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Social Process In Hawaii

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FOREWORD

MAN KWONG AU

Social Process in Hawaii emerges from its period of infancy, having completed five years of existence as a medium for giving wider circulation to some of the local findings in sociology. Conceived originally as a device for stimulating students to probe a little more deeply into the study projects of their basic courses in sociology, Social Process has gradually become a cooperative enterprise of faculty, students, graduates, and interested social workers in the community. The index of the articles in the first five issues, included in the present volume, reveals moreover a wide range of interests from theoretical considerations, such as the nature of assimilation, to the more practical problems of language, occupation, and marriage adjustment, juvenile delinquency, and politics in Hawaii.

Throughout its brief history, Social Process in Hawaii has sought to maintain an objective, dispassionate attitude toward the problems discussed, although they frequently had a more immediate and personal aspect as well to the students who discussed them. Most of the contributors have been themselves "part of the process which they describe," and whether or not they have succeeded in achieving scientific accuracy and objectivity, the effort has probably been worth while. Quite apart also from any "contributions to knowledge" which may have resulted from this enterprise, both students and faculty are impressed with the value of the cooperative search for scientific knowledge within a field where prejudice and half-truths are largely prevalent.

The material in last year's issue of Social Process in Hawaii were selected to illustrate the social process of disorganization, with the expectation that a subsequent issue would be devoted to social reorganization. So closely associated, however, are the forces which undermine the old order and those which contribute to the new that it has been difficult to discuss one without also taking account of the other. The 1940 issue is intended, therefore, to throw additional light upon the dual process of disorganization and reorganization in Hawaii.

The opening statement by Bernhard L. Hornman, instructor in sociology at the University of Hawaii, provides a brief orientation to the subject by pointing out that sociology characteristically goes through a circular process of organization, disorganization, and reorganization. Mr. Hornman finds the clue to the problem of social disorganization in the conflict between the expectations of various groups of people and the changing economic and social situations, between the "pictures in their minds" and what the world of reality provides. Similarly, it is through the harmonizing of these elements that reorganization takes place.

The contrast between the "expectations" of the Japanese immigrants to Hawaii and the actual situation encountered by them forms the background for much of the social analysis described in the second article on "The Psychological Aspects of Japanese Immigrants" by Miss Yukiko Kimura, Japanese secretary of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. The contrast between the customs and manners of the ancestral village and the expectations of the multi-ethnic groups in Hawaii results in considerable personal maladjustment. Moreover, the scarcity of women and of stable family life, the stratified plantation system and its formal restrictions, and the difficulties of assimilation growing out of their own "sojourner" attitudes, contributed further to the social breakdown during the early years of Japanese residence in Hawaii. The founding of families and the establishment of characteristic institutions such as the language school assisted in reorganizing Japanese life on a new plane, but they also called into being new problems, such as the conflicts between the first and second generations and between the Japanese and the wider community over the language school. The close interrelationship between organization, disorganization, and reorganization is clearly illustrated in this analysis.

The attitudes of the eleven racial groups in Hawaii toward interracial marriage provides a valuable index of cultural conflict and the lack of solidarity within an immigrant community. Shige Oshik's analysis of the attitudes of two groups of Oriental students at the University of Hawaii adds to our knowledge of the conflicting conceptions of marriage in our population and of the trend toward a more unified picture.

The account by Mrs. Patricia Wallace, public school teacher and graduate student in sociology, reveals the more serious effects upon personality when the contrasts between the conceptions of conflict in the home and the wider community are too marked. The behavior and attitudes of a group of delinquent girls is interpreted in the light of these conflicting definitions.

An article on "The Kahuna and the Social Worker" by Charles Ken, student of Hawaiian culture and a parole officer in Honolulu, continues a discussion in last year's issue on the conflict between American laws and moral standards as interpreted by social workers and certain elements in Hawaiian culture. Mr. Ken emphasizes particularly the importance of the social worker in understanding the meaning of the term Kahuna from the point of view of the native himself and he cites a variety of ways in which the Kahuna may be defined by the outsider and the native.

The article by Andrew W. Lind suggests a sociological approach to one of Hawaii's most acute "problems," the youth on the land; and it is intended to accompany and interpret the following paper by Miss Martha Mitamura. A detailed interview with a young man of Oriental ancestry in which the conflict of definitions between the Oriental home, the plantation, and the individual appear in sharp relief constitutes the major part of Miss Mitamura's paper.

The 1940 issue provides the opportunity to measure the extent of Hawaii's population change during the past ten years, and Rominto Adams presents a preliminary analysis of the shifts during the past decade. Hawaii is clearly showing down in its rate of population growth, and at the same time the most acute problems of social disorganization resulting from excessive sex and age disproportions are likewise passed.
FACTORS IN DISORGANIZATION AND REORGANIZATION
BERNHARD HORMANN

It was only after experiencing all varieties of personal de-
materialization that Goethe's Faust finally emerged with a thoroughly
and successfully reorganized personality. All keen students of
the human personality have long recognized this intimate
connection between organization and disorganization.

In the same way, students of human society are now point-
ing out, societies go through processes of organization, disor-
ganization, and reorganization. The respective stages may of
course be relatively long or short, and the extent and intensity
of disorganization may be relatively great or small. But change
there is bound to be.

Such an analysis has a profound twofold effect upon our
attitude towards societies and their changes. In the first place,
it keeps us from becoming too snug in any existing social or-
ganization and too exasperated about any period of social dis-
organization. In the second place, it defines our central social
science problem as that of getting insight which will help the
members of societies to avoid major catastrophes and to make
possible more stable social organizations.

If we wish then to study social reorganization in any situ-
tion, let us say contemporary Hawaii, we will be repaid if we
first focus our attention on the problem of social disorganization.
What, in particular, do social scientists have to say to us about
social disorganization? Now social scientists are notorious for
their coining of new words for old meanings and their use of
old words with new meanings. Nevertheless, through the maze
of vocabulary, we can see a point of view towards the problem
of social disorganization which we can usefully apply to any
given situation.

In brief, this point of view is that social disorganization is
essentially a conflict between human expectations and experi-
ce. This is the terminology of Herbert Blumer in his famous
book Social Process In Hawaii. Perhaps the best way to ex-
plain the point is in the terms used by others. Humans beings
have orientations to or perspectives upon their life situations.
That is, they interpret their station in life, how people around
them behave, what things happen to them, according to their
Weltanschauung. In living, each person gradually acquires a
picture of the world and of his role in it, a more or less in-
tegrated system of attitudes towards life and a conception of
himself.

A person's picture seems to be acquired mainly by virtue
of his being a member of a society. Furthermore, societies
themselves have their cosmologies or pictures of the world,
which they pass on from generation to generation through the
family and the school. Societies also have their conceptions
of themselves as collective entities. Carl Van Doren, in one of
(5)
Such a conversation of attitudes of suspicion sometimes constitutes for a once harmonious husband and wife the road to the divorce court. In our local situation, it seems to me that we are having this kind of a conversation of attitudes between those people on the Mainland and here who say that it would be dangerous to give Hawaii statehood because the large number of Japanese here will always remain primarily loyal to Japan. The answer of the local Japanese is to reaffirm their loyalty to America. But inwardly they naturally feel resentment that they, the Japanese, should be thus pointed out as a reason against statehood. From the other side comes the comment that the Japanese always cling to their institutions, their temples, their newspapers, their language schools; they will not be assimilated. The Japanese then say, “But why should we not continue our ancestral traditions if we are not really wanted?” You see, they are well on the road to becoming that which they were not at the beginning of the conversation, but only accused of by the other side.

How frequently I have engaged in similar conversations on the Mainland. Arguments were as fruitless in convincing the doubters as will always be the best arguments of our very excellent debating teams on the merits of statehood. Only when I was able to illustrate with the story of Moses, who had been my pupil in junior high school and who passionately loved America, and with the story of the two Hawaiian-born Japanese sisters whom I met in the Orient, and who were only too anxious to get back to our Hawaii, and who felt that in Japan “they” did things differently. We will advance our statehood argument considerably when we succeed in crossing within the Mainlander, as for instance, exemplified by our tourists, sympathetic appreciation of our Orientals. Can we not have a conversation leading not to schemes, but assimilation?

The analysis of what there is in the present political, economic, and social situation pregnant with implications for further change is of course quite difficult. Not only must our internal situation be considered, but also, Hawaii’s relationship to the nation and the world. Such questions as the following are at stake: To what extent can further technological and scientific developments be expected in the sugar industry? Will the number of laborers needed by sugar increase or decrease? To what extent will the type of labor needed by the plantations change? Can Hawaii become largely independent of outside sources for its food supply? What will be the nation’s policy in the future in regard to sugar? Will Hawaii’s military importance change? Can Hawaii develop an important “third industry”? Such questions involve many imponderables. Here it is only necessary to recall their importance in any general discussion of reorganization in Hawaii.

To the sociologist, the most interesting task is to trace the interaction between human expectations and experiences in the actual situation. It seems demonstrable, for instance, that once
made approach to a situation is colored by one's expectations, and that what one gets out of it, that is, one's experiences, are therefore closely affected by the expectations. In Hawaii, the usual approach to the problem of the industrial future of the Islands and especially of the growing generation is entirely in terms of expectations associated with a flourishing economy of industrial agriculture. As a result, it is almost impossible to think about any possibilities except those of industrial agriculture, many of which have already been tried without success. Few people take the pains to discover and describe crucial elements in the present situation: agricultural industries whose lost days may possibly be over, many other tropical areas with Hawaii's major industries and, in addition, access to a large and cheaper labor supply, a generation of local youth unwilling to repeat the experiences of their parents but eager for education and capable of skilled training. Should one also mention the large number of homeless refugees who possess highly useful skills which they could teach? We have been thinking only of new agricultural frontiers. Can we not, with the magazine, Fortune, define our frontiers with greater imagination?

Not only should we trace the influence of our expectations upon our manner of dealing with and experiencing a present situation, but we must look for an influence in the other direction of the elements in the present situation upon the expectations of our people. This becomes doubly important when we realize that these expectations will in turn affect the future course of events.

At present, the expectations of our rising generation are those developed in pioneer America. Education is for all and opportunities are boundless. These expectations have been naturally acquired in the public school system which was established for the children of Hawaii. Now, it is obvious that unless something will radically change in the actual situation, many of these young people will meet with bitter disappointments. Furthermore, it cannot be too much stressed that these disappointments will come not only to those who are preparing for the professions and other white collar positions, only to find, after a long and expensive preparation, that these fields are becoming overcrowded. These disappointments will come even to those whose high school training is such as to qualify them for a position in the land, unless a proportion of the able men of these young people will not be prepared for the full opportunities for advancement sometimes promised them, but which most of them now feel are the exclusive province of some social group. Our inter racial situation is not unique. In other times and places, a number of races have lived together in some stability. In considering some of those other places one is struck by the fact that a fairly stable inter racial equilibrium can take a variety of forms. The traditional Hawaiian ideal of intimate inter racial friendship and equal opportunities for all, or what the sociologist calls an open class situation, is not the only possible solution. It may be that the elements in our situation are such that in order to attain equilibrium we must change the expectations of the various groups rather than the actual situation.

At any rate, the range of possibilities is from a rigid caste structure to a community in which, in spite of the existence of physical differences, no more importance is attached to "racial" differences than we attach to differences in stature. This almost complete indifference to race has in fact prevailed in most periods of history, as a number of sociological studies of race are pointing out. In ancient Egypt, for instance, strangers were laughed at for their old customs more than for their old countenances. The modern French perhaps most closely approximate this attitude.

At the other extreme is the state of affairs in the American South. Here we have a strict caste definition of race. A person known to have Negro blood, no matter how light in color, is categorically classified with the inferior caste. Interracial marriage is live up to a strict inter racial etiquette. There is actually some evidence that the Negroes in the South are better adjusted, because their expectations conform with the actual state of affairs, than the Northern Negroes, whose expectations are changing so that they feel discrimination is a caste setup.

In Brazil, we have an intermediate form. Robert Park and his students, Donald Pierce, have been interested in the conditions there, and the latter has completed an intensive research project. In Brazil there is a large amount of Negro blood. However, in the minds of the people, class is a more important distinction than race. It is true, most mulatto and Portuguese belong to the lowest class, and most pure-blooded Portuguese belong to the highest class. But the important point is that there are exceptions and those exceptions are not frowned upon. It is a not too rare occurrence for a person with Negro blood to reach the highest rank of the social ladder. Likewise, light persons are at the bottom. The situation in Brazil is described as stable.

