

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES IN WARTIME HAWAII

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Hawaii has long been noted for its ability to assimilate alien peoples and cultures, but World War II is bringing in its wake a series of new and disturbing forces which seriously threaten to overwhelm the social order of the Islands. Pearl Harbor may indeed have marked the close of an epoch in Hawaii's history as it did, in another sense, in the life of the nation. The war, within the short space of three and a half years, has probably brought to Hawaii more new people and more discordant conceptions about the islands than all the previous 160 years since Captain Cook. To observe, measure, analyze, and perhaps predict the course of this "second revolution" in Hawaii has been the purpose of the War Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii since its creation two years ago.

Rapid, if not revolutionary change as a consequence of the war is, of course, not peculiar to Hawaii; but the opportunity and the obligation to subject these new trends to scientific study are doubtless greater here than elsewhere. The more manageable size of the Territory and its insularity makes effective research possible in Hawaii while the very magnitude and complexity of the problem in most mainland communities discourages even the effort. On the other hand, the impact of new forces and strange peoples are all the more disorganizing in an island community of limited size, and scientific research into the operation of these forces becomes in Hawaii virtually a necessity. If Hawaii is to escape from the worst consequences of the war, its social strategy for the present and the future must be buttressed by as substantial a program of research as that which has protected and sustained the economic institutions of Hawaii in times of crisis, as typified by the experiment stations of the sugar and pineapple industries.

Early in 1942 steps were taken to establish at the University of Hawaii a center for investigation and analysis of the more important effects of the war upon the civilian community, and a program of study has been conducted continuously since that time. This program grew out of the demands of various civilian and military agencies, which often only the sociology department, with its long history of research into local problems of population, immigration, cultural survivals and change, and race relations, was in a position to supply. At the same time, the sociologists launched upon a more intensive study of the war-time problems of civilian morale and race relations. Beginning in the fall of 1942, two members of the staff, Mr. Lind and Mr. Hormann, were released for half-time research; and a sum of \$2000 was made available by the Board of Regents on November 15, 1942, for clerical and research assistance. In July of 1943 this program was accorded official status as the War Research Laboratory; a full-time secretary was provided, and an annual budget of \$2500 was allotted for part-time and student assistants.

The early phases of the research program were chiefly devoted to the tasks of defining the problems to be investigated and of accumulating the basic information. Any study of the human problem in Hawaii must take into account the factor of race and race relations, and quite naturally this was one of the first areas to be selected for study in the War Research Laboratory. The extensive background of research conducted during the past twenty years in the field of race relations by members of the sociology staff at the University gave an added justification to the choice of the initial topic for investigation. Moreover, the widespread concern expressed in the early months of the war lest the effective functioning of the civilian community be undermined by the outbreak of underlying racial tensions in the community gave an added urgency to the study. Thus the study of race relations was at the same time a study of civilian morale.

Methods and Procedures

The special conditions which prevail in war time made it difficult to follow ordinary procedures in the actual collection of data. Military censorship had effectively "blacked out" certain basic types of information such as the growth and movement of population, and the fear of spreading rumors cast a pall of restraint over many normal channels of information. The Japanese community, in particular, was under a cloud of suspicion which has persisted in many areas down to the present date. Specialized techniques, appropriate to the conditions, had to be evolved for securing the necessary data; and a considerable amount of time during the first two years of operation of the laboratory were devoted to methodology.

The startling events of December 7th stimulated many people to record in diaries and letters what they heard and saw and experienced; and among the most valuable sources of information regarding the early impact of the war were the informal, unsolicited accounts of what seemed to happen during those days as recorded by housewives, professional men, students, and others with a disposition to write. After the climactic tenseness of the first six months of the war, culminating in the Battle of Midway, a considerable number of observers from various walks of life were persuaded to make such records available to members of the staff. These records, numbering 124, vary greatly in their insight and objectivity, but in the aggregate provide an invaluable record of the state of mind of a significant portion of the community.

