frontier.
SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN HAWAII

IWAO MIYUTA

The average citizen tends to think of the relief client in terms of stereotypes derived from the days of rugged individualism, when the pioneer was definitely a moral deviate—an individual who lacked the right to be treated as an integral member of the community. The relief client is still held responsible for the economic and social difficulties, which make it necessary for him to apply to a welfare agency for assistance. The remarks of an insurance salesman typify this common attitude:

"Why should the taxpayers support these people who don't even attempt to plan for the future and then go begging. Of course there are cases where people are victims of circumstances, and they can't be blamed, but too often we find that individuals don't think ahead and live only for the moment, and then they want us to support them when some crisis arises."

We see in the general community reaction toward public relief an attempt to conserve the family as an independent, self-sustaining unit against the encroachments of government. Social Security is still an innovation in this community and by no means incorporated within the local mores. Moreover nearly all of the immigrant groups with any cultural solidarity regard the individual or the family as the unit of responsibility, and they look with disfavor upon government support of dependent families.

Unemployment is one of the most frequent sources of family dependency in Hawaii, compelling the government to intervene in behalf of the unemployed when private enterprise breaks down. The following case is typical of families seeking relief because of unemployment:

Mrs. D., a Portuguese, applied at the public welfare agency for assistance, saying that her husband was laid off from a pineapple cannery in Honolulu, a month before because of lack of work. They were destitute in rent and needed help at once. She said that there were four minor children with another baby coming soon.

The social case worker visited their two-room home and found Mr. D., a Hawaiian, lying on the floor with a cold. His left foot was swollen. It appeared that he had sprained it while walking on the sidewalk outside his home several days before. He explained that, if it was not treated adequately, it would not heal and he would have to do hard manual work. He showed the Service card, a cannery service card, and letters of recommendation from a druggist company and a navigation company.

The employment service company informed the Social Worker that Mr. D. was 26 years old, and had a four-year high school education. The letter from the druggist company said that the man was employed by them for two years on the company dredge as a deckhand, stating in part that, "Mr. D. is a steady and conscien-

5 The Public Welfare Act, under which the Territorial Board of Public Welfare was established, provides for aid to families with minor children, and other classes acceptable to the board. Legal draftsmen, briefed by the 1929 Territorial Legislature, drafted the Board of Public Welfare by a Department of Social Security, effective July 1, 1934.
family morale and its associated personal values.

The problem of caring for the aged has not become so acute as it may a few years hence when Hawaii loses its youthful cast. In 1930 only 2.3 percent of Honolulu's population were 65 years or over, as compared with 5.4 percent in continental United States. Our situation is complicated, however, by the large proportion of the aged who are single men, old bachelors who came to Hawaii many years ago to work on the plantations and who are no longer able to do even the odd jobs available in Honolulu. There are in addition the widowed of advanced years and the aged whose children are unwilling or economically unable to support their parents. A rather widespread conception exists in the community that old age assistance from the public welfare agency is in the nature of a pension to which every person over 65 years of age is rightfully entitled, and as a consequence children are sometimes unwilling to assist their indigent parents. A territorial law, however, definitely provides that grown children, financially able, are legally responsible for the support of their parents.1

In November, 1935, there were 1,056 aged on relief in Honolulu, out of a total of 2563 cases.

The question is frequently asked, "With what attitude do people come to a relief agency?" It can be stated at the outset that there are very few, who prefer to be dependent upon public relief. It is true, however, that attitudes toward relief differ according to the problem presented, the social, cultural, and economic history, and the immediate situation of each case. No two persons assume the same attitude, although there appear to be some similarity within different racial and cultural groups.

Social workers have noted an attitude among some Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Portuguese that public relief money is a "gift" from the government to the poor. There also exists among the aged Hawaiians the general belief that all people over 65 years of age had a "right" to a $30.00 a month "pension," regardless of need. This doubtless harks back to the old feudal tradition according to which the commoner might properly appeal to his chief for aid in return for the services he had rendered. Moreover, unlike the Oriental races, many of whom are aliens, the Hawaiians and Portuguese are aware that they are citizens, that they have paid taxes and that they, therefore, have some claims upon the public treasury.2

The breakdown of group solidarity among the Portuguese, manifested by a high degree of out-marriage, and the weakening of the mores have no doubt contributed much to their attitude towards relief. The general temper of urban life with its money economy and its individualizing competitive spirit is destroying the sense of group responsibility for their needy. The children

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1 Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1917, Chapter 30, Sections 4234.
2 Beneficial acts sometimes made by social workers on the field, by public health nurses, by other social agencies such as the Social Service Bureau and groups such as the American Red Cross, have gone a long way toward breaking down this vital barrier. The social worker has a definite place in the Federal, State, and municipal courts. The Federal Employment Service, and other agencies, have become involved in the matters of caring for the aged. The Social Service Bureau and the Salvation Army have been instrumental in caring for the aged in Honolulu. The Salvation Army operates a home for aged and infirm. There is a small home operated by the Salvation Army in the Japantown area where they care for the aged and infirm.
may allow the parents to go on relief although able to provide at least part of their support.

