ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURE CHANGE IN A SMALL GROUP

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Warren John Cardwell

1951

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURE CHANGE IN A SMALL GROUP

presented by

WARREN JOHN CARDWELL

has been accepted towards fulfillment of the requirements for

M. A. degree in

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY

Charles R Hoffer
Major professor

August 16, 1951

E—161

D-033

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND CULTURE CHANGE IN A SMALL GROUP

By

WARREN JOHN CARDWELL

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1951

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The investigator wishes to express his appreciation to Professor Charles Russell Hoffer, acting head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, under whose general supervision the thesis was executed. For his specific guidance as major professor, and constructive criticisms, the investigator expresses his appreciation to Professor Kenneth E. Tiedke. For general encouragement and assistance, appreciation is also extended to Professor John Useem. The ready assistance and willing cooperation of the Americans from Hawaii made the study possible, and to them, as friends, I am deeply indebted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Concept of Acculturation

One of the outstanding anthropologists of our time has made the observation that: "Under normal conditions every culture insures the survival of the society which bears it."[1] It logically follows that under conditions which are not normal, the culture does not necessarily insure the survival of the society. It is assumed that the society will survive only as adjustments are made, in the culture, to the abnormal conditions.

That abnormal conditions necessitate change in the culture of its bearing society, in order to facilitate survival of the society, is the basic assumption, the fundamental principle, within which the entire investigation of the problem at hand is framed.

---

[1] R. Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, p. 467.

The abnormal condition with which we shall be concerned, as it exercises affect towards change in a given (receiving) culture, is that caused by a "foreign" (donor) culture as it comes into contact with the given culture. In some cases this contact tends to point out to the society which bears the given culture certain elements of the "foreign" culture which can better satisfy biological, social, or psychological needs of the representatives of the given culture than can their own culture. Such satisfying elements of the donor culture are sometimes adopted on the basis of the utility, novelty, or prestige they yield to the receiving society. In addition, they are generally compatible with the pre-existing culture patterns[2] of the receiving culture. If they are not, they may be modified, or otherwise adapted, so that they will be compatible with the pre-existing patterns of the receiving culture.

In other cases, the "foreign" elements may not be adopted at all. However, changes in the given culture may occur. Those

---

[2] "Patterning (means) the characteristic forms taken by the institutions of a culture, forms which represent the consensus of the differing individual behavior patterns of the members of the society whose traditions are being described." M. J. Herskovits, Man and His Works, p. 632.

changes take place in terms of the character of the culture patterns of the given culture as they were prior to the contact. They sometimes alter, internally, so that they become able to satisfy the needs of the society as well as the "foreign" culture elements would be able to do. In general, the processes leading to culture change[3] tend to be gradual rather than sharp or abrupt.[4]

In either case, culture change occurs. The extent of the reaction of the given culture to the instance of culture contact may range from adoption of a "foreign" culture element, per se, into the pre-existing culture patterns of the receiving culture, to a resistance to the acceptance of "foreign" elements, accompanied by changes in the pre-existing culture patterns of the given culture. Both examples of culture change tend to satisfy the biological, social, or psychological needs of the involved receiving culture.

---

[3] Culture change is defined by Bronislaw Malinowski as "the process by which the existing order of a society, that is its social, spiritual, and material civilization, is transformed from one type into another." B. Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, p. 1.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Anthropology, p. 425.

In general, then, we shall be interested in culture contact. More specifically, we shall be concerned with continuous first hand contact, and the resulting changes that occur within the normative patterns of behavior of the involved groups. In this we have a close approximation of that which Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits define as the concept of acculturation. They define it as comprehending:

> Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.[5]

In this case people migrated from an area which is populated principally by mongoloid Orientals. The population matrix into which they immigrated is principally caucasian. In short, the people with whom we shall be concerned were members of an Oriental majority group. They became members of an Oriental minority group following their migration.

In any case, continuous first-hand contact between the Oriental minority group and the caucasian matrix occurred

---

[5] R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," The American Anthropologist, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 149.

following the migration. In addition, changes in the patterns of the Oriental minority came about.

The Problem

In any study of the processes of culture change the fundamental problem is, by definition, that of denoting changes in culture patterns of one, two, or several cultures, following an extended period of first-hand contact with one another. In this paper such a problem is of prime importance. Because of the kinds of people dealt with herein, one crucial refinement of the problem must be made.

Although the universe of the problem consists of representatives of a generalized culture, there are, within that representation, two ethnic groups which constitute the bulk of that representation. The members of these ethnic groups are intimately familiar with, and practice, many of the normative patterns of behavior which are associated with the background of the ethnic groups.

Thus, although the universe members are representatives of a generalized culture, there are significant variations within the normative patterns of behavior of the representatives which are commensurate with ethnic group identification.