In summary, then, we may say that in order to analyze the elements in a given situation making for disorganization, one must study the interaction among the expectations of the various groups of the population, the potentials for change in the actual industrial and political situations, and the interaction between the expectations and the actual situation. If such an analysis were carefully made for Hawaii, we might very plausibly discover a trend towards disorganization here and in the future. The problem involved in stopping such a trend or in reorganization after complete disorganization is to bring expectations in harmony with the actual situation, either by changing the situation, or the expectations, or both.
Psychological Aspects of Japanese Immigration

Yukiko Kimura

Historical Survey of Immigration

The first organized immigration of the Japanese to Hawaii dates back to 1868. The government of the Hawaiian monarchy recruited the migrants for plantation labor through its trading commissioner, who was stationed in Tokyo. The proposition attracted over 300 adventurous spirited youths, mostly of Tokyo, of whom 133 were accepted besides nine women and one child. These young men were between the ages of thirteen and twenty-seven years, and were mostly vagabonds, engaged in fighting, gambling or highway robbery. They had no idea of where Hawaii was, but somehow connected with it was as far as Tenpaku, or "Heaven". They all cut the top-knots of their hair at their departure as the sign of farewell to the gods of the old country. Then they entered into a convenant of brotherhood, promising each other that they would quarrel no more among themselves but help and protect each other in every way when they reached Tenpaku. This first group of immigrants is known among the Japanese in Hawaii as the Gannen-mono. They came at the time when the government of Japan was changing from the Shogunate to the Meiji era. In order to avoid the complication which might be caused by the new governmental policy, their departure was almost that of stowaways, in such a hurried manner. They came on an English boat.

After landing at Honolulu, the immigrants were given two weeks' vacation. However, after the merry life of the big city of Yedo, Hawaii looked very primitive and they were extremely disappointed at the first sight of the islands. After two weeks in Honolulu, they went to different places; 113 went to the plantations, (eight to Kauai, forty-five to Maui, sixty-one to Oahu), and were placed in haole homes in Honolulu as domestic servants, and the women went with their husbands.

The Gannen-mono were on a three years' contract. They worked twenty-six days a month, from 6:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. with thirty minutes for lunch daily and were paid $4.00 per month, besides food, lodging and medical expenses. Unaccustomed to farm work they found their life very strenuous and wrote to the Japanese government about their hardships. In 1869, three Japanese officials came to investigate their conditions. Forty immigrants returned to Japan with those officials. In 1870 Mr. Pierce, an American minister to Hawaii, was appointed by the Japanese government to act as an official supervisor of all the Japanese immigrants.

When the three years' contract ended seventeen returned to Japan. Those who remained, married the native women or women of other races and settled in other trades. A few were quite successful financially. One married a Portuguese woman and became a devout Catholic.

Eventually all of the Gannen-mono were assimilated into the larger community and did not constitute a separate Japanese community. They were too small in number, and no organized type of immigration followed this for eighteen years.

The typical Japanese immigrant began to appear in 1885, when immigration under the auspices of the Japanese government occurred. This time, in the effort to get hard-working plantation laborers, the Japanese government recruited the immigrants among the peasants in the prefectures of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Kumanoto in the south-southwest and in some northern prefectures. In February 1892, 948 Japanese laborers were brought on the S.S. City of Tokyo as the first contracted laborers. This time they had with them Japanese supervisors and interpreters and Japanese physicians all of whom were employed by the Japanese government.

This type of immigration continued until 1894. During this period twenty-six boats brought 29,382 Japanese to Hawaii. Their travelling expenses were paid by the plantations. Their wages were $15 per month of which they were to deposit 15 per cent to be drawn when they left Hawaii after three years.

From 1894 a few private immigration companies, cooperating with the various plantations, took over the importation of laborers from Japan. Up to 1900 they brought about 40,205 immigrants to Hawaii. However, these firms were in such acute competition with one another that they developed unreasonable means of recruiting the immigrants among the ignorant peasants. Besides, they were getting double profit—commission from the plantation employers and from the immigrants. Finally they were severely attacked by the Japanese community and were forced to leave the Islands.

Between 1900 and 1908 was the period of free immigration, when 68,326 Japanese came to Hawaii. With annexation to the United States in 1898 the Immigration Law of the United States was applied to Hawaii, which resulted in the elimination of contract immigration as well as in the elimination of the contracts of those already working on the plantations.

One was the movement to the mainland, which started in a small
way with twenty-one people in 1901 and increased yearly so that there were 57,000 Japanese on the Pacific Coast in 1905. According to the Rev. Okumura, one-third of the immigrants from Japan during this period went to California. Sometimes the number was as high as 3,000 per month.

As a consequence of this movement there was a shortage of labor on the Hawaiian plantations and a great deal of economic disturbance in the Japanese community in Hawaii. Efforts were made to stop the movement and finally in 1908 a law became effective prohibiting the migration of the Japanese in Hawaii to the mainland. But such great numbers had already migrated as to create a feeling of threat to the labor situation on the Pacific Coast, and later an anti-Japanese movement developed there.

Anti-Japanese sentiment was consummated in the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement in 1908 and from this time positive immigration from Japan was stopped. However, the immigration of relatives and picture-brides was allowed to continue. According to the record, from that time until 1924, 62,277 Japanese came to Hawaii of which 26,503 were men, 30,633 women, and 5,151 children. This period is commonly called among the Japanese the Yobiyose-jidai, the "period of summoning families."

Psychological Aspects of Immigration

The foregoing survey indicates that the type of Japanese immigrant has largely determined their resultant assimilation. The Gamen-mono were vagabonds in an urban community and were attracted for emigration as a form of adventure. They were already deviates from the conventions and mores of the old country while in Japan. They were of Buddhist background but religion had very little to do with their actual lives. They were deviates emotionally from the familiar and conventional ties of the old country and found it easy to assimilate among the peoples of different cultures. Although they came under the three years contract, eighty-six remained and were married to the native women or women of other races.

Circumstances in Hawaii were also favorable to assimilation. At the time they arrived, Japanese were very scarce. Therefore they were treated by the natives and other races as well as the government with more than ordinary kindness. The record shows that even on the plantations they were treated much better than other races.

The fact that their friends were expecting them to return with a million dollars or at least with some conspicuous success also made them hesitant to return to Japan. The hardships and close supervision of plantation life also trained them to yield to circumstances and changed them into settlers. Language difficulties, differences of customs and numerous other requirements for their adjustment were an added unconscious strain and reduced their original vigor and rebelliousness. Age also changed

12 Ibid, p. 274.
15 Ibid, p. 408.
16 3,000 yen was the goal of the majority of them.
grants during this early stage. On the plantation, the giving and selling of wives was openly practised, and among a few, wives were even exchanged for cows and horses. Along with this kind of vice came out middlemen who specialized in getting a monetary profit. Oral information indicates that crime among the Japanese was almost exclusively connected with women.

There were also organized gangs, mostly composed of the runaways from the plantations, which sponsored the vice-quarter between Nuuanu and River Streets. There were two major gangs in 1895—one with a membership of 150 and another with 200. They even had monthly publications to control their membership. They had more than 200 prostitutes working for them, earning an average of $200 monthly per person. Racketeering, intimidation, fraud were also common practices in connection with this commercialized vice.17

Both the Japanese community and the community at large had long realized the menace of this vice-quarter and made a continuous effort to abolish it or move it out of the city. Finally, the fire which followed the pestilence in 1901 burned the whole district, and after that they were never able to reorganize themselves.18

Thus the unbalanced sex-ratio was one of the chief causes for the psychological instability of the Japanese immigrants of the earlier stage. Their needs were not met by intermarriage with members of other races or nationalities for two reasons: first, the unbalanced sex-ratio was the common problem of all the immigrants of all races and nationalities; and secondly, interracial marriage was not in the mores of their villages. In case a relationship developed, it was usually of a temporary nature rather than a permanent marriage. It was after a positive effort was made to get the women from their villages that they attained more stability.

Most of the first generation women came as picture-brides, although some of them came with their husbands or as members of the families of the earlier arrivals. The psychology of the picture-bride is an interesting and significant study in itself, which the limits of this paper do not permit us to include. These women, whose migration to Hawaii was arranged entirely through correspondence, were usually officially married in the parental home of their prospective husband in Japan. They were hopeful and enthusiastic when they left their villages, they dreamed that Hawaii was a prosperous country and that their husbands who had preceded them were successful financially and were living in luxury. The disappointments faced by the women after arriving in Hawaii were no less than those of the men. They discovered that they had to work as hard as they had worked in their old villages, or even harder in many instances. There were no traditional rituals and ceremonies to flavor their lives; and there was the gnawing loneliness of a strange existence among strangers, including even their own husbands. This emotional experience tended to increase the longing for the life of their old villages and to exaggerate its good points and to minimize its weak points.

The traditional controls of the home land began to operate as soon as the families were established, and the community then became more stable. The authoritative role of the father and the traditional mores and ceremonies were introduced. With increased family control, delinquency and crime among the Japanese were comparatively low. However, the Japanese children were not only under the controls of parental authority and of the Japanese community, but were also subject to the influences of the larger community, and their adjustment to the requirements of two or more different cultures was difficult.

The negative attitude of the Japanese immigrants toward the American community resulting from the psychology of temporary residence, their failure to participate actively in local affairs, or to invest in immovable property was intensified by the attitude of the so-called American community. They were labeled as "undesirables" and "unassimilable", and therefore "ineligible for naturalization." They were never invited to share responsibilities positively and were excluded from active participation in the affairs of the larger community. This might be inevitable in view of the caste system on the plantations and the fact that psychologically the various groups were not yet prepared to mix with one another as social equals. Difficulties of communication due to language and cultural differences increased the barrier, intensified further the sense of inferiority of the immigrants, making them more retiring and unapproachable. It was quite natural then, that their loyalty and service should be directed chiefly to Japan. Someone once commenting about the Japanese asked the writer, "Why don't the Japanese assimilate? Italians, Germans, and most other Europeans become Americans quickly." In addition to reasons of biological, economic, and cultural differences is the fact that while Europeans are urged to become Americans, and every effort is made to help them, the Japanese were labeled as alien and unassimilable and every effort was made to exclude them. It was only natural then that being excluded from American citizenship, immigrants from Japan should remain loyal to their native land.

The result of exclusion from out-group contacts was an intensification of in-group control and the development of a closely knit community life almost identical to their original village life in Japan. The distance between the in-group and out-group, and the rigidity of the in-group control were reinforced by the size of the Japanese population.

When individuals of the same racial or nationality type group together in a large number, their contrast to the other groups becomes obvious. They become race conscious and hesitate to mix with others. The out-groups, on the other hand, become fearful of their dominance, and this fear tends to identify the immigrants with the political behavior of their native land and increases their self-consciousness. Thus suspicion by the out-group increases in-group feeling, creating the so-called counter-

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17 Ibid., p. 506.
18 Ibid., p. 688.
prejudices and the defense mechanism of the in-group, and discouraging willing effort and cooperation to become assimilated in the larger community. They remain psychologically as strangers.

The contrast between the economic and social positions of the members of the in-group and those of the members of the out-group intensifies the degree of distance socially and psychologically. If they were on the same economic basis, social contact would have been easier, despite differences in racial stocks, because they would have a similar standard of living enabling them financially to carry on the same kind of social activities. But the lower economic status of the immigrant group incapacitated them for mixing socially with those of higher economic position. This distance which is emphasized by the distinctive physical characteristics of the Japanese tended to identify them with economic and social inferiority. The resulting feeling of inferiority among the Japanese might be expressed in acceptance of their lower social status and seeking refuge in something unique in their culture, or it might lead to an antagonistic attitude and an effort to find a superior or unique element in their culture, and to develop a counter or superiority complex. Where the result is acceptance, a kind of nativistic movement may develop. In this sense the Bon dance, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, jujitsu, and even the elaborate wedding ceremonies are not merely for recreation or accomplishment in certain arts or social customs but are the revival of the old culture in which they seek consciously and unconsciously some psychological compensation.

Where the result is rejection of the inferior classification the reaction is more positive. Because of the social distance, the immigrants have had no opportunities to be brought to the knowledge of a finer type of American culture—namely, culture of home and its moral and spiritual tradition. All they know of American culture is from the streets, plantations, beaches, workshops, stores, and theaters. There is nothing to correspond in moral value to filial piety, loyalty, reverence, and obedience to the elders, perseverance, humility, courtesy, sense of duty, benevolence, forgiveness, etc. Hence the first generation have sought the moral conservation of their children as well as themselves in the culture of their old country, and have made a conscious effort to keep themselves and their children from becoming Americanized.

