

## THE EFFECT OF WAR ON INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE IN HAWAII

OTOME INAMINE  
PHYLLIS KON  
YAN QUAI LAU  
MARJORIE OKAMOTO

We in Hawaii have watched with interest the inter-racial marriage trends of the different races in our community. For in Hawaii we have diverse peoples from many different parts of the world living closely together in a group of small and isolated islands. Moreover, through historical accident a racial pattern of equality has been built up, so that there is comparative freedom in the inter-mingling of the different peoples of the community; here there is no public denial of political rights and economic or educational privileges on grounds of race, and the social code permits of marriage across race lines.

Because of the physical proximity of the different races, because of the relative tolerance characteristic of the peoples toward other ethnic groups, it was inevitable that one group should influence another, that each group should grow more and more Americanized, that with assimilation should come amalgamation, that amalgamation should grow slowly but increasingly in such a social situation.

The late Dr. Romanzo Adams, author of "Inter-racial Marriage In Hawaii", in noting the process of assimilation going on among the peoples of Hawaii and the trend toward greater amalgamation, made the statement that within a few generations one half of the population of Hawaii will be of mixed ancestry, and that eventually the various races will be so integrated that a single race with a common way of life will emerge.

While Hawaii is unique in that she has built a social medium which facilitates assimilation of the different peoples and which allows for growth through a slow process of amalgamation, still we must remember that the peoples have different cultures, that change from old to new does not occur overnight in any group, that there is such a thing as ethnocentrism even in Hawaii.

Though each ethnic group with the rise of newer generations has moved steadily, however slowly, toward assimilation, toward Americanization, nevertheless, each also sought to perpetuate its own way of life, to criticize the individual who moved forward too rapidly, to ostracize the individual who married out of his own group. While each group is vociferous in pledging allegiance to the code of racial equality and any public violation of this code is loudly condemned by all, still there is a subtle form of race prejudice, never publicly expressed, but nevertheless held as private opinion, which holds in check the process of assimilation and amalgamation.

Special interest has, therefore, been directed toward the spurt in inter-racial marriages during the recent war years. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, 19 per cent of all marriages

were out-marriages. By June 1944, the rate had jumped to 31 per cent. How are we to account for this wartime phenomenon? What were the conditions making for this sudden increase? How will it affect the process of amalgamation after the abnormal war conditions of the Islands are relieved? How will it affect the process of assimilation? How will it affect race relations in Hawaii in the future?

Shortly after the Pearl Harbor incident in December, 1941, thousands upon thousands of defense workers, soldiers, sailors, and marines were shipped to man this "fortress of the Pacific." This migration made for an overwhelming population of young white males in the territory. At the same time the war promoted the evacuation of many local women to safer regions on the mainland. This move involved mainly the Haole group because they alone had friends or relatives in the continental United States to whom they could turn for refuge.

The war made for the movement of approximately 11,000 Japanese American young men to the mainland for training and later overseas for combat and interpretation duties. Many local boys of other racial extractions, while not affected on so large a scale as the Japanese, were also sent to the United States for training, and many others were sent to different parts of the world for service duties. The result was a further disruption of the already abnormal sex ratios of the islands. Consequently, women of all racial ancestries were at a premium.

The great majority of men were the Haoles, and the great majority of women were those of racial ancestries other than white.

The changes in rate will now be briefly described for each important ethnic group. The Caucasians show significant changes in frequency of out-marriages during the war years. In 1940, 1164 or 76.3 per cent of all Caucasian grooms married Caucasian women. In 1941, the number of in-marriages for the grooms increased to 1187 or 79.7 per cent, but since then the rate has steadily declined to 59.4 per cent in 1944.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Caucasian Grooms  
in Hawaii

Year	Total No. of Caucasian grooms	No. of out-marriages of Caucasian grooms	Percentage of out-marriages
1940	1526	362	23.7
1941	2241	454	20.3
1942	3159	772	24.4
1943	2200	795	36.1
1944	2091	845	40.4

The reasons for this increase are the influx of great numbers of Caucasian men, the scarcity of white women, the availability of other races in the territory, and the high social status of the Caucasian men in the community.

The picture is quite different for the Caucasian women. The statistics from 1940 to 1944 show a general tendency toward greater in-marriage.