It is this division within the universe which prompts the refinement of the general problem of describing culture change. The division makes it encumbent upon the field worker to describe culture change within the group on the basis of the ethnic groups contained within the group.[6] It follows, then, that the problem involved is that of describing changes in the cultural patterns of a small cultural group. Denoting the similarities and dissimilarities in the changes in the culture patterns of the two principal ethnic groups will serve as the orientation for the problem of describing these changes.

The following are specific questions which, it is hoped, empiric investigation will answer:

1. What are the culture aspects most affected by the processes of acculturation as they are operative with respect to the small group?

---

[6] Hereafter, when referring to the totality of individuals who have migrated to East Lansing, Michigan, from Hawaii, and who have subsequently engaged in participation in the Hawaiian group on the campus of Michigan State College, and who are identified both by themselves and by other members of the Hawaiian group on campus as being members of the group, the term Hawaiian group will be used. When referring to the ethnically identifying individuals, as they constitute ethnic groups within the structure of the Hawaiian group, the terms Chinese ethnic sub-group and Japanese ethnic sub-group will be used, where appropriate. Occasionally Chinese-Hawaiians and Japanese-Hawaiians will be used as synonymous with the sub-group identifications, respectively.

2. What are the differences in the kinds of culture changes accepted or resisted by the ethnic groups represented in the migration?

3. What factors stand in a causal relationship to the differences in acceptance or resistance of culture change by the ethnic groups?

Methodology

The procedure involved in the attempt to answer the queries posed above is more or less traditional, anthropologically speaking. A series of categories, or divisions, within which are grouped the multiple elements of culture, is employed as the framework within which the data will be organized. This applies both to the data pertaining to the culture from which the individuals migrated (Hawaii), and the culturally patterned behavior of these same individuals following continuous first-hand contact with a somewhat different (mainland United States) culture. The arbitrary divisions, called aspects,[7] have been developed from a similar series of aspects set forth by Herskovits.[8] The author felt that slight modifications were

---

[7] M. J. Herskovits, op. cit., p. 634.

[8] Ibid., pp. 229-457.

needed, in terms of Herskovits' categorical schema, as being more appropriate to the present problem. No attempt will be made to conduct an exhaustive examination of each microcosmic part of culture. Rather, an attempt will be made to examine significant segments of culture which are directly related to the problem at hand.

Thus, there are slight deviations in the schema presented by Herskovits, although the general order of investigation remains intact. The modified schema utilized is as follows:

Material culture

Social organization

Enculturation

Religion

Aesthetics

Language

The schema embraces, in an orderly manner, the majority of the multiple facets of culture. In addition, in the opinion of the author, it lends itself well to analysis of culture content. Field work conducted by Herskovits has demonstrated

the fruitfulness of the use of such a categorical schema in the examination of culture content.[9]

By examining the several aspects of the culture of Hawaii it is possible to attain a clear, generalized picture of the culture including ethnic variations. Such a clear portrayal is necessary. Herskovits says:

> It is not only essential that a full portrayal be given of the situation as it exists, but one that is of the greatest clarity, for on this depends the measure of success that will later be achieved by the all-important succeeding steps of analyzing the results of cultural contact.[10]

By examining the behavior of a group of representatives of the Hawaiian culture and ethnic variations therein, following continuous first-hand contact with another culture, utilizing the aspect schema, it is possible to note changes in the normative cultural patterns of behavior of the ethnic group representatives in their new environment. Thus, if in Hawaii the behavior involved in a given culture aspect (or pattern thereof) is defined

---

[9] See: M. J. Herskovits, Dahomey, An Ancient West African Kingdom (2 Vols.).

[10] Herskovits, Acculturation, p. 22.

as "A," and if, following contact with another culture, it appears to be "A" plus or minus 1, culture change has occurred.[11]

If the data relating to culture change within the culturally patterned behavior of the universe can be adjusted to this particular investigatory schema, then it can be assumed that the study is methodologically sound.

Techniques

The techniques utilized in the process of gathering data are threefold. The first involved delving into the literature so that the historical-cultural background of Hawaii could be ascertained. In addition, the literature afforded the author with much of the data concerning the culture of Hawaii, with ethnic variations, as it is today. Frequent interviews with

---

[11] This is in agreement with that which Radcliffe-Brown calls the essence of all scientific procedure (the method of all science in all instances). He says it is "the analysis of a perceived analogy, which perceived and defined in the first instance rather vaguely, is in the end given a more precise definition.

"An analogy," he goes on to state, "is always an instance of perceived similarities and differences. It is, in essence, a comparison." A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society," from notes on a discussion in a seminar at the University of Chicago, 1937, p. 20.

Hawaiian students at