Partly because of this effort to save the children from becoming Americanized by educating them in what they have believed to be a superior culture and partly due to their familial obligation or the need of being freed from care of the children, a great many immigrants have sent their children—usually their eldest—to Japan, mostly to their grandparents in their old villages. Most of the children were sent away at the age of two or three years or at least before the school age, and brought back at sixteen to twenty years of age when they were old enough to be of financial assistance in Hawaii. The tragedy is that these grown-up children are chronologically old enough to earn money for their parents but they have no English language and no knowledge of American life and customs. They are foreigners here, except that they were born here sixteen or twenty years earlier. According to the principal of an English language school for the returned Hawaiian-born Japanese, they take at least two years to master enough English so that they are able to get some gainful employment. However, because they are so handicapped, they are able to qualify only as waiters or waitresses, dishwashers, barbers, or barbershops, household employees, etc. But the real tragedy is deeper than this. Long absence from their parents, especially during the period of emotional dependence and growth, has made a psychological distance between them and their parents. While the parents were originally Japanese, their ways of living and thinking have been modified during their residence in Hawaii, and their Americanized younger children seem more natural to them than those who have been in Japan. “We don’t do that in Hawaii” the parents say in correcting their returned children. Real antagonism develops between the two generations. The parents more or less unconsciously realize that their children are emotionally attached to their grandmother or aunt or uncle in Japan—a painful reality which is hard to accept. The children on the other hand not only feel handicapped for the competitive life of America, but are permanently affected by the conflict with their parents, even if its expression is not overt. Such emotional experience, if continued, may produce personality maladjustments in the children, further affecting relationships.

Dual citizenship is another factor causing suffering to the second generation. The eagerness of the first generation immigrants to maintain their relationship with the old country through their offspring is perfectly natural, in the first place because they must remain alien forever and therefore will always be Japanese, and second because of their tradition of loyalty and obligation to their ancestral heritage even if it is only to the name. Having their children registered as Japanese subjects satisfies their sense of loyalty to Japan, and they feel that their Hawaiian-born children have not been entirely lost to the old country.

In contrast with the negative factors thus far mentioned, there have been forces which promote Japanese participation in the larger community and the permanent settlement of the immigrants in Hawaii.

The elimination of the contract labor system meant that the Japanese were free men, free not only to act but free to think and to establish their dignity as independent individuals. They began to think of themselves in terms of human rights rather than accepting their humble lot as inevitable. This resulted in their first widespread movement to demand higher wages, known as the first Oahu General Strike of 1909. This large scale strike

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19 In contrast with the eighteen dollars per month received by the Japanese plantation laborers, Portuguese and Puerto Ricans were getting $22.50 per month. Japanese laborers resented this racial discrimination.
was one of the evidences of the change taking place from the
psychology of caste to class consciousness.
In 1920 the Second Oahu General Strike was undertaken to
demand higher wages to meet the rising cost of living of the post-
war boom.20 This strike was not merely the result of the emancipa-
tion of the contract laborers but the result of the formation
of a labor union among plantation workers stimulated by world
labor trends. It transcended racial or nationality barriers, but
because the large number of the strikers were Japanese, it stimu-
lated anti-Japanese sentiment, especially because it was just after
the World War, when the 100 per cent Americanization move-
ment was at its peak. The strike itself ended without results.
This emergence of class consciousness was a sign of a process
toward assimilation in a larger community. They were on strike
not because they were Japanese but because they were laborers.
The demands were not confined to the Japanese but applied to the
whole labor class.
After the 1920 strike, many of the Japanese left the planta-
tion to start independent careers in agriculture or trade. Some
who wanted to return to Japan, did so; and those who remained
established themselves more securely in Hawaii. With increase
in children arose the needs of educational and occupational op-
portunities for them, which stimulated the upward effort of the
Japanese community in general. Increase in the number of lo-
cal-born Japanese was an important factor determining psycholo-
gical tendencies in the Japanese community and it meant gradu-
ally more extensive participation of the Japanese in the larger
community.21
Buddhism met the religious needs of the Japanese at the
point of their initial disorganization. It gave them inner com-
fort; it taught them to abandon self-pity and dissatisfactory and
established in them a new and peaceful state of mind. It taught
them to look forward to salvation in life after death; it taught
that this material world was illusion and only preparatory for
the real world hereafter. Thus it met the emotional needs of
the people but in turn it developed their psychological depend-
dence upon the temples.
Buddhist temples also served to re-establish village sentiment
and custom and festivals. It linked them with the village in the
old country. In so doing, it gave them spiritual contacts with
their ancestors, bound individuals and families together, and
helped establish solidarity among the Japanese. Buddhism played
a dual role in fact—helped them to be contented with their

20 The demands included a raise of wages from 75¢ per day to $1.25 for
men and to 50¢ for women; reduction of working hours to eight hours
per day; six weeks' rest for women for child birth. Six thousand plan-
tation laborers including their families and two thousand Filipino par-
ishes participated. It lasted six months.

21 In 1885 there were 2,060 Japanese in Hawaii. In 1905, just after the
prohibition of Japanese immigration, there were 156,968 Japanese, of
whom 72,798 were born in Japan and 70,850 were of local birth. In 1920
there were 155,062 of whom 55,052 were of Japanese birth and 119,998
locally born. The number of Japanese children attending the American
public schools was 19 in 1888 but 40,580 in 1925. The number of voters
just 2 in 1886. It increased to 114 in 1915; to 1,711 in 1927; to 21,
777 in 1938.

present lot and to settle down, and at the same time it created a
strong attachment to their old village and Japan.
The language school was another factor influencing settle-
ment. In the early period of residence, the concern of the Ja-
panses, as of other immigrant groups, was to transmit their own
culture effectively to their children. Many sent their children
to Japan to be educated; others hastened to return themselves.
The lack of educational facility in their own language was a
source of instability, and in 1896 a Japanese school was establish-
ated in the efforts of the Reverend Okumura, a pioneer Chris-
tian minister from Japan. Thus the original purpose of the Ja-
panses school was to make good Japanese of the children. All the
fundamentals of a Japanese education were given, including the
teaching of supreme loyalty to the Emperor. Buddhist temples,
having the majority of the Japanese immigrants as their parish-
ioners, established a great many Japanese schools. After the an-
nexation of Hawaii to America, however, all the native-born
children of the alien parents become Americans and the policy
of the schools had to be changed. Citizenship required alle-
giance and obligation to the government of America, and educa-
tion must be in accordance with this new order. Any educational
policy which would divert or discourage the children from becom-
ing Americans had to be eliminated. In view of this, the
original committee for the Japanese schools proposed a
change in the content of their curriculum. Thus the schools be-
came language schools in which the children should be taught the
language of their parents and the culture of their parental back-
ground.
There has been discussion as to whether the language schools
exert too much Japanese influence and thereby direct loyalty to
Japan rather than to America. But this question is based upon
a superficial understanding. The Japanese taught at the language
school is a standard language and very different from that
used in the Japanese homes in Hawaii, which is a mixture of the
dialects of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, etc. It is diffi-
cult to learn, and those who do master it do not use it at home;
they continue to speak the Hiroshima or Kumamoto dialect with
their parents and first generation acquaintances, and English or
pidgin among their brothers and sisters. The Japanese language
is regarded like such other cultural accomplishments as music
or dancing. It is essentially for cultural refinement and for use
only in occupations where ability to speak and write Japanese
in addition to English is required.
The language school in itself, therefore, does not hinder the
assimilation of the Japanese in the American culture. Any re-
}
the Buddhist sects originated in Japan, and all the Buddhist priests and their language teachers are from Japan, the teachings are identified with the national principles of Japan. When they have to compete with the larger community which is non-Buddhist they have to find something superior and "more attractive" in their teaching.

The "in-group" feeling may be stimulated through the glorification of the "Yamato spirit" which emphasizes the supreme loyalty to the Emperor and sacrifice of individuals for that cause as contrasted with the free choice and independence of children. They may take the attitude "we are different from others; we have something superior to others." This attitude is reinforced by such factors as racial discrimination in the vocational field or limitation of work which tend to develop an attitude of antagonism toward the out-group or the larger community and an attempt at compensation in the in-group. They seek value in things Japanese and thereby make a conscious and unconscious effort to become Japanese. Such a process may satisfy the parents, but it does not permanently affect the second generation. It is a psychology of escape and a negative definition of self, and an organization of life values cannot be effectively developed on such a basis. The center of the objective is self and not Japan or the ancestor, in the last analysis. They have never seen Japan, and they have never known the concept of ancestral spirits in a true Japanese sense. The word "Japan" or "ancestor" is just a concept for them; it is not a reality. The so-called loyalty to Japan or filial piety of the Hawaiian-born Japanese is very different from that of the Japanese in Japan. It is in fact almost impossible to make a "real Japanese" out of the Hawaiians-born. Unfortunately, however, any effort in this direction not only deters their possible assimilation, but tends to divide loyalties and disorganize personality.

In spite of extensive efforts through Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines to maintain the Japanese sentiments of their people, the Buddhist leaders themselves admit that the second generation have a different attitude from the leaders. Much has been borrowed in the Buddhist services from the ritual of the Christian Church. "We use an organ in place of the drum; we have singing of Buddhist hymns instead of chanting. In our wedding ceremony we use the ring in addition to the rosary. We bow before the altar in burning the incense." The typically Buddhist ceremonies have not the same meaning to the younger people. "At the time of the Bon season we have a Bon Odori night for the young people. They dance as skillfully as those in Japan but in a very different manner because they have an entirely different feeling. They cannot understand the mystical meaning of Buddhism. They live in a different mental world from ours, and we cannot change them. We are beginning to realize that not only the outward expression of Buddhism but the content of Buddhism is changing. It has to be interpreted differently to make it understandable to the second generation."
wedding ceremony and thereby meet the traditional requirement of the Japanese community. But it is publicly understood and accepted that the gap between is artificial. The parents maintain outwardly their traditional authority while accepting changes in the situation as inevitable. "This is America, we must admit it," "I don't approve of it but I let my children do it, because they do it anyway," the parents say. Through this gradual "giving in," though reluctantly, the first generation is already becoming assimilated though very slowly. As the Japanese community becomes chiefly composed of the second generation, it will become increasingly integrated with the larger community and the more positive process of assimilation will take place.

**ABSTRACT:** "ASSIMILATION IN RURAL HAWAII." The isolated district of Kona on the island of Hawaii offers an interesting laboratory of assimilation, particularly in the case of the Japanese who have resided there for forty years as coffee farmers. At first there were few women, and the moral influence of the Japanese family was lacking. Branches of Japanese and Hawaiian laws were frequent. The use of Hawaiian and American foods, clothing, and housing were forced by the limitations of the environment itself and did not necessarily imply any changes in tastes or attitudes. After 1900 the normalizing of the sex ratio led to more conservative Japanese practices through the formation of an opinion-forming community and greater contacts with the homeland. For a period of twenty years, Kona mirrored the description of "Little Japan." Old country customs and attitudes prevailed. A third phase in the assimilative process has appeared with the coaling of age of the population. Japanese influence has declined, owing largely to the public school. Assimilation as measured by a shifting of tastes, a declining influence of Japanese institutions, and a reorganization of personality in terms of American standards and ideals has occurred with increasing frequency among the generation born since 1915. Andrew W. Lind (American Journal of Sociology) XIV (1918), pp. 26-41.

**STUDENT ATTITUDES ON INTERRacial MARRIAGES**

Hawaii has long been known as a "melting pot of the races" and the intermarriage in interracial marriage is prevalent. But the situation is constantly changing and each new study may contribute some added insight to the problem. Each new study may also serve to check and validate previous studies, and at the same time, show some changes in the situation.

One of the best clues to the basic dispositions of the different racial groups toward each other in a multi-cultural situation such as Hawaii's is found in the attitudes which impel people to select their marriage mates from one ethnic group rather than another. The following study aims to shed some light on these dispositions through the expression of the attitudes held by a group of University of Hawaii students of Chinese and Japanese ancestry with regard to marriage mates. An attempt is made in this study to determine the feelings of the Chinese and Japanese toward themselves and toward other racial groups as potential marriage mates. An effort will likewise be made to determine the factors which shape these attitudes.

The data are derived from questionnaires answered by a number of students, mostly sociology majors. These schedules were designed to secure from the students statistical ranking of the eleven ethnic groups in Hawaii in terms of their desirability as marriage mates, and at the same time, a free expression of their feelings toward these groups. Since most of the participants were upper class students in Sociology, it may be assumed that they understood the significance of the information supplied and the need to be objective and frank.