The less aggressive Orientals, especially the Chinese and Japanese, frequently express their dismay at being forced to depend upon the government, particularly because of their alien status. They are likewise sensitive to the loss of status which the acceptance of public relief entails. To do so is an admission of the breakdown of the family as well as of personal failure, since in the homeland the responsibility of caring for the economic needs of the unfortunate rests with their respective families. An extreme case of Japanese pride may be seen in the following illustration:

A social worker, new to the case and unaware of the intense feeling on the part of the family, visited the home to leave a few children’s tickets for the children, but, finding the mother absent, left the tickets with the eldest son, aged 13. The boy appeared quiet and showed no signs of anything unusual. The next day, however, the mother appeared in the agency office to protest against the inclusion of the worker into her private family affairs and particularly of the worker’s visit to the home which would announce to the community their state of dependency. Her son was so humiliated that he was unable to eat his dinner and he refused the giving of the tickets to be an inducement. The family had recently changed their residence because of thegress of Japanese neighbors, but the mother bewailed the fact that even in their present locality, because of the worker’s face they must still suffer from the stigma of being “charity” wards.

The older Japanese generally feel that, as a race, it is humiliating to be supported by relief, and they generally come to the agency only as a last resort. From then a worker sometimes discovers a client who asks for a loan, instead of direct relief. This would mean that where a family is faced with actual want it will accept financial assistance only as a last measure.

Generally speaking, the degree of pride shown in applying for relief depends upon such social, economic, and educational background of the families, their level of intelligence, and their past experiences. A family with any standing in the community will resist much more than one without any relatives or friends. The latter will have less to lose socially.

The hardest cases for relief are usually transients from the mainland United States—single men not established economically and socially in the Caucasian community. They come into the community with their meager resources, drift from one temporary job to another, and finally end up on relief. Since the hewers generally tend to occupy the upper income brackets in the community, there are few hewer families on relief. These scattered cases are usually of mixed marriages between a Caucasian man and a woman of another race.

The Puerto Ricans present an acute problem of panmagnitization. They appear to have lost whatever initiative for self-support which they may once have possessed. In the words of a social case worker:

The Puerto Ricans are dependent and lazy. Individuals may work hard, but, when they are out of work, they will come to the office with the assumption that, since they had already worked hard, the agency is to come to their assistance. There is quite an inferiority complex in the group. A member of the race will admit that the Puerto Ricans, as a race, are bad but would claim to be an exception himself because he is part Portuguese or something else.

Evidently, the morals and group loyalty of Puerto Ricans are low. Common-law marriages are widely practiced, and the occupational level of the majority appears to be no better than common labor.

A case, which well illustrates the disorganized situation of the Puerto Ricans, is that of the R. family.

Mrs. R., with ten children to support, came to the agency because her common-law husband had deserted her ten months ago. She claimed that she had been working as a maid and was trying to support the children, who lived in an overcrowded home and were not receiving proper care. She asked for help from the agency so that she could care for the children herself.

Mrs. R. lived with her brother, Joseph, whose wife, Mary, and her children had left the home sometime ago to live with her father. Mrs. R.’s sister, Violet, was living in the Philippine Islands with her Filipino husband, while Sarah, another sister, was a taxi dancer on the island of Hawaii. Nancy O., another sister with several children, was staying with Mrs. R. In all there were more than a dozen children in the home.

Because of overcrowding the case worker proposed that the family move onto a house renting for not more than $12.00, as was all that the agency could afford. Mrs. R. remarked that she was sure that she could find something suitable for only $12.00.

Mrs. R. further stated that she needed a stove and some chairs before she could move out. As a stove appeared essential, the case worker told her that the agency might be able to provide her with one but that she might be able to borrow the furniture from her brother as he appeared well supplied. The woman objected to this plan, saying that she thought the agency was to help people. She felt that she should not get more than she really needed on the basis.

There seemed to be frequent drinking and fighting in the family, as the case worker once found Mrs. R. and Mack, another relief client, indulging in a pint of whiskey. At another time, the worker found the woman wearing dark glasses as she had a black eye. She stated that her sister, Nancy O., had been in her home when T. O., her brother-in-law, had quarreled with Nancy. In the ensuing fight, Mrs. R., claimed that she was hit in the eye by Mr. O.

The woman had entered into a common-law relationship with Mr. R., a sailor, in 1929. She had several children by him. He had support-ed her and the children, until he was transferred away from the islands for duty, but had always sent some money to her. When Mr. R. was later contacted, he stated that he was unintentional in his relationships with men and had children by several.