The limited funds available to the laboratory, as well as the manpower shortage in the Territory, made it impossible to secure enough research assistants to cover the field. Instead it became necessary to rely upon a very small corps of part-time assistants in Honolulu and upon the voluntary assistance of a considerable number of collaborators throughout the Territory. Some eighty former University students and others qualified by interest and position in the various professions have given freely of their time and experience in reporting significant develop-

ments in the field of race relations and civilian morale as they have come to their attention. These informal reporters are scattered over the various islands and represent the middle and upper strata of island society from plantation managers to office clerks. Other techniques, to be described later, were used for tapping the attitudes and opinions in the lower economic and social levels. The reports provided in this manner are of especial value in spotting crucial points and issues and for reflecting trends in community sentiment.

The small staff of part-time assistants and of university students in sociology have been responsible for the more systematic gathering of information on specific issues. For example, a series of interviews was conducted with some fifty clergymen in Honolulu in order to obtain their more detailed observations on the effect of the war on civilian morale. Similarly a series of individual and group interviews was held with several hundred school teachers in order to fund their experience with children in the class rooms. An equally large group of teachers on the other islands was encouraged to record their observations through special schedules. Other professions whose regular work brought them into close contact with the public, such as social workers, doctors, nurses, realtors, and lawyers, were likewise interviewed for their special experience.

Questionnaire and polling devices have been utilized effectively within certain restricted areas. The presence in Hawaii's population of sizable groups which do not speak the English language with facility, together with the war-time suspicions of unfamiliar investigators, have discouraged the wide scale use of these popular instruments of research. Questionnaire methods have been employed satisfactorily among University and high school students to tap the shifting sentiments and opinions not only among themselves, but also among the social and ethnic groups which they represent. At periodic intervals since the spring of 1943, significant samples have been obtained of public opinion on such issues as the conduct of the war, the existence of class and racial discrimination in Hawaii, martial law, and other wartime restrictions.

University students, under the direction of the Laboratory staff, have also participated in several opinion polls, the most recent of which is the city-wide Consumer Survey for the Office of Price Administration in Hawaii. Several commercial and governmental agencies in the community have requested similar studies, most of which have been regretfully declined because of our limited facilities.

Previous reports of the War Research Laboratory have emphasized the special devices evolved in the laboratory for indexing and organizing the substantial accumulation of raw materials. The index of newspaper items bearing upon Hawaii's experience in the war has been extended during the past year to cover feature articles, editorials, and letters in all four of the principal newspapers in Honolulu, in addition to all the local news items

in one of them. Similarly every sentence in each of the 8,000 pages (estimated) of the documents file of the War Research Laboratory has been indexed under one or more of the 835 categories utilized in our system of classification and analysis. The work of indexing all materials which come into the laboratory is an extremely laborious, but highly valuable part of the work of the research assistants.

Research Findings and Publications

Two years of methodical fact-gathering and analysis by the employed and volunteer staff of the War Research Laboratory have begun to yield valuable dividends during the past year. Several fields of inquiry have been explored to the point where publication of the findings is justified.

Two articles describing the work and methods of the Laboratory have been prepared and accepted for publication in standard sociological journals. Mr. Hormann's article, "A Report on the War Research Laboratory in Hawaii," appearing in the February, 1945, issue of the *American Sociological Review* gives a detailed description of the work of the Laboratory since its inception. A companion article entitled, "Testing of Sociological Theory in Hawaii," shows how the science of sociology can be developed by the type of data gathered. It has been accepted for publication in *Social Forces*. A third article in the same series, prepared by Mr. Hormann, presents a theoretical discussion of the issues underlying opinion polls and morale studies. This article will be ready for publication during the fall of 1945.

Special interest has naturally focused upon the Japanese people, who throughout the war have continued to "be on the spot" in Hawaii; and a major research project has involved the study of the shifting relations between the local Japanese and the remainder of the population. A manuscript of 250 pages by Mr. Lind, summarizing the more important findings of the Laboratory on this crucial issue, has been announced for early publication by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This volume is an outgrowth and amplification of a preliminary study of forty-two pages entitled "The Japanese in Hawaii under War Conditions" published in 1943. Considerable public interest has developed about the reasons for the differential treatment of the Japanese in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast, and an article is now in preparation on this problem. Mr. Rademaker, because of his long research experience among the Japanese of the West Coast, is particularly qualified to deal with this problem. Mr. Rademaker is also summarizing some of his observations as community analyst at the Amache War Relocation Center.