**Table I. Average Ratings Acceded Eleven Racial Groups As Potential Marriage Mates by Japanese and Chinese Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Ratings given by:</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-Hawaiian</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almost-Hawaiian</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filipino</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a striking agreement in the ratings made by both the Japanese boys and girls. This ranking varies slightly from Meehok's findings on attitudes of second generation Japanese.
and Lind’s findings among Kona students in both of which a schedule similar to that of the present study was utilized.

As in the previous studies both boys and girls generally expressed a definite preference for their own group as first choice. Explanations such as the following reveal a desire for cultural compatibility between the marriage mates.

“I prefer Japanese because we would get along better; our tastes and ways of living would be similar, and so there would be less adjustments to make.”

“I chose Japanese for my first choice because I feel at home with a person who has been brought up with similar customs, habits and mores.”

Other factors which tended to influence first choice selection are family control and ethnocentrism.

“I want to marry a Japanese girl not because I really want to, but because of filial piety. As long as my parents are alive I am obliged to marry a girl of my parent’s racial choice, a Japanese.”

“Being born a Japanese and being brought up within a strong tradition holding that girls bring disgrace upon the family by marriage to persons outside their racial group, I would select a Japanese. Also, sociologically, it would be unwise to marry outside of my group since neither my parents, their friends, many of my own Japanese friends, nor the people of the community where I live, are ready for it; and adjustment would be difficult.”

“Much as I favor interracial relationship and equality, I can’t help but feel that I more strongly favor Japanese for first choice as mates . . . there is a feeling of ethnocentrism, or love of one’s own racial group. Cultural factors are alike and expectations of mate are more clearly understood. There might be some elements of family and parent influence.”

The Japanese in Hawaii have had a more normal sex ratio than most of the other immigrant groups in Hawaii, and there have been relatively few out-marriages. There was little need for it. Strong family traditions have also tended to discourage out-marriage and have served to control and influence student attitudes regarding it.

The Chinese group was ranked second by the Japanese, a selection which was largely based on cultural similarity, the relatively high economic and social standing of the Chinese in the community, and possibly by the frequency of close, friendly social relationships with the Chinese.

“Chinese are more like us (Japanese) in general behavior and tradition and customs. My associates have been friendly and cordial, and not so ‘nosey’ as the Japanese girls. There is a major cultural and custom similarity which makes it easier to adjust to them, more so as we have the English language in common.”

Moreover, the Chinese are considered friendly, cordial, and easy to get along with, and in the selection of a marriage mate, congeniality and ease of personal adjustment are important factors. Extensive contacts with the Chinese have also contributed to a more thorough understanding of them, and a warmer feeling toward them as marriage mates.

“I have been in the company of more Chinese friends than any other nationality, so that if I were not to marry a Japanese, I would marry a Chinese,” states a girl.

Recent studies have shown that the Japanese tend to rate the Chinese second or third after themselves, but that the Chinese, however, have failed to reciprocate this disposition. Thus, although the Japanese in this study, both boys and girls, rated the Chinese second to themselves, the Chinese placed the Japanese in fifth place. It is probable that the second generation Chinese in Hawaii are more keenly conscious of the situation in the Orient than are the Island-born Japanese, and that this colors to some degree Chinese attitudes toward Japanese out-marriage. Moreover, Adams contends that the “Japanese parents show a less rigid devotion to the old mores than the Chinese do,” suggesting perhaps that old country standards are less persistent in the case of the Japanese than of the Chinese.

The Hāole' group was ranked third by the Japanese. There was one case of first choice given to this group, as was found in a previous study by Marion and Leatrice Wong. The high ranking of the Hāole group was largely influenced by their superior economic and social position. Often the drive for social recognition and prestige is strong enough to carry the Japanese beyond the bonds of his group and to cause him to deviate from the norm.

“I chose Hāole because his standard of living, customs, and habits are things that I would like to pattern my future home by.”

Many young Japanese are being educated to strive toward the Hāole culture and standards. Confidence in their abilities to achieve this standard makes many feel that they would find Hāoles congenial marriage mates. Added to this factor may be that the Japanese had come to Hawaii primarily to seek economic, pecuniary, and social gains. With this idea made explicit to them by their parents, the younger Japanese sometimes express preferences which seem to advance these ends.

“I feel that we Japanese are getting more and more used to American ways of living, and it would raise the social status of the Japanese if there were intermarriage with Hāoles.”

Actually few Japanese do intermarry with Hāoles and probably few have any expectation of doing so.

The Portuguese, Filipino and the Puerto Ricans were ranked lowest or least desirable by both male and female Japanese. This is also in general accord with the findings of Masuoka, Wong, and Lind. Except for the Portuguese, these are all recent arri-
val to the Islands, and their economic and social status is low. Moreover the mere lack of personal acquaintance with any students of these groups was responsible for the low rating accorded them. In the absence of direct personal contacts judgments were made in terms of the usual community stereotypes of recent immigrant arrivals as being disorderly and dangerous.

"Filipinos have violent and dangerous tempers; they use weapons freely. The Puerto Ricans are undependable; they lack a code of behavior. For these reasons I object to marriage with them," expressed a girl.

"Filipinos are dangerous because they are quick in using knives to attack people. Puerto Ricans are lax in morals and have a low standard of living."
The fact that the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans are not too well educated according to American standards may influence the attitudes of the Japanese who place a higher value on education and make great personal sacrifices to attain it.

"Most Puerto Ricans do not have much education. I'm afraid of Filipinos," stated a girl.

The attitudes may change as these groups gain higher social rank and become more adjusted to the mores of our culture. The increasing rate of Japanese out-marriage with Filipinos is doubtless evidence of changing attitudes.

The ethnocentric dispositions in marriage selection are nearly as marked among the Chinese as in the Japanese students. It seems natural to associate the Chinese with a high rate of out-marriage because of the early record of the Chinese immigrants who became of a disproportionately sex ratio, were compelled to marry non-Chinese, if they were to marry at all. Native women were glad to have Chinese as husbands because they were good providers, hard workers, and considerate of their wives.

As a result of their industry and thrift, these families have migrated to the city and have occupied respectable positions on a higher economic level. With the steady growth of normal population, the Chinese have built a reputation for themselves, and have become more ethnocentric."

Today, with a well organized Chinese community, a more normal sex ratio, and with a favorable social standing in the community, group control and family influence have tended to discourage intermarriage. Young Chinese are beginning to feel the importance of belonging to the Chinese community and their attitudes toward out-marriage are largely shaped by this fact.

"I should like very much to marry a Chinese because I am Chinese myself. There will be no need of any adjustments (for both are of the same cultural and racial background)."

"Chinese...because my parents and everyone expect me to and because the lesser emotions are those which we both have in common. Better understanding exists."

More extensive and intimate association with people of other races may foster a tolerant and friendly attitude toward mem-

bers of these groups as individuals, but regardless of what one may say of racial tolerance, it is natural to feel more at home in his own group than in any other groups. The feeling of security and satisfaction is greater in a group where social distance is at a minimum, and the contacts are of a primary and intimate nature. This feeling of belonging may also be accompanied by an adverse attitude toward other groups.

...I hate the Japanese (for what they are doing to my people in China.)"

Second choice for marriage mate among the Chinese students was the Asiatic-Hawaiian, generally Chinese-Hawaiian. This may be a reflection of the early selection of the Chinese in Hawaii where there had been relatively free out-marriage with Hawaiian women. The Chinese-Hawaiian offspring of those alliances frequently "seem" more toward their parental culture since it affords them greater prestige and status in the Island community. Thus for practical purposes the mixed bloods may be largely Chinese in sentiment and outlook, making them particularly acceptable to the pure Chinese as marriage mates.

"If the father is Chinese, Chinese culture will be perpetuated in him. Therefore, he will be similar to pure Chinese."

The Caucasian-Hawaiians were ranked third in preference by the Chinese, chiefly on the grounds that they manifest the characteristics of both Hawaiians and Whites which are desirable...

...because he has the characteristics and some good points of a Hawaiian which are desirable. He also has the sentiments, traditions, and attitudes of a White, which are essential to one's life."

One individual designated a three-way mixture of Chinese, Hula, and Hawaiians as his first choice on the following grounds:

"I would want to marry a girl who is dominantly Chinese, but who also has the features of Hawaiians. Chinese should be dominant because she could adopt herself to my friends and family easier. Hawaiians and Hawaiians blood will make her have some of the features of those races. I would like an Asiatic-Hawaiian as second choice because Hawaiians are easy going, mild people who are not too particular; but I would like her to be light complexioned. I would take a Chinese girl as third choice, since there wouldn't be too cultural difference; and furthermore, my family expects me to marry a Chinese. However, if I marry a pure Chinese girl, it is because I can't find a good first or second choice girl."

The Hula group was ranked fourth. In making this selection, undoubtedly the dominant position of the Hula in the community was a strong contributing factor.

"They have a social status."

"They like their ways of living. (It don't mean the beachcombers.) They treat a girl better than the Oriental does."

In the face of the Chinese experience in Hawaii, one might expect a higher ranking for the Hawaiian than the seventh place given them. With the early Chinese marriages with Hawaiians involved little choice; it was marriage to a Hawaiian woman or none at all. Today with a more normal sex ratio, this necessity
is absent and an unconscious social pressure tends to discourage out-marriages to groups considered socially and economically in-
ferior to themselves.

The Chinese ranked the Filipino and the Puerto Rican groups as least desirable. As was true with the Japanese, there had been a minimum of intimate contacts to encourage favorable attitudes, and the judgments were therefore in terms of the com-
mon stereotypes prevalent in the community.

EXTRACT FROM "FOUR DECADES OF POPULATION DEVELO-
PMENT." The 1900 census 60 per cent of the people enumerated in Hawaii were Japanese, but by 1920 only 33.3 per cent, and it is ex-
pected that the census of 1930 will show only about 25 per cent to be a foreign born transmitting native of Puerto Rico and of the Phillipino-
ines to be foreign born. With the exception of some of the Filipinos, nearly all of the foreign born men are now (over fifty years of age) and comparatively large numbers are past 65 years. Only a negligible small

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CULTURAL CONFLICT AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PATRICIA H. WALLACE

An understanding of a person's behavior comes in part from a knowledge of the culture of which he is a part. A study of culture reveals not only the material objects to which he re-

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24. An understanding of a person's behavior comes in part from a knowledge of the culture of which he is a part. A study of culture reveals not only the material objects to which he responds, but also the non-material objects such as legends, songs, and dances out of which come his beliefs, values, and total life organization. These are handed down from one generation to another and provide the pattern for behavior and conduct. The extent to which a family adheres to tradition depends upon the degree of organization of the cultural group to which the family belongs. If members of a cultural group were free from compet-
ing or conflicting influences and demands of other social groups, questions of misconduct would be relatively infrequent. The con-
ceptual definition of situations would be accepted, and group opinion would be so strong that an individual would not care to deviate from accepted beliefs and practices. However, this condition does not exist in contemporary society. Today in daily living there is constant interaction between people of different cultural backgrounds. These contacts often set the stage for behavior problems. It is not the differences in culture as such that create the behavior problems, but the inability of the individual to deal with the situation in a socially approved way that gives rise to behavior termed misconduct or delinquency.

The attitudes of many of the delinquent girls in this study seemed to be derived from a part from association with cultural pat-
tterns other than those of the dominant society. In some instances this situation gave rise to problems that the girl did not solve in a socially approved way; in other instances no apparent problems were created. The following types situations conducive to delin-
quency and emerging from the meeting of social groups of varying cultural backgrounds are suggested by an examination of the

life histories of the delinquent girls. In:

1. Conflict of culture. The group to which the child belongs gives a different meaning to situations than the dominant society. As long as an individual adheres to the norms of his parental culture and remains exclusively within his social group, his life is organized in terms of this group's definition of situations. It is when he becomes aware of differences between his group and the sub-group that conflict is created for him between the values of his home and those of the larger world. The out-group in other instances creates the delinquency by defining as delin-
quency, conduct which is in accordance with parental norms. For example, a girl from a Chinese home may be surprised to discover
that gambling is regarded as a delinquency by the dominant American society.

Cultural conflict, however, is not necessarily conducive to individual disorganization unless the particular traits involve local social and moral values. The alternative use of chop sticks and knife and fork may be relatively unimportant, whereas the matter of a common law marriage involves important moral values.

