

NEW HAWAIIANA
Books and Reports of Sociological Interest

Bernhard L. Hormann

The last year or two have seen the publication of a number of books and studies containing materials of interest to the student of the sociology of Hawaii. The purpose of this discussion is to bring these to the attention of the student of sociology and to attempt briefly to state how they contribute to our understanding.

Andrew W. Lind (editor), Race Relations in World Perspective and Melvin Conant, Race Issues on the World Scene, both published in 1955 by the University of Hawaii Press are part of the harvest of the world race relations conference held on the campus in the summer of 1954.

The Lind book is a collection of most of the papers prepared in advance by the scholars invited to the conference. These are of course world-wide in scope. Two, however, deal to some extent with Hawaii: Andrew W. Lind, "Occupation and Race on Certain Frontiers" and Bernhard L. Hormann, "Rigidity and Fluidity in Race Relations." Lind's paper develops a comparison between the way race relates to the changing occupational structure of Hawaii and Malaya, both of them conceived as plantation frontiers. Hormann's paper is concerned with what European expansion does to non-Western populations, and uses Hawaii as a case history.

The Conant book is a brief 145-page summary of the four-week conference and its papers and reports, prepared by one of the participants, at that time in charge of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council of Honolulu. Unfortunately it lacks an index. This reviewer spotted the following references to Hawaii:

<u>Page</u>	
12	reference to race and occupation.
69-76	summary of the summary on race relations presented orally to the conference.
132	adherents of the ideology of racial integration as against groups practicing it.
133	suggested research on racial integration in government.

Andrew W. Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955) is a brief book of just over a hundred pages written with the purpose of bringing up-to-date a similar but even briefer work by Romanzo Adams, which came out in two editions twenty-five years ago and has long been out of print. Its title The Peoples of Hawaii when juxtaposed to Lind's suggests the transition from many peoples to one.

The five chapters tell, largely in statistical terms, who they are-- racial, sex, and age composition of the population through the years; where they live--by islands and local communities; how they live--by occupation; and what they are becoming--by education, citizenship, political participation, birth, death, and interracial marriage rates.

Certain statistics available to Adams are now no longer obtainable because in the last two decades racial statistics have gradually been eliminated, and thus Lind was not able to give recent data on voters by race, assessed value of personal property by race, school enrollment by race. Lind also did not go into indices of social disorganization, which Adams had included.

In spite of the brevity of the work, Lind manages to pack a good deal of sociological analysis into the text and in that sense the book is a brief introduction to the sociology of modern Hawaii. He brings together concisely many of his understandings of Hawaii developed at greater length in his other writings, but one point which he makes strongly I don't remember coming across before. It was suggested by Adams that U.S. census practice about racial classification when applied to Hawaii in 1900 did not fit the local situation and had to be abandoned or modified in subsequent censuses. Lind, however, suggests that the Mainland practice introduced an emphasis on biological conceptions of race for the first time. Previous to that time, the prevalent conception had been one which classified people culturally or by national origin. Today our most widely used classification of the peoples retains Mainland practice in its handling of Caucasians. Otherwise the earlier local practice is the one in vogue, except in the matter of persons of mixed blood where the two principles are compromised. I personally feel that it was inevitable for some classification including all Haoles, by whatever name, to emerge in contrast to the Hawaiian and immigrant nationalities. The distinction is somewhat similar to that between old Americans--Yankees--, say in New England and the Middle West contrasted with the European immigrant nationality groups there, and the biological connotations are not very great in either situation.

The members of the department of sociology and the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory occasionally are asked to do special researches on a contractual basis. Two recent ones are deserving of attention.

Lee M. Brooks, C. K. Cheng, with Jesse F. Steiner as consultant, prepared a Survey of Conditions and Needs Basic to Planning a New Jail for the City and County of Honolulu for the Board of Supervisors. Appearing in 1955, this mimeographed volume runs to 85 pages. The survey was interested in data which would contribute to the intelligent planning of a new jail. Major emphasis was on a study of a sample of the jail population over the previous ten-year period. Among the noteworthy findings were that the top offense, accounting for 37.6 per cent of the 780 offenders in the sample, was for drunkenness. Traffic violations came second with 19.4 per cent.

The jail population sample was 95 per cent male, and 40 per cent between 15 and 29 years of age, with traffic offenses as their most frequent offense. Seventy per cent were single, divorced, or widowed.