#### Percentage of In-marriage among Caucasian Brides

Year	Total No. of Caucasian brides	No. of in-marriages of Caucasian brides	Percentage of in-marriages
1940	1370	1164	85.0
1941	2014	1787	88.7
1942	2636	2387	90.5
1943	1583	1405	88.8
1944	1356	1246	91.9

The probable explanation for this tendency is that the Caucasian women had an overwhelming number of potential mates of their own racial group to select from after 1942. Also the Caucasian women were at a premium.

Within the Caucasian group is a sub-group, the Portuguese. In Hawaii, until a few years ago, the Portuguese have been considered a group separate from the other Caucasians, and were listed under separate heading in the vital statistics. Because they were regarded as an out-group by the other Caucasians, because this fact made for restriction in free intimate relations between the two groups, it will probably be in order to discuss the Portuguese marriage trends separately.

Our tabulation of Portuguese marriages from 1940 to 1944 show that the majority of Portuguese brides from 1940 to 1943 were still marrying in; but in 1943 and 1944, a marked change toward greater out-marriage appeared. This shift can best be shown by these figures: 1940, only 139 or 35 per cent of all Portuguese brides married out, but in 1944, the figures jumped to 238 or 57 per cent.

This shift in preference among the Portuguese brides has probably been guided by the following facts:

1. The great number of mainland Haole men, and the relative lack of the other Caucasian women in the territory.
2. The lack of awareness on part of mainland Haoles of the local habit of categorizing the Portuguese as a group distinct from the "upper-class haoles."
3. The physical similarities of both the Portuguese and the Nordic Caucasians, making for easier inter-marriages and "crossing" on the part of the Portuguese.
4. The desire on the part of the Portuguese girls to become identified with the dominant group.

The Japanese brides have also shown an increasing tendency to marry other races. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, only 8.1 per cent of all Japanese brides married out. In 1944 the rate increased to 21.1 per cent. What are the reasons for this increase in rate of out-marriages among a people who were

considered the most conservative and most integrated ethnic group in the Islands?

One important reason is that many potential mates for the Japanese women have volunteered or have been drafted into the Armed Services. Indeed the proportion of Americans of Japanese Ancestry from Hawaii in the armed services is estimated at 60% - 65%, whereas, according to the official estimate of July 1, 1945, persons of Japanese ancestry constituted only 32.5% of the civilian population of the territory. The general policy of the army authorities here has been to transfer the local Japanese boys to camps on the mainland, and thence to the European theater. Therefore, the Japanese girls have particularly suffered from lack of male companionship in their own ethnic group.

Prior to the war Oriental girls had rather limited contacts with the Haole group. Now owing to the abnormal sex ratios in the community, the natural and inevitable consequence is the intermingling of some of the more emancipated Oriental girls with the Caucasian men. And many of these Oriental girls have found the Haole boys more adept in manners, speech and etiquette than the Oriental boys and therefore more attractive.

Another factor contributing to the growth in out-marriages among the Japanese is that the foundation of the Japanese family pattern has undergone a great change during the war. The strict parental authority—the force behind Japanese conservatism—has been greatly weakened and often completely broken down. Because the parents are enemy aliens, the children have been given the leadership in family affairs. The parents have felt that their children, educated in American schools, would know what is best under the trying circumstances. As a consequence of the leadership of the younger generation, many Japanese families are showing greater eagerness to acquire American culture, and to be assimilated.

Among the Hawaiian girls the rate of out-marriage has always been high, but during the past four years the rate increased significantly.

#### Percentage of Out-marriages for Hawaiian Brides

Year	Total Number Marriages	Number Out-marriages	Percentage Out-marriage
1940	187	128	68.4
1941	241	179	74.2
1942	290	218	75.2
1943	237	171	72.1
1944	234	180	76.8

It is interesting to note that for the years 1940 and 1941, the Hawaiian brides married Part-Hawaiians more frequently than any other racial group when marrying out, but that 1942 to 1944, they married Caucasians most frequently. In 1941, 16 per cent of all Hawaiian brides married Caucasians, while 1942,

the figure jumped to 27 per cent where it has remained during 1944. No doubt, the influx of service men and war workers accounts for the phenomenon.