2. Conflict of the individual's standards due to the impact of various cultural strains. Such an individual is disoriented with old practices and beliefs, yet he does not thoroughly understand the values of the dominant society of which he longs to be a part. In other cases he may understand fairly well the practices of the dominant society, yet sentimentally cling to or be uncertain that he wishes to discard the practices of his parental culture. When an individual holds such attitudes, it often indicates that the culture of the social group into which he was born is beginning to decay. However, as far as the individual is concerned, such attitudes classify him as "anomalial" by the dominant society and by most members of his parental cultural group. For instance, a young man of Japanese ancestry reared in Hawaii may offend his family by refusing to have an elaborate, expensive wedding ceremony and reception; yet if placed in what he regarded to be personally unfavorable circumstances, he might strive to "save his face" above all else. The individual turns between conflicting values frequently falls short of either.

3. Discarding of old standards and an inadequate development of new ones. The breakdown of controls often indicates cultural decadence of a social group. When the individual has cast aside his old ways for the new, he often misinterprets the values of the dominant cultural group. This occurs sometimes when he carries over, sometimes unconsciously, to new situations attitudes that are colored by his former beliefs and practices. At other times he misunderstands the values of the new culture regarding as the true values those aspects which are cheap and tawdry or even deteriorative in nature. Sometimes when he finds that the dominant society does not offer him the same status as its own members, he seeks to gain this by flaunting the standards which he knows that group cherishes. This in turn brings him personal disorganization.

Conflict of Cultures

Cultural conflict appeared to be a more significant factor among the Hawaiians, and part-Hawaiian group than any other in this study. Today, customs and traditions are not readily apparent to one of the out-group, partly because members of the in-group are sensitive to the adverse criticism of the larger community, or because they have but little interest in their ancestors' beliefs and practices. On the other hand, there are groups of persons of Hawaiian ancestry who strongly desire to preserve and promote Hawaiian culture. However, the delinquent girls themselves may have felt about the situation, in their life histories many unintentionally revealed ancient practices relating to sorcery, family organization and moral standards that undoubtedly colored their attitudes and beliefs. These findings coincide in part with those of Lind who writes on the high rate of adult and juvenile delinquency among the Hawaiians:

... A great portion of the criminality with which the native is credited reveals not so much the survival of ancient Hawaiian behavior patterns as the absence of any socially approved objectives. On the other hand, some of the present day "anomial" conduct of the native shows the unattractive impact of the present culture. We may think of them as cultural attitudes so fundamental that contempt, ridicule, and legal proscription affect them but slightly or merely drive them beneath the surface to find expression in new and symbolic forms. The demons and exorcists... may be recognized as surrogates of deeply ingrained tendencies. During periods of individual or collective stress, these patterns sometimes come into evidence in quite undisguised form, although they are more frequently confused with elements of Christian ceremonies. The "hospitality" of the ancient order reappears in the excessive ration of "crimes" of sex and property.

In ancient Hawaiian culture hospitality of sex prevailed, but it was surrounded by taboos. Casual sexual relationships among the young people were regarded as a natural thing; after marriage under certain circumstances extramarital relationships were permitted. This did not mean that promiscuity prevailed for the bonds of strong mutual affection were binding, but a married couple were free to separate if they wished. Various interpretations of the "punahou" marriage relationship have been summarized by Beagelhake:

Bridges defined the relationship as one in which the brothers of the husband and the sisters of the wife formed a group within which all the males had marital rights over all females. An earlier writer, Hyde... merely says that punahou are husbands of two sisters or husbands of the same wife... Andrews in the Hawaiian dictionary defines the term as meaning either polygamy or polygyny or again as a wider relationship, unspecified, between relatives of two brothers and their respective wives and vice versa... Today the meaning of the term has been narrowed down so that, in fact, it is equivalent to the word parewha; though in use it has developed something of a social connotation. The word parewha has thus a double meaning which may at times enable a Hawaiian to convey graciously and politely the most hazardous situation or the deepest insult."

The attitude of both the delinquent girls and their parents toward sex roles was colored by these ancient practices is revealed in this study.

The most common offenses committed by parents of the delinquent girls against the sex mores of the dominant mores were the quasi or the so called "common law" marriages and

5 Bridges, No. 73 (Honolulu, 1960). A. See also Rape, Charles, "Hawaiian Liberal (Fiftieth Term Selection)," Social Forces in Hawai, V (1950), 26-30.

(30)
illegitimacy. In ancient Hawaii marriage could be entered and broken with comparative ease; today such casual unions are not uncommon, although it is difficult to determine exactly to what extent the ancient moral standards still control the behavior of contemporary Hawaiians and part Hawaiians. Although some of the group are aware of the expectations of the larger American community in regard to sex relations and are more or less controlled by the opinion of this group, others deviate from this position due to adherence to the ancient beliefs. Of the delinquents' mothers eleven each had lived in a "common-law" relationship; one mother had three such husbands, two mothers each had two different such husbands, one mother and her daughter each had such a husband, and one mother and a grand- mother each had such a husband. Thus in 14.5 per cent of the homes of the delinquent girls there were quasi-marriages.

Of the delinquent girls in this study 4.3 percent were illegitimate according to the reports of the probation officers. In the homes of all these girls there were other immoral factors. There were also other cases, especially "hanai", where the girl spoke of being illegitimate, although no record of this existed. Reference was made to illegitimacy without any feeling of embarrassment, suggesting the absence of any pronounced taboo from the group to which the girls belonged. The immoral attitude of some of the delinquents is illustrated in the following remarks of a girl explaining how she came to have her present surname:

My father's the kind that don't give us clothes and money, so my mother marry Joe. He's in the Army, but my mother wasn't married to my father. I took my mother's new husband's name. He's good.

Thus when the sex mores of the delinquents' families are known, a clearer understanding is gained as to why many of the girls in this study became delinquent. Many of the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian girls' stories indicated that sex relations for their group tended to be relatively free, particularly when contrasted with the strict code of the New Englanders of Puritan days. Most of the girls of this study were committed to Kawaiola Girls' Training School on account of sex offenses.5

Table I. Reason for Commitment to Kawaiola Girls' Training School.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for commitment</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
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<tr>
<td>Disobedient, Wayward, etc.</td>
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<td>Behavior</td>
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<td>Larceny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100.0</td>
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5 This type of offense is also predominant for female juvenile delinquents of the Territory of Hawaii.

Twenty-four cases of the behavior problem group definitely were involved in sex offenses, and four other cases were suspected of sex delinquencies, hence fifty-nine per cent of the girls were involved in sex offenses, seven per cent in larceny, and thirty-four per cent in other behavior problems. Although not all of these sex delinquencies can be explained exclusively on the basis of attitudes derived from the parental cultural groups, for personal disorganization may also have played a part, there is abundant evidence of the influence of the group. These attitudes, residues of ancient beliefs usually not revealed to members of the dominant society, nevertheless continue to be active forces in the lives of their supporters.

Some of the delinquent girls adhered to beliefs and practices not recognized by the dominant society without thereby coming into conflict with the law or being defined as delinquents. This situation particularly involved the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian delinquent girls whose beliefs in sorcery, omens, amakua, and the practice of hanai were a potent source of conflict and misunderstanding with representatives of the dominant American community. Moreover the pressure of these conflicting cultural traits is an index of tensions at other points basic to character.

The hula dance is learned by a large number of children in these Islands; to be able to do it gracefully is considered a social accomplishment. However, to one of the delinquent girls the dance carried a different significance; it symbolized the Hawaiian community and its values. In ancient Hawaii the hula was a sacred dance in honor of the amakua; special training and ceremonies were associated with it. The delinquent girl related.

Once when I was a small kid an old Hawaiian woman saw me dancing and she called me to her and said I was very good at that kind and she wanted to train me to dance old dance. I learned many old kinds.

She taught me to do the tabu dance. Before you can be a dancer you must fast three days and sleep in a grass house. Then everyone who is going to be a tabu dancer must take off his clothes and dress in something like a long white nightgown. Then they line up and one must follow the other and do these things. First you hit the water with the flat of your hand, just hit the top of the water and say some words. Then a squid will come and spread out. You pick it up with two fingers, turn the eyes inside out and throw it over your shoulder. Then you must go on out towards the sea. You will hear voices calling you. Sometimes you will hear a rooster, or maybe your parents' voices. Sometimes they will seem to be from the side next you or the back of you, but you must never look back or around, but keep straight in front holding the tabu stick. If you turn around, the stick will turn and you will drown. Me, I go straight! I hear him calling me, but I'm a devil, and I don't care for nothing, and I won't look around. After going way out to sea, the leader turns around and you swim back to the beach. Then you have to burn your clothes and the stick you learned to dance with. You get a new stick. The
time I was swimming one girl's stick turned and she drowned! The
there are other kinds of dances too. If you don't dance the dance
eight, you'll get sick and die. One of my girl friends died that way.
He makes you die. Every time I cut my hair I get sick. I quit teaching
the hula for they do it the wrong and vulgar way. I teach Hawaiians
to dance the hula because I want to bring back old Hawaiian ways.
The girl's defiance of the spirit was not based on disbelief, for
she was quite convinced that her friend died on account of danc-
ing a hula incorrectly. Another evidence of this girl's associa-
tion with the Hawaiian culture was her belief that every time
she cut her hair, she became sick. According to Hawaiian belief,
haircutting only occurred when the death of a chief or relative
was being mourned, otherwise this act was an omen of death.

Some of the delinquent girls knew about and participated in
omens of the old Hawaiian culture, particularly in relation to
fishing. One of the girls disclosed the technique of discover-
ing fish and the belief that if one stands with hands on hips
during a hokumana the spirits will prevent fish from biting. In speak-
ing of a hokumana she said:

They couldn't catch any fish; the chum was no good, because I
stood with my hands on my hips. The people see it and slap down
my hand, then they chant and the fish come.

You can tell fish when you go high places and look down and see
fish like black spots. It's just like a rock was below the water, but
there's no rock.

When it's low tide you can see shark's holes, but high tide if
you go that place you'll be hit by waves and swallowed up. Sharks
don't harm you. You can go right by them. But they like dogs. If
you hold a dog over the water, a shark will come and eat it up.

Mention of dark spots in the water bore reference to the hou or
fishing ground.

One of the old Hawaiian traditions is that certain of nature's
creatures act as guardian spirits for families. The shark may
be the incarnation of the guardian spirit (amanu) of a par-
cular family, while for another family it may be the lizard.6

The same girl who spoke of shark's holes also explained,

You know that girl, Doris X. well, her family come from the
shark. They had a baby, and put it on the beach and the shark
came up on the sand and took the baby out to sea in its mouth. Now any-
thing the X. family want all they got to do is say certain words
and they get their wish.

Those few excerpts, particularly reveal a deep seated belief
in a number of the ancient Hawaiian folkways and mores. This
was also portrayed by the practice of hanu, which appeared in this
study more frequently than any of the other ancient Hawaiian
customs. Hanu indicates a foster relationship. According to Beag-
gholme there were three types of adoption in ancient Hawaii:

First, the social relationship termed hokumana or houoohina, where
parents adopted into their own household the favored playmates
of their own child; second, the relationship termed hokama where the

6 A recent book of fiction, Blood of the Shark, by Mrs. Beatrice Prittie,
describes these beliefs.

7 Beaggholme, op. cit., p. 66-67.
often my mother is gone from home one week or even two weeks and then she comes home. She never says where she is. My brother lives with us and gets mad at my mother going out with men. He says he pays the rent and bays the food, she can't do it. It's like the boss because he spends money for the home.

Although the mother violated moral standards, she opposed such action on the part of her daughters. The more lenient attitude which the mother assumed toward her errant daughter after the birth of the latter's child was evident also in other cases in this study.

The mother next to me is in the Watson's Home. She got a baby from a Hawaiian boy and my mother says she can't stay in the house. It's a disgrace. Now that she's had the baby my mother wants her home, but she doesn't want to come. I have another sister marry to a Filipino man. My mother and I don't want her marry this man, but she has to for she's carrying. They live in the house behind us now. I don't like her husband because he always tries to get friends with me.

A confusion of ideas also apparent as far as belief in black magic or sorcery was concerned. In their homes many of the girls had heard stories of the influences of spirits, yet in the wider community they discovered that people laughed at such tales. This often left the girl uncertain as to what to believe and was particularly confusing to the girl when beliefs in sorcery were used by her parents to explain her delinquency, for this hindered the girl from holding herself responsible for her actions. Japanese parents interpreted their daughter's delinquent acts as what the fortune teller and a priest said about evil spirits taking possession of the girl. The mother, who had instigated the two visits to the roses, believed in their divination.