The series of preliminary research studies under the title, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing," begun in 1944, has been continued and six have already appeared. These mimeographed publications are intended chiefly to acquaint our volunteer collaborators and other interested persons with some of the concrete findings of our research. The unsolicited comments re-

ceived suggest the value of this publication both for stimulating the interest of our reporters and for disseminating some of the preliminary research findings.

It has been a long time since I have read anything more interesting than the War Research Summary, "What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing," which you sent me this week Let me congratulate you on the very timely and useful material your office is sending out. If I could be of any service (as a reporter), I should be very glad to help out.—Rural public school principal.

During the past year three issues of this publication have appeared covering the following topics:

Report No. 4. Observations of University students of several racial groups on the relations of local people to Caucasian mainlanders, to the Negroes, and to the Japanese, including the Japanese conception of themselves.

Report No. 5. A summary of the responses of 780 University and high school students to a questionnaire covering attitudes toward the draft, military government in Hawaii, labor and strikes, Hawaii's military security, and interracial dating.

Report No. 6. A summary of the reactions in a sample of 576 persons of various ancestries and economic classes to the last important air raid alarm on November 17, 1944. This report covers the characteristic group reactions to a realistic crisis situation, together with a study of the types of rumors which emerge under such circumstances.

The last two of these reports are being revised for early publication in sociological journals where they will reach a wider audience. The materials for several additional reports have been accumulated and will be issued during the course of the next few months.

Much of the material gathered for the Laboratory has high news value, quite apart from other practical and scientific uses to which it may be put. Local newspapers have sought specific reports and articles, and whenever possible the staff has complied with these requests.

Early in the war, plans were formulated by members of the Laboratory staff for the publication of a volume on Hawaiian Race Relations in Wartime. It was felt that the Territory was under obligation to offer some accurate account of what had happened to the Hawaiian "melting pot" as a result of the war, "both as an indication of the state of civilian solidarity in a part of the battle front, and as a possible clue to what might be expected in other areas similarly situated." Considerable progress was made in the preparation of parts of such a manuscript, but it soon became apparent that changes were taking place so rapidly in the island situation that, at best, such a volume would be a progress report. Each new addition to the island population, particularly of elements such as the main

land defense workers and military personnel and of Negroes from continental United States, as well as important developments on the battle fronts or significant shifts in public opinion left their imprint upon the island pattern of race relations. Postponement of the enterprise until more of the facts were in seemed the only scientifically justifiable procedure, but the plans were never abandoned. Now that the active phases of the war have come to an end, the prospects of completing this study are considerably brighter, although the task has changed greatly in character in the meantime. A journal article, summarizing some of the salient features of this study, is now in preparation; and the preparation of the larger manuscript, which may extend to more than a single volume, should constitute the major writing task of the staff during the next year.

Several shorter manuscripts which contribute to the larger plan of study of race relations in war-time Hawaii have been well begun during the past year. A statistical analysis of interracial marriages and of births of mixed racial ancestries since the war has been completed through June, 1944; and this material should provide a valuable statistical supplement to the study. A spot sample study of real estate transactions in Honolulu since the war may be put to similar use.

Future of the War Research Laboratory

With the passing of the active phases of the war, the question arises as to the future of the War Research Laboratory. Actually, of course, the war did not end on V-J Day any more than it began with Pearl Harbor. September 1, 1945, marks the beginning of a new phase of the war, presumably the last phase; and new methods and objectives should be employed in the latter phases of the research program, which should continue until such time as this community has been more nearly restored to a peace-time basis.

Considerable time will be required to complete the research projects already under way, and some new studies covering the closing aspects of the war should be initiated. It is difficult to estimate the period of transition during which additional field work will be necessary, although six months would seem to be the minimum. The analyses and interpretations of researches already undertaken or projected will probably require at least an additional eighteen months. In the meantime a peace-time program of social research to capitalize upon the research gains acquired during the war should be instituted, and the facilities of the War Research Laboratory should be merged with a permanent Social Science Institute. As suggested earlier in this report, the task of meeting successfully the serious problems of social readjustment in post-war Hawaii will demand the services of scientists as competent and as numerous as those who labor in the biological and physical disciplines in Hawaii.