One day the case worker received a telephone call from the Police department. The woman had been referred by the City and County jail to the Pahana Venereal Disease Clinic for an examination. She had
been picked up by the police the night before when she was suspected of soliciting on the streets. Since then she had been attending the clinic regularly. She is now living with her brother, Joseph, who is paying the rent.

The Filipinos, constituting the most recent immigrant group, have been compelled to live on a low economic level, to which they are fairly well accommodated. The majority who left the plantations are manual and seasonal workers in the fishing industry, the lumber yards, the canneries, and the construction industries. In addition to the keen competition from other races for jobs, they are faced by a general lack of education and vocational training, and by discrimination on the part of employers in more desirable positions. Thus out of sheer economic necessity, some of the Filipinos will apply for aid. It can generally be said, however, that they are willing to work if given the chance, and the social worker is greatly impressed both by their ability to secure employment and their ingenuity in living within limited resources.

Of course, in the final analysis, most people apply for relief because they are faced with an economic difficulty which requires outside assistance. Because of the lack of the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—a person will often apply to the agencies for relief despite the disapproval of the group. Moreover the strength of the racial attitudes toward relief depend largely upon the size of the group, as affecting its solidarity and the degree of organization or morale within the different racial groups. Clients from the more highly organized and culturally integrated groups, such as the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese, are more sensitive to the acceptance of relief than are the smaller, less integrated groups, represented by the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish.

The attitudes toward relief may also be the result of territorial propinquity. If there are a large number of relief cases within a restricted area of the community, it becomes natural for the people within the area to accept relief as a matter of course and to expect it for themselves. These groups may evolve standards different from those of other areas which are more secure economically and socially. Families that apply at the public welfare agency, therefore, bring with them some reflection of their group attitudes, those of their race and of their particular local area.

One of the most serious difficulties encountered by the social worker in this, as in every community, is the problem of making the very restricted relief allowance cover all of the essential demands of the family. Everyone recognizes the urgency for the entire population of an adequate diet to maintain health and ordinary working efficiency. It is frequently assumed, however, that people on relief must learn to accommodate their tastes to the restricted relief budgets which the community can provide. But there is an irreducible limit below which the relief budget cannot go in other items besides food and still maintain health and efficiency. Actually relief practice in this community has taken account of the differential consumption habits of the population and a minimum budget has been established which is considerably below that of California.

The following minimum budgets for a theoretical family of five—parents and three children under ten years of age—show the contrast between the relief standards of Honolulu and California, item by item.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Honolulu</th>
<th>California</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>$37.25</td>
<td>$43.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing (rent)</td>
<td>32.65</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and Personal Incidents</td>
<td>6.25</td>
<td>12.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and Personal Incidents (includes fuel)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Care</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Totals             | $73.30   | $101.63    |

Though the budget for the Honolulu family of five requires a minimum income of $73.30, there are very few families actually receiving more than $50.00 a month in relief. The family of five on relief ordinarily receives not more than $90.25; itemized as follows: $15.00 for rent (varies with each family), $33.00 for food, $1.25 for light, and $1.25 for fuel. There is no money allowed for clothing, personal incidentals, housing operation, transportation, recreation, or medical care. Expenses for the medical attention of relief families are assumed by the City and County of Honolulu.

A relief budget so low that the client sees no possibility of maintaining even the most basic standards of decency and self respect may result in serious consequences to the community. The oldest son, aged 14, of a Japanese widow with four minor children was known to the Juvenile Court as a delinquent and had been causing her considerable worry. The mother explained that the boy had played truant from an intermediate school.

Since my children demand as much of me for money—to buy clothes, for school expenditure, and for entertainment, I want to go to work to give them these. My children are teased by other children in school because..."
cause they cannot afford things which other children have. They feel that they are social outcasts. They do not understand that their mother cannot supply them with the things they want, and, consequently, they show their resentment against me by calling me names, saying that, when they are grown, they plan to desert me in my old age. They cannot understand why their mother cannot give them things like other mothers, realizing we are under the welfare, with no money to spare for incidentals. Being denied, my children threaten to steal and to do mischief in revenge.

Here are then some of the more obvious problems of public welfare in Hawaii. Aside from the great cities of the country with their multi-cultural immigrant populations, relief giving elsewhere is perhaps not as greatly influenced by differences of cultures among the people as in Hawaii. In Hawaii, we find that some races of people will demand relief in contrast to others who will decline it; these attitudes can be traced back to their respective cultures and the comparative degree of group solidarity and morale. Enravined with relief giving can also be seen the problem of providing an adequate budget for families in need.

SELECTED REFERENCES ON SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION IN HAWAII


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