On the other hand, belief in sorcery was not as prevalent in the Molokai community as in the mainland. There were a few cases of reported witchcraft, but the girls in the study did not believe in it. One girl, however, said that her mother took her to a priest in Molokai. The priest said prayers and put holy water on me so I would be good and not run away. He was a Buddhist priest. But I don't believe in that because that night I ran away.

The Breakdown of Cultural Controls
If after breaking from old controls the individual is accepted by the dominant social group, his problem of adjustment is relatively simple. However, when he has completely broken from the restraints of the parental culture without having an adequate understanding of the new, personal disorganization is likely to occur.
At times after the primary control of group opinion has broken down, promiscuity is roused by intimate behavior on the basis of secondary contacts. Where intimate contacts are made with strangers or persons known slightly, there is likely to be less normal conduct, for one is apt to think, "Most likely I'll never see these persons again," or "My friends won't know about this." A delinquents girl accepted an engagement with soldiers she had never seen before and took them to visit a friend of hers who was not approved by the girl's guardians. This excerpt also revealed how corrupt inferences of companionship may help a girl to become delinquent.

When I came home I live with my sister on River Street. She is strict!

One day I was at home listening to the music from the Venaco. Two soldiers were below my house and said, "Hello!" I said, "Hello" and they said to come down, so I did.

They asked me to go over and after we went we met my Japanese girl friend. She is a prostitute. She has a Latin husband before, but she divorced him. She lives in ________ Lane. She is good and not the kind I am feeling and she says if I'm sick to come to her and she'll tell me how to get well. For that I had to go Detention House.

The following case is illustrative of a home where there was deterioration of moral sex practices; under such circumstances conduct is largely governed by biological impulses and is therefore largely antisocial. A Puerto Rican mother wished her daughter to become a prostitute; for this motive, prostitution was purely a means of earning money. The girl's rebellion was evidently the result of her acceptance of the moral standards of the larger American community. However, she did not entirely evade the poor influence of her home situation, particularly as her mother's men friends were concerned.

My Mother gave me to a Spanish Puerto Rican woman who has a Puerto Rican husband. They have two boys. This woman quit her husband, so he went away and died. But she lives here with lots of different men and has a private business, but not the licensed kind. She want to teach me this business, but every time I run in a room and cry, so she leave me alone.

The time my brother and sister-in-law got married, another couple, a friend of theirs came to our house. I got curious and climbed up by the kitchen window and looked in. There on a chair sat this boy and his girl friend on his lap. They see me and hawk me out. Then I jump down from the window. George, the man my mother live with, is a good guy. He's smart with superstitions and that kind. One night he played a trick. He said I must help him catch fish, so we take all the nets and bags and go down the street. Then we see a dark figure and scared, but George tell me it's Joe. We go out in the country by the fish ponds and are getting plenty bare feet full when we see a light coming to us and I get scared. We stand still, just like we are stones in the water and no one bothers us. After that me

and Joe are friends. He had a girl he like, but she like another fellow, so she don't care. He was Puerto Rican-Mexican. Some other women like him too and they fight with me and say how I can like a man with only one eye.

Two other Puerto Rican men hang around too. One might only me and my grandmother was at home. Some one pound the door and I open it. It's the Puerto Rican man and he's drunk. I won't let him in. Then I hear a noise by the window and the tin hose makes noise and someone try to get in the window. The men ran from our house and police get him. The next day I have to go on court.

One time before I was home and took across to the next house. I see George kissing Jane. I leave our house and go up the steps of Jane's house, singing to let her know I'm coming. I walk in and my "Hello" just like nothing happen. She was by herself, but as I come in I see George slip in the kitchen and grab a knife. Then he come out with it and walk up to me and stick it in my ribs. I say, "Alright, kill me if you like!" but he never do nothing.

The next day I have to go court. The judge say that I can't live with my real mother, for she is honest like and not fit to be a mother. My step mother won't even tell the judge I have a real mother. The neighbors, how they talk! They change things from one end to a mile long!

A review of these findings reveals that the family is a reflection of the cultural group to which it belongs. The individual seeks status in his family and the family seeks status in the community. However, recognition is denied by the larger social world when the family or individual is classed as disorganized. This apparent disorganization in turn often is the result of conflicting definitions of situations between the dominant society and minor social groups. Personal disorganization also may be caused when the individual is uncertain as to what standards to accept, or when he does not feel bound by the controls of any social group.
The Hawaiian term "kahuna" is one of a number of words in the vernacular that are difficult to understand and therefore missed today by many people. There is perhaps little wonder that these people feel that the Hawaiian themselves say: He alii i ka kahuna, ola e lau i ka hauola (the path of the kahuna is so narrow, it cannot be followed). The social worker commonly refers to kahunism as a mass of superstitions, to the kahuna as "one variety of the priest in the old Ha'awi culture, the practice of magic, particularly of the type, involving the curse, has survived as a rather chaotic set of superstitions, including elements of Christianity and probably other religions."

In order to understand the word, we should study it from the point of view of its usage in ancient Hawai'i and among the aborigines themselves. Hawaiian tradition suggests the apologetic derivation of the word itself offers some insights into the word in eight other Polynesian dialects, the basic form of which is Tokauna meaning the educated person, 1 Trepac also indicates that in the Hawaiian meaning, "If no qualifying word follows, kahuna means priest, or person who offers sacrifices; to be or not the priest." Religion is the all important element in every activity and phase of life of a Polynesian, and so it must be encompassed also an important quality that any practicing kahunah must possess. 2

2 K. H. Thomas of Honolulu states that kahuna fundamentally refers to "one who is initiated into the secret lore; he is a priest." Professor F. Beckley believes that it pertains to the ancients order of priesthood through whom the ancient wisdom was passed on. He also held the belief that these men were the custodians of sacred knowledge and passed it on from generation to generation. There is some truth to this, for the kahuna was considered a wise man and had knowledge of the world's secrets. Moreover, the kahuna was considered a spiritual leader and was responsible for keeping the traditions and customs of the people alive.

3 Trepac also states that kahuna is a word used to describe a person who is learned in the arts and sciences. This person was considered to be a learned person and was knowledgeable in various fields of study. The kahuna was considered a wise man and was responsible for keeping the traditions and customs of the people alive.

4 Long from the Hawaiian word meaning "toeward," the term kahuna was used to describe a person who was experienced in the arts and sciences. This person was considered to be a learned person and was knowledgeable in various fields of study. The kahuna was considered a wise man and was responsible for keeping the traditions and customs of the people alive.

5 Long and his associates in the Hawaiian word meaning "toeward," the term kahuna was used to describe a person who was experienced in the arts and sciences. This person was considered to be a learned person and was knowledgeable in various fields of study. The kahuna was considered a wise man and was responsible for keeping the traditions and customs of the people alive.
workers classify Hawaiian folkways as koahinaim which have nothing to do with the practice as understood by the old Hawaiians. For example the identification of the vacant chair at the table during meals at many a Hawaiian home with an attempt to exercise the spirit of a departed member of the household is obviously a misinterpretation of the actual custom among many Hawaiian Christians of regarding Jesus Christ as the unseen guest at every Christian table.

Unquestionably there is still considerable confidence in the ancient art of the Hawaiian experts and the social worker in particular encounters cases in which the client makes use of the native practitioner. A very common practice among Hawaiians of today is to attend a kahuna-lapaau whenever they receive a serious injury, especially if it is a broken bone. They believe in the method of treating known hana kahuna, a system of healing without the use of herbs or medicine of any kind. The kahuna would ask his patient questions to be answered in the affirmative such as: "Do you believe I can cure you? Do you feel that the pain is going away? etc." The primary emphasis is upon the patient's faith and confidence.

One client during a drawn-out strep fell into the river near Aala Park in Honolulu, and was fetched out by observers who found that he had an injured back. Instead of being confined to a hospital, he sought the services of a Hawaiian herbal doctor who treated him by the iau kahanu. He recovered from his injury, and believed that a hula doctor would not have been able to accomplish the same thing, and that he would be presented with a large bill.

In this case, it is interesting to note the psychological effect of the treatment upon the mind of this Hawaiian client. A variety of practices observed among the Hawaiians can be traced back to ancient beliefs, and are commonly associated with koahinaim. The Hawaiians of old generally had no family names in the sense of our modern surname like Jones, Smith, or Brown. Their children were named according to certain well defined rules which have existed from antiquity. In this, they were like the ancient Greeks who believed that "no god or man can give a name." Names of persons meant a great deal to the ancient Hawaiians, and their meanings were very important. The Olahela Hula, or composer was a very important person in connection with a naming ceremony, as he had to compose a name chant (malei hula) for the child, in all cases must not appear a single word having a negative meaning. Accordingly, a naming-giving ceremony was an auspicious event and the name could be a curse or a blessing. Children were named in recognition of some outstanding event, or after some famous ancestor, or even referring to some notable person, or even referring to some notable person, or even referring to some notable person, etc.

In some cases, the child will meet with trouble during his lifetime, as illustrated in the following case:

The name of a certain client meant "the liar". He was convicted on a charge of burglary. "It is only natural for me to commit such an offense," he said, "as my fate was sealed the day I was named.

"Another client has a name meaning "one lodged in prison," and it is his belief that his name is his downfall.

Still another client's name refers to "the handsome young lover." His main difficulty is the way he is believed by his women friends. He has moved into the country to be away from them, but they only follow him there. In desperation, he concludes, "I am the victim of my namegiver!"

"The church" or "the priest" is the literal translation of another client's name. In this case, the reasoning is "If my name had meant all diseases anything as severe as a church or priest, I would not have been in this difficulty."

There is no apparent fear or distrust of too favorable a name and the Hawaiians often give their children a name having a negative connotation in order that the opposite may be brought about.

"The young one" felt sorry for himself and believed that a curse was on his name. Now, he cannot be proud any more.

Among the Hawaiians, there is also the belief that if a child has been given a name, and it is later changed, the child will be cured for life. In the following case, the client blamed his uncle for his misfortunes:

After my parents had given me a suitable name, my uncle visited us and insisted that the name be changed. His influence finally went over the better judgment of my parents (or they did not want to offend him). Since then, I have always been unhappy.

The days and months in which they are born also have some effects upon the Hawaiian people:

"One old Hawaiian client, who regarded his health as being his greatest happiness, had been born on the night of Moku (the night in a Hawaiian month). It was the time when the moon was at its lowest, as was considered unlucky. The Hawaiians believe that he has been befuddled, that it is a sign of bad things, to be born after full moon, is a bad sign. But to be born on the very last day of the month is very unfortunate. The child would be weak and sickly.

Another very interesting custom commonly associated with koahinaim that seems to have died hard is known among the Hawaiians as hooikahua, in which there is the belief that when a woman becomes pregnant and suddenly acquires a strong and continual desire for some kind of food, her desire must be satisfied, and that by the kind of food which she craves the nature (aua) of the child may be determined.

In the case of a client whose mother was seated with a strong and constant desire for water before he was born, stated that his present predicament was due to this great craving, and that he did not have anything to say about it, so should not be held responsible for his previous living.

The Hawaiians believe that if a pregnant woman constantly craves

In some cases even the child is born without their name being given to them to take their real names until this time. But if their names were given to them at birth, they might be exposed to carry out their father's wishes.
water that her child would be useless, and that "lies would flow from his mouth like water."

Still another type of native skill whose persistence today is frequently associated with kahunism is observed in the following. In ancient Hawaii, both boys and girls of the gentility were given all the necessary instructions pertaining to the nature of sex and sex hygiene. They were taught the art of holding the love of the other partner (pali ke aholo) that they may enjoy supreme happiness. When either partner failed in his (her) part, the other was forced to seek some one else. A few cases of this sort are encountered today and are interpreted as adultery. Oftentimes, we hear the statement that a kahuna hana aloha (expert in love transference) had been at work, and had succeeded in transplanting the love in a person's warm bosom (pali panihau) to that of another.

The cases cited frequently reveal the survival of outworn beliefs, in which, however, the old native kahuna still provides an important source of medicine to many Hawaiians today. Many of the cases, however, reveal magical practices which are derived only in part from Hawaiian sources and which should not be confused with the hikone or his practice. Kahunism was an honored profession in ancient Hawaii, especially in the practice of the positive arts, and the kahuna held a very high place—he ali'i ka ma'oli, he ali'i ka kahuna.

13 Hikone and their Polynesian cousins have always esteemed the life of training along these lines. Later, when other peoples settled in the islands, they were compelled to adopt the titles of individual persons or events, but the name itself has continued. A modern Polynesian student who visited the four schools of kahuna at the University of Hawaii, said he felt very grateful for a teacher who could not hold her own words against the "old hikone of hikone". These are the words: "She is beautiful, but a hikone. She is ugly, but a Polynesian."
present volume.