"Caucasians comprised the largest single racial group in jail, 30 per cent." Hawaiians were just below, and Filipinos third, and all these groups, with the Puerto Ricans and Negroes were over-represented in prison population as against under-representation on the part of the Japanese and Chinese.

Seventy-six inmates were interviewed and here the following additional facts became apparent, 6 out of 10 were unemployed; only 2 of 10 had some skilled trade; only 1 of 10 owned their homes; 5 out of 10 came from areas of Honolulu characterized by sub-standard housing; more than 5 of 10 had less than 8th grade schooling; 6 of 10 had not attended church in the preceding year, although 8 of 10 were Christians of various denominations.

Other materials presented were maximum and minimum jail occupancy over the period, views of the judiciary on the effect of a new jail on their sentencing practice, an estimate of the future population of Oahu--465,000 in 1970, and suggestions for desirable facilities based on these data and on specifications of Mainland jails.

Douglas S. Yamamura, Functions and Role Conceptions of Nursing Service Personnel is another mimeographed volume issued in 1955, 148 pages long. This study was done for the Territorial Commission on Nursing Education and Nursing Service under the auspices of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. Conducted at six of Oahu's hospitals, and involving 291 nurses, it was preceded by a pilot study at Leahi Hospital.

The study is in two parts. The first analyzes the nursing functions performed at the hospitals and functionaries actually performing these functions by major areas--medical, administrative, personal services, clerical, housekeeping, educational--and the opinions of the nurses as to what class of functionary should carry out the functions. In general high agreement was found among the various classes of nurse, supervisory, general duty, and practical, as to which class should do which type of function. The opinions also correspond with the practice.

The second and in many ways more interesting part of the study dealt with job satisfaction. Using a scale developed to a point of statistical reliability and validity by Bullock on the Mainland, Yamamura attempted to measure where the more satisfied nurses found their satisfaction, whether in her appraisal of (1) the general community attitude towards nursing; (2) the attitude of her primary group (friends and family) to nursing; (3) the attitude of her work group: superiors, peers, and subordinates; (4) the hospital; and (5) the job and its functions. He found that while these all played a role, "the most highly significant general factors were the nurse's appraisal of the hospital for which she works, her appraisal of the attitude of her superiors towards her, and her attitudes towards the functions she performs."

These findings, Yamamura points out, are in line with the emphasis of Elton Mayo and his successors studying industry, namely that people at work respond to social as much as pecuniary incentives.

Yamamura makes concrete suggestions, both for improvements in hospital practice and for further research, for he regards his study as exploratory.

One of the intriguing findings, not particularly emphasized, is that Hawaii nurses measure higher in their job satisfaction than Ohio nurses studied by Bullock. This naturally leads to questions as to whether Hawaii itself is one of the aspects of job satisfaction. This in turn leads to questions as to differences between "local" and "Mainland" nurses working in Hawaii.

Many of the Mayo-inspired studies were addressed to the problem of turnover, as one of the symptoms of worker unrest and dissatisfaction. That the turnover of nurses in Hawaii is high seems to contradict the findings on the Bullock scale and would certainly suggest an important problem for further research. The financial angle does perhaps play a role for the salary scales for nurses in Hawaii are below those in many Mainland areas.

These questions which come to my mind did not come within the scope of Yamamura's very clearly defined research. The work in conception and execution is a model of workmanship.

The reviewer's book of readings, culled from the first fourteen volumes of Social Process in Hawaii came out in September of 1956 under the title, Community Forces in Hawaii. Running to 365 pages, its sixty articles are arranged in the chronological order of their appearance. An

appendix gives a complete list of Social Process articles through Volume XIX and of the authors whose articles appear in the book, in alphabetical order. An index is provided.

O. A. Bushnell, The Return of Lono (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1956), a novel by a University of Hawaii bacteriologist, is of real interest because it gives us such a vivid picture of the events which connect pre-historic Hawaii with historic Hawaii. The novel is based on contemporary accounts, such as the journal of Captain Cook, and the novelist's art is used in the portrayal of the characters and of the dramatic and tragic conflict between them. Using this conflict as well as the inevitable misunderstandings between the native Hawaiians and the Europeans, he tries to account for Captain Cook's death.