The Part-Hawaiian group includes Caucasian-Hawaiians, Chinese-Hawaiians, Filipino-Hawaiians, Japanese-Hawaiians, Korean-Hawaiians, and Samoan-Hawaiians and three and four way mixtures. Partly because they are already mixed, their out-marriage rate has always been high, but it too has increased.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Part-Hawaiian Brides

Year	Total No. Marriages	Number Out-marriages	Percentage Out-marriages
1940	701	428	61.1
1941	848	518	61.1
1942	1196	754	63.0
1943	992	643	64.8
1944	845	584	69.1

Among the Caucasian-Hawaiian brides an interesting trend can be traced. During the years 1940 and 1941, this group married most frequently within the Part-Hawaiian group. However from 1942 to 1944, there was a shift in preference; the group most favored being the Caucasian group.

*Number of Caucasian-Hawaiian Brides*  
Married to Part-Hawaiians and to Caucasians

Year	Total No. Marriages With Part-Hawaiians	Total No. Marriages With Caucasians
1940	135	134
1941	174	165
1942	255	273
1943	170	226
1944	124	212

The factors making for this shift are: the great influx of Haole men, the fact that many of the Caucasian-Hawaiians have very little native blood in them, being in appearance and in habits more like the Haoles than the Hawaiians and the desire on the part of the Caucasian-Hawaiians for the comparatively higher social status Haoles can offer.

The marriage within their own group on the part of the Chinese brides has steadily declined from 168 or 68 percent of all Chinese brides in 1940 to 183 or 57 percent in 1944. There has also been an increasing tendency for Chinese girls to marry Caucasian men. In 1940 only eighteen or 7 per cent of all Chinese brides married Caucasians, as compared with 73 or 23 per cent in 1944. Again the drafting of Chinese men and their movement over-seas and the increase of available Haole men from the Mainland certainly effected these changes.

The Koreans in Hawaii being a very small group have not been able to maintain their group solidarity as well as the

other Orientals, thus making for a strong tendency toward out-marriages. This is true particularly among the brides; the grooms, like the other Oriental grooms in Hawaii today are more conservative in their marriage selections. The Korean brides at present marry out more frequently than they marry in.

The rate of out-marriages sky-rocketed in 1942 after the out-break of the war and with the great influx of Haoles from the mainland.

Percentage of Out-marriages among Korean Brides

Year	Total No. Marriages	No. of Out-marriages	Percentage of Out-marriages
1940	90	41	46.6
1941	93	48	51.6
1942	159	105	66.0
1943	151	93	61.6
1944	101	66	65.3

Since the out-break of the war, more Korean brides have married Caucasian men than Korean men.

As with Caucasian women, the statistics for the Filipino women reveal a high in-marriage rate, while the Filipino men's group show a very low in-marriage rate. The reason for this is that there is, and has always been, a great preponderance of Filipino men over Filipino women in Hawaii. But even among the Filipino women, the rate of out-marriage is increasing. From 6.1 per cent (of all Filipino brides) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, the rate has risen to 18.2 per cent in 1944. The brides who marry-out choose more frequently from the Caucasian group than from any other ethnic group.

In all the racial groups except the Caucasians we can trace a general trend of increasing out-marriages among the brides during the war years, while the out-marriage rate among the men lags very much behind. Only the Caucasian and the Filipino men are ahead of their women in the number marrying out, and this is because both groups have many more men in Hawaii than marriageable women. The out-marriage rates of the males have not changed greatly during the war, even for the Filipinos.

Percentage of Out-marriage for Males of the Different Races

Race	1940			1944		
	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.
Haw'n	158	99	62.7	110	56	50.9
Part Haw'n	471	198	42.0	469	208	44.3
Caucasian	1526	362	23.7	2091	745	35.6
Chinese	240	72	30.0	262	79	30.2
Filipino	407	193	47.4	532	227	42.7
Japanese	1293	53	4.1	1227	46	3.7
Korean	90	20	22.2	54	19	35.2

Percentage of Out marriage for Females of Different Races

Race	1940			1944		
	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.	Total No. Marr.	Total No. Out-Marr.	% of Out-Marr.
Haw'n	187	128	68.4	234	180	77.9
Part-Haw'n	701	428	61.1	845	584	69.1
Caucasian	1340	176	13.1	1356	110	8.1
Chinese	246	78	31.7	322	139	43.2
Filipino	228	14	6.1	373	68	18.2
Japanese	1342	102	7.6	1492	311	20.8
Koreans	90	41	45.6	101	66	65.3