The informant in the interview which follows has told a story which could be duplicated in its main outlines many times among the seven thousand citizens of Japanese ancestry who are employed on Hawaii's sugar and pineapple plantations.

The dominant and recurring theme in this Island odyssey is the long and at times bitter struggle of an immigrant family, not only to support itself, but if possible to improve its economic position over that of the homeland. It is a struggle in which all of the members of the family must participate; and in the Oriental community particularly, the individual may be required to make important sacrifices for the group. The eldest son, although favored by tradition as the chief inheritor of family honor and property, is likewise expected to relinquish his personal ambitions, if the family interests demand it.

The preoccupation of the immigrant parents with money to support their naive dreams of the great plenty in Hawaii and their expectations of acquiring a fortune to be enjoyed in the homeland, the disappointment in their hopes of easy riches, and the necessity of working hard and long in order to acquire this chief symbol of success and prestige in the frontier community—characteristic of most immigrant communities everywhere. The immigrant children, on the other hand, reflect the values and ambitions of their American contemporaries; and although achievement is still measured largely in monetary terms, prestige may likewise be derived from cultural and intellectual attainments. Wealth is at least not the sole criterion of merit. Hib-strenuous wants to "get something out of life—the good things...to know the worth-while things that make life better...to meet the finer people, to go out and see things."

As a sort of minor strain throughout the interview and evident in much of the behavior of Island youth is a certain restlessness and malaise which challenges the thoughtful attention of every student and social worker with youth in Hawaii. A visiting sociologist after a year's research in Hawaii, remarked that, "Hawaii presents the curious anomaly of a paradise where a large number of the young people are introspective and unhappy." He was referring, of course, to the vexation of spirit caused by the discrepancy between the innocent ambitions and expectations of Island residents and the realities of a closing frontier. It is the ironic fate of many an immigrant son, not only in Hawaii but also in continental United States, to arrive at maturity with exaggerated conceptions of his own role in a waiting adult world just at the time when the existing economy appears to be least in need of him. The dominant traditions of the community still urge him to "improve himself and to aspire to something better," despite increasing unemployment and keener competition for the better positions. Increasingly it is being borne home upon the youth of Hawaii that there are too many of them, at least for the limited room at the top.

Even though plantation life in Hawaii now offers greater...
economic security and a higher plane of living than that enjoyed by the great majority of agricultural workers in other parts of the world, including continental United States, many of the employed workers on the plantations are restless and uneasy. There is a vague sense of confinement and a yearning to taste the joys of life outside the ordered limits of the plantation. Hildebrandt says, "I envy you people on the outside... Maybe it (plantation) is a good place, but again it's hard for a fellow who wants something else besides..." Even the realization that he is more fortunate economically than many of his friends who reside in the city cannot assuage the yearning for cultural and intellectual satisfactions thought to be available elsewhere.

It is apparent from other such documents that many of Hawaii's youth feel themselves caught between the diverging ambitions derived from their parents and the community in an era of open opportunity and the realization that the young worker so endowed may be "a drag on the market." The sense of uncertainty and frustration may be re-enforced by myths concerning the monopoly powers of "The Big Five" and the futility of striving "unless your skin is white." Possibly those are among the inevitable costs of the transition which our society is now undergoing.

There is evidence that Hawaii's youth is gradually adjusting itself to the changing situation through a variety of means. Some are becoming reconciled, even though reluctantly, to a more modest, "standard" of living than their parents and the wider community had taught them to expect, and they are substituting for its prestige value the security and the humble satisfaction of the masses. "Better to live in comfort and security in the humblest laborer on the plantation than to toil while wearing out one's heart and spirit striving for the uncertain gains at the top." Many, in fact, are becoming staunch supporters of the plantation regime, pointing to substantial gains which it has brought to the citizen workers in better wages, shorter working hours, improved housing, and wider recreational facilities, and they are creating the core of an expanding "industrialized peasantry" in Hawaii. Marriage and the responsibilities of a family undoubtedly hasten the process of adjustment, just as a prolonged period of formal education tends to postpone it.

Others are finding a temporary adjustment in a variety of social movements—religious, political, and economic. The psychological unrest of many is being drawn off into the struggle of labor to secure an organized and recognized status comparable to that of capital, and the "movement" provides them with a cause about which to organize their yearning and striving. Politics provides an exciting pastime and a valued source of recognition for a limited few, while the varied activities of fraternal and religious organizations and civic associations absorb the energies of still others. Sports and extracurricular activities play a very prominent part in the lives of island youth and clearly assist in diverting the blocked ambitions of many into channels that are socially acceptable.

It is significant of Hawaii's situation, however, that the doors to economic and social advancement are not entirely closed, and the movement from one class to another still continues. Even the plantation, with its limited range of occupations, affords some hope for advancement. The city, with its wider variety of vocations, the more rapid occupational turnover, and its greater educational and cultural facilities, continues to attract an important part of the rural surplus, and especially the more aggressive, ambitious, and restless. The problem of the city's surplus—its mounting unemployment and its socially unadjusted—requires separate treatment, but it seems probable that the majority of those who remain in the rural areas will, in time, become reconciled to their situation. In the meantime, an appreciation of the crosscurrents of family ambitions, personal striving for prestige, a craving for intellectual and social stimulation, as they express themselves in the inner and private experience of rural youth, should assist in making this accommodation less painful.
LIFE ON A HAWAIIAN PLANTATION
An Interview
MACHITO MITANURA

It was Sunday, hot and sultry. Everything seemed quiet and dead. There, gathered in the shade of a tree, was a group of old hands smoking their "Durhams" and exchanging stories and gossip. Out in the open square some children were just aimlessly wandering around, too tired to play any games in the hot sun.

"This is plantation life or rather camp life." He made a sweeping gesture, taking in the whole camp. He was smiling, but his voice held no mirth. Hideo-Uom, born and raised on a plantation, was speaking. We were seated on his little veranda. It was somewhat of a protection from the hot rays, but when the occasional gusts of wind came up, they filled the air with the rich, red dust of the fields. No wonder the whole camp is the color of the soil. Even the trees and grass that help to brighten the drab, hot scenery were tinged with it.

Hideo-Uom was telling me his story, his ambitions and hopes and disappointments. He was a tall lad, very tall for a Japanese, and strongly built. His face was tanned a deep brown and was brightly intelligent. His English was surprisingly good and made me ashamed of myself for ever thinking that I would be listening to that peculiar English so common among boys of Oriental ancestry.

"How is it that you speak English so well? It seems so out of place." The question popped out before I knew it.

Fortunately he did not take offense. Smilingly he said, "I always studied hard in English and practiced speaking out loud at home and down by the river. I turned out for the school debate team and took part in oratorical contests."

"Didn't you have any trouble with your friends? I mean, didn't they tease and make fun of you when you tried to speak good English?"

"No. I never had much trouble with my friends," was the ready reply. "You see in the first place I'm big and can handle any of them. Then I was always a serious fellow. Sure, I've seen some of my friends kidded and teased. The others always said, 'Look at that guy. He's only a Japanese, but he's trying to be a hilo.' He thinks he's too important for his own good."

"Have you lived here long?" I inquired.

"Well, almost my whole life," was the reply. "I was only a baby when we moved here."

"Then you weren't born on a plantation?"

"I was. You see I was born on a sugar plantation, and I guess I'll always be on one unless some miracle happens."

"Why, don't you like it here?" I queried.

"I don't. Maybe it's a good place, but again it's hard for a fellow who wants something else besides plantation life."

"Why, do you . . . ?" I wanted to ask him what else he wanted in life but he sensed my thoughts and interrupted me.

"Sure, I want to have a chance to go to the University like you folks, to get something out of life—the good things in life, and to know the worthwhile things that make life better. I want to meet the finer people, to go out and see things . . . You know what I mean?"

"Now, you shouldn't feel all that way," I said trying to pacify him. "I could see the yearning in his eyes and feel the eagerness to go beyond the bounds of his little community—his little world. I felt sorry for him. "You should look at it in another way. You are working today and being useful. It's more than many of us are doing."

"Maybe you're right. I might be better off, but you know how it is . . . " He looked at me with a smile full of bitterness and wistfulness.

Then he continued, "But I sure envy people on the outside. I am twenty-three years old and have lived around here practically my whole life. I've been brought up with 'pioneers' and cane, and I guess I'll die with them. Ten years from now I'll be the same—just going along . . ."

"I think you're wrong there," I broke in. "If you've got the stuff they might make you a big shot around here."

"Don't kid me," he chided. "You know yourself I haven't got a chance. You can't go very high up and get big money unless your skin is white. You can work here all your life and yet a hilo who doesn't know a thing about the work can be ahead of you in no time. But just the same I'm going to try for some of the good jobs around here. Maybe I'll never make a good plantation worker. Really, I think that ten years from now I'll be living like my parents in these cottages. That's why I want to go to the University. I want to study so I can make something out of myself. I want to make my parents proud of me. But what can I do with a family like mine?"

"What's the matter with your family?"

"I can't do anything I want to do. My hands are tied. Just because I happen to be the first born, you are a Japanese and must know my situation. I have to obey my parents. I am now grown up and must help my parents. Then I have four below me. I just can't do anything. When I think of my family, I wish that I could do something to help them. I hate to think that we're going to live on plantations all our lives."

"Don't feel that way . . . ." I started to interrupt, but he didn't let me hear me as he began:

"Sure, the living is all right, I guess. We get free homes. This cottage is free. You see families get a whole cottage, but bachelors are usually given half of the house. The rooms are kind of small, but we have two bedrooms, a kitchen, and a parlor which we also use as a bedroom. The bachelors have a bedroom, a kitchen, and a parlor."

"How about bathrooms . . . ?" I started to ask, but he interrupted me.

"We don't have private baths. For bathing we have the camp bathhouse. You see the building there's that's the camp bathhouse. And you see the other building there's that's the camp
toilet." The bathhouse was a low, wide building; the toilet a taller and narrower construction.

"The bathhouse," he continued, "is divided into two, one-half for the women and the other half for the men. The bath is made ready by three or four of the workers who start coming back about that time can wash up. Everybody uses it, the Filipinos and all. It's the same with the toilet house, one side for men, one side for women."

"Things are on a community basis around here," I commented.

"Very much so," he replied. "Your business is the camp's business. It's not a secret until the whole camp knows. What you do concerns the whole camp. When I entered the anatomical classes they were all back of me. They were very concerned about it. And when the kids from here go out to play against kids of another camp, practically everybody follows them. They forget their nationalities."

Set apart by themselves in a lonely spot in the highlands, the people working and living together in the camp are naturally drawn together by common ties. This isolation has been the factor that has enabled the Japanese immigrants to preserve their old customs and habits to a considerable degree.

As Hiroko-san continued: "Really, my father and mother are very old-fashioned. Maybe your parents are like that too. Everything is obedience—the idea of oyakodo (filial piety). Father is the head, and we must obey him, right or wrong. Sometimes I do get mad, but I always give in, usually because mother helps me to and other times because I just can't help it. It's just like a habit. I want more freedom, more chance to do what I want and to think on my own. I hate to do things by asking his permission, but still I do it.

"I remember when I was in the sixth grade my eyes were bothering me. I was afraid to tell him, but I told my mother. She was worried and told father of it. He asked, 'Oh, me re do shita no hi?' (What's the matter with your eyes?)

"His face was stern and hard as he asked me the question. 'Nothing,' I replied. And that ended the incident until my teacher came to see my father a week later to ask him to buy me a pair of glasses. You see he thought I was trying to be hakumo (show off).

"In all family matters he gives the last word. No one can contradict him.

"There was the time I wanted to go to a school dance. That was only about five years ago. I was still in high school. The school was giving a dance and all my classmates the senior girls went. I wanted to go too. But I had no suit. And I was afraid to ask father for a new suit. I knew what the answer would mean. Anyway I approached mother. Very tactfully she spoke to him about it.

"He scolded, That's the trouble with you. You're too easy with the children. They're getting spoiled. And now you want him to go to a dance and to buy him a new suit. What's the matter with you? What does he want to go to the dance for? To see the girls, I suppose? Do you want him to be useless and good for nothing? A new suit for his graduation is enough!"

"I didn't go that year, but the next year and my senior year I went to some of the dances. I don't know how father changed his mind, but he did. I think he found out that other fathers were letting their sons and daughters go to dances he allowed me to do the same. No, I never enjoyed dancing very much. But I just wanted to go."