We will never be able completely to reconstruct early Hawaiian life, but here is a reconstruction that tells us plausibly about the gods, chiefs, priests, and commoners and about the way of life of ancient Hawaii.

Bradford Smith, Yankees in Paradise: the New England Impact on Hawaii (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956) fills a long-felt gap in the social history of Hawaii. It is an objective account of the influence of the New England missionaries on Hawaii. While the text itself omits footnote reference numbers, bibliographical notes for each chapter are appended at the back, and it is clear that the work is based on sound principles of scholarship. Only a few minor errors of fact have crept in, an amazing accomplishment for a man who did most of his research and writing in New England and has lived in Hawaii only during the difficult World War II period, when he was in charge of psychological warfare operations for the Office of War Information. He has written one other book of sociological interest with material on Hawaii, Americans from Japan, published in 1948.

After devoting the first four chapters to the arrival of the Congregational missionaries and the establishment of the mission in 1820, the next twenty-two chapters give essentially a year-by-year account of the activities of the missionaries, ending with 1854, when the mission had severed connection with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, which had sent them out and supported them until then. The last chapter, suggestively entitled, "Did they do good--or well?" in summary fashion brings the story down to the present.

While the book has aroused some controversy, on the part of a few persons who in letters to the editor claim he has maligned the Hawaiian character, the work is a humane and understanding account of the undermining of the Hawaiian way of life by the inevitable forces which the discovery of the Islands unleashed, and of which the missionaries were carriers, as well as the sailors and traders. Smith holds no brief for the missionaries. He describes the whole complex of ideas they stood for and sought to implant in Hawaii: the religion of Jesus Christ, the redeemer of all men; notions which strike us moderns as narrow tied by the missionaries to their religion; and such features of civilization as introduction of literacy, education, and medicine. Smith is quite blunt in the way he handles the narrow disruptive principles for which the missionaries often fought quite stubbornly. For instance, it was largely the influence of the missionaries which influenced King Kamehameha III to give up the feudal land system and substitute for it private ownership. Smith writes on page 287:

The importation of the Yankee culture had inevitably begun the destruction of the Hawaiian community. Ironically, free ownership of the land, intended to revive the dying community, had given it the death stroke.

It is dangerous to tamper with any part of a culture. Smith is thus perfectly aware of the difficulties growing out of culture contact. Then he gives his positive appreciation of the work of the missionaries:

“From the moment when the Hawaiians cast away their own tabu system, their culture was doomed, and many worse things could have happened to it than to have it come under the influence of a group who in all sincerity had the interest of the Hawaiians at heart. It is idle, perhaps, to wonder how the job might have been better done. Surely if the whalers and traders had been given a free hand, the result would have been disastrous.” (p. 287)

Kathleen Dickenson Mellen, The Gods Depart, A Saga of the Hawaiian Kingdom (New York: Hastings House, 1956). This is the third volume in a series in which Mrs. Mellen is giving the dramatic “Hawaiian side of the story” of Hawaii, beginning with the great Kamehameha. This volume deals with the second half of the reign of Kamehameha III and with the reigns of the last two Kamehamehas, the period from 1832 to 1873.

While the book is the outgrowth not only of wide reading of primary as well as secondary sources but also of direct interviews with Hawaiian informants, it is not documented in the conventional manner of historical and sociological scholars.

The author presents feelingly the conception that the foreigners, and particularly “the missionary party,” (including, as she says, non-missionaries and excluding some missionaries) undermined the warm and happy Hawaiian way of life, and worked unceasingly for the introduction of the stiff Puritan way of life for their own enrichment, and for the annexation of the Islands to America--all at the expense of the welfare of the Hawaiians.

The thesis that the ways of native people are destroyed by the impact of Western civilization is of course widely accepted. The Mellen presentation, however, is as though this process, which has occurred throughout the world during the last four centuries, could have been prevented in Hawaii. To the reviewer the amazing thing about Hawaii is rather that, in spite of the weakness of most folk societies under the impact of Western commercial and industrial civilization, the Hawaiians have not succumbed. They have never in the strict sense even been a “dependent” people. In the new Hawaiian culture which is now a-building in the Islands the Hawaiian component will be marked and certainly much stronger than the American Indian in North American culture. As a people the Hawaiians have not only survived, they are today the fastest growing in the local population. If “gods” stands for the Hawaiian ethos, it could be argued that the gods never did depart.