He shook his head and smiled sort of wistfully as he mused. Then he went on: "Yes, father and mother came a long time ago. They first came here twenty-seven years ago. I mean father came first and sent for my mother two years later. He was born in Yamaguchiken of Japan and came to Hawaii when he heard about the riches here. He heard big stories of gold and money. He was the third son and was allowed to go by his parents."

"He first arrived in Honolulu and was a very disappointed man. He knew no one and he had no money. And the streets did not have the gold that he had dreamed about. However, he had no chance to think because he was taken to a plantation and immediately put to work. He first worked on a sugar plantation. Although there were other Japanese people working there he felt kind of lone because there wasn't anybody from his district. He did hadai-ko (hookah), cut cane for about ninety cents a day. It is little today but in his day it was plenty. You know most of our parents never saw money until they came to Hawaii. Work was hard, but money in cash was coming in so he felt fine. After a little for two years he wrote back home for a wife.

"When mother came over, he had some money and they had a fair start. No, she didn't stay at home. She went out in the fields to work with the hoe and the knife. Yes, my parents have been working and slaving in the fields but they have had nothing to show for it, except that they have raised us. We are their only hope. I hate to fail them even if I have to work hard for it all my life."

"They have worked for about twenty years. They're not too old in years. But if you see them you will see what I mean." At that moment two old people came up the steps. They were old and wrinkled. Very politely they bowed to me and said, "Kon'nichiwa (good day). Arae demo? (Isn't it a hot day?)" I returned their courtesy, bowing in my best manner.

The old couple was very courteous and asked me to come in and to make myself at home.

In Japanese fashion I thanked them but politely declined their offer.

Indeed they were beyond their years. The years of hard work in the fields had sapped the fullness out of them. They were not yet sixty but they looked seventy.

"You have very nice parents," I complimented him when they retired into the house.
He only shook his head. "Yes, thank you. But you can see why I cannot leave or disobey them. They need me here. As I said before, I would like to go away and try to get some real things out of life, but . . ."

He spoke earnestly and sincerely. I could not help but be affected by his words. Here was a man who had faced the world and yet was left behind by family and economic reasons.

"After about ten years of working on the sugar plantation my parents moved to this place. You see, there were some people from his own prefecture who had come to live here.

"No, I don't remember very much about my early days. You see a plantation is all the same. It hardly changes. All I know is that mother used to leave me with some lady when she went out into the fields. When my brothers and sisters were born, she stayed home until I was old enough to take care of them. One thing I do remember is I used to hate school and always ran away. My father was furious. He gave me a beating and after that I never missed school. And when I finished school I was hungry and wanted some of the musubi (rice ball) that my mother kept in the safe (food cabinet).

"However, I grew up and studied hard," he said with a smile.

"Yes, I understand that you were one of the brightest in your classes. I also hear that you were one of the outstanding students in your school."

"No," he denied modestly. "All I did was to study harder than the others. You see my parents were very strict and always made me study before I could go out to play. They were always happy when others told them I was making good. Of course, they would always say in Japanese, "Oh, my son is hopeless. He never had any ability."

"Yes, I attended the language school. It was the happiest moments for my father and mother when I would come home with some prize at the end of the year. They were very concerned about my Japanese. That was one thing I had to study every night. You see, they took my English for granted. Anyway my parents were very glad when I wrote my first letter in Japanese to my grandmother in Japan."

I went through high school and wanted to continue to the University. But my parents tearfully pointed out the impossibility. They said, "No, we can't allow you to do it. It grieves us deeply to say no, but we must think of the younger ones. You have four younger ones below you, and you, being the oldest, should think of helping them go through school. You are the oldest and must forget yourself. Your father and mother are getting old and you must help us take care of the family."

"Do you know but the whole camp was concerned about it? They knew that I had made pretty good in school. They even praised me for others which I had never done before. They shook their heads about my going to the University. They said, "Oya ume made hoppun minna o sake ta no de kore kara anata ga ryokudos hite karenu no ga atari ma."

(Your parents have done splendidly in rearing you and now it is your turn to be dutiful and help them in their old age). Of course I gave in. My life was not my own. I had obligations to my family.

"And so I went to work on the plantation. No, it was not the first time. During the summer months I used to help around the fields. You see most of us help from about fifteen. I remember the first time I went to work. I was just turning fifteen. I went out with the other boys of my age to help during the picking season. We followed the pickers. As soon as they finish a row they would dump the fruit out of the bags at one end and we would clear off the bottom edges of the pineapples and sort them into boxes according to size. We got about fifteen cents an hour. Day laborers made from fifty to eighty dollars a month.

"I've done most of the work in the fields. I have done hoe work, cut suckers (young pine shoots used in planting), loaded pinis on trucks and trains, counted pinis in the fields, and other kinds of work. I also picked fruits and helped to spray the fields to kill off the bugs."

"Today, I have a pretty good job. I help around the stations as a checker, and make out bills of lading. When there's nothing to do I go out with the gang in the fields. I make about seventy a month."

"Oh, you want to know something about the women. They get less than men, but they can do almost any kind of work. They don't do the hard work like picking the pine or head- ing. But they sure can hoe, cut, suckers, and sort pine. Sure there are some young girls who work in the fields. They're all strong and can last all day in the fields. They wear strong drosses and open homemade cloth coverings to protect their arms and legs from the sun and the pine leaves. You see the pine leaves are still and have sharp edges. You have to have something to protect you or you get all cut up. Boys are lucky. We have long pants and use gloves to protect our hands. Yes, the women also use gloves. Our arms are protected by long sleeves. The women wrap a towel around their heads and faces for protection against the sun. And like the men they wear large kimon hats."

"Oh, my mother still goes out. She's still strong. I've tried to keep her home, but you know how it is. She's been working so long she feels lost when she hasn't anything to do. She has to do something to be happy."

He looked at me with a queer look. Then he looked away into space and began to shake his head. His mouth was puckered as he contemplated.

"I was just thinking," he began. "Yes, ten years from now I'll be living the same life of my parents. I hate to think of it. I want to do, . . . well anybody wants to improve, you know that. Up at five every morning and out in the fields. Ever since I can remember I have gotten up at that early hour. Sure it's dark and cold when you get up. But that's plantation routine.
"By the time you finish your breakfast the whistle blows, and everybody must get together at the office. The breakfast isn't much either. We eat just plain food. We have mainly rice, miso soup (soy bean soup), pickled plum, cabbage and turnip, and fish or meat that's left over. Yes, sometimes we have ham and eggs. But we usually eat rice. We must have something solid. You see we start work at six and if we don't eat a healthy breakfast, we'll starve before lunch. We have coffee and bread, but we usually have them after our main meal. Bread, chocolate and jam are often for the kids.

"We work in the hot sun. Yes, the morning is cool and fresh, but when the sun comes out, hey it's sure hot. In going to work we get into a truck that takes us to the field where we work. After work the truck comes for us. Sometimes we walk home if the field is near the camp. You know, we're just like prisoners. You know what I mean."

He wished to express the idea that their work is a life routine, that there is nothing to do but work in the sun and back home without any great motive for living except to exist. I can see the drudgery that he dreads. His work today, tomorrow, next month, next year and the years to come will invariably be the same with the same gang. He has seen his father and mother either and dry, working long years in the fields. He has seen their life, drab and empty. He wants something better. Can we not feel the pulling urge and desire of the young man to grasp some color out of life?

"We usually go through work about three in the afternoon unless we have to work overtime. The first thing we do after coming back from the fields is to clean up—go to the furo (bath). But some prefer to play some games before taking a bath. You can play ball. Some go out to tend their gardens that they have in the back of the camp. We usually get through with our huts and have a little time to 'chew the rag.'"

"After supper some stay home, some go to the movies, or some go to town just to fool around. On Saturday nights most of the young fellows go out. Some go to the city for movies and some for dances. They like to come back and say, 'I went to W. Theater last night.'"

"I very seldom go into the city because I don't have a car and cannot afford to spend the money the way some of them do. And you know I have to ask father for money. I can get it, but I hate to have them think that I am spending hard earned money foolishly. All the money goes to father, and he doesn't like to give it out for just foolishness."

"Mother knows that I am not always happy. So at times she comforts with the thought that suffering in this life will bring greater happiness after death. Yes, she is very religious. So is my father. Every morning he gets up and prays before breakfast. Mother offers rice to the family shrine before serving us. On certain days like the lion (time of the return of the spirit of the dead to this earth) we all kneel and pray together. It doesn't make any difference that we are Christians, I mean me and my younger brothers and sisters. It's true with all my friends who go to church."

Indeed it is strange but very true in Hawaii. Parents who are devout Buddhists do allow their children to become Christians and yet, at the same time, require that they kneel at the family shrine or go to the Buddhist temple with them. When the family is having some hard luck, the parents take their children to pray with them at the shrine. On New Year's morning, many of the parents still take their young ones to pray at a temple. The children, in most cases, do not feel anything. This situation may be explained by the fact that the Japanese family is so closely knit that any religious ceremony concerning one member is considered primarily a family affair. It is not regarded purely as an individual religious matter.

"How about marriage?" I asked. "Haven't your parents..."

"That's out of the question yet," he laughed. "I'm not ready. I haven't found the girl that I want. Yes, some or most of my classmates are either going steady with girls or are married. They marry pretty young out here. The parents want them to.

"Until the right one comes along I won't marry," he sighed as he said it. Then smilingly he continued, "Some of my friends have been married in Japanese style, through matchmaking. No, they seem to be getting along all right, but I still say I want to find my own wife."

"I almost forgot. My parents have found a prospective wife for me. She is very 'Jap-an-i-fied.' She was in Japan for a couple of years. My parents think that she will make an ideal wife and daughter-in-law. They want me to accept her. For once I haven't given in. That's one thing I want to have my own way. I want to find my own wife and I will.""

"Do you have inter racial marriages around here?" I inquired.

"Very rarely," was his reply. "You see Japanese parents are very strict in that matter. They don't want their girls to marry outside nationalities. It's the same with the boys. Sure they are friendly with other nationalities; but they won't stand the idea of inter racial marriage. Their daughters and sons must marry Japanese or they are disgraced among the other Japanese or they are disgraced among the other Japanese people. There used to be a strong feeling against Okinawans, but nowadays the feeling is not so strong. Just this year a girl got married to an Okinawan, and there was no objection. In fact everybody said that it was a fine marriage. You ought to know these things, me I'm not in the same town. But in town the girls go around with other nationalities. The parents feel badly, but they resign themselves. One girl who was going with a Filipino was sent to Japan. The parents told her that if she didn't give up the Filipino they would commit suicide. By the way, how are the Filipinos?"

"They're all right until they get into a fight. Once I saw
A DECADE OF POPULATION GROWTH

ROMANZO ADAMS

Only the preliminary figures of population for 1949 are now available. The Census data as to sex ratio, racial distribution and many other matters will not be available before next year, but fairly satisfactory estimates can be made by using the birth and death data of the Bureau of Vital Statistics and the data of the passenger movement.

The total population as of April 1, 1940 is 422,960. This represents a gain of 54,624 in the ten years, nearly 15 per cent. These figures may be compared with a gain of 112,424, or 31 per cent, in the preceding decade. This marked fall in the rate of increase is due in a measure to the fall in the annual number of births, but more important is the return of Orientals to their native lands. Pretty steadily from 1850 to 1930 there was an important Oriental immigration to Hawaii so that the proportion of Oriental population rose in each decade to a maximum of 64.2 per cent in 1930. Before 1933 the immigrants were mainly Chinese, from 1933 to 1937 they were Japanese mainly, and after 1907 Filipinos mainly. But during the decade 1930-40 the Territory lost nearly thirty thousand people of Oriental birth or ancestry by an excess of outgoing over incoming passengers.

Only in part was this loss of people of Oriental race made good by the coming of Caucasians from the U. S. mainland. Probably this Caucasian gain did not much exceed twenty thousand.

The distribution as among the counties and cities has undergone some modification. Honolulu County gained more than the Territory as a whole. Maui and Kauai experienced small losses and Hawaii County a still smaller gain.

Population of Counties and Cities for 1930 and 1940 and Gains and Losses

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<th>Gain</th>
<th>Loss</th>
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<th>1930</th>
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<td>7,315</td>
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In 1900 the population of the only county, the Hilo city limits was estimated as a part of the Hilo population. This census no longer treated Hilo as a city population, but it is still estimated by the same city limits. It is probable that there was a population growth of possibly 200. Hilo had a population of 4,651 in 1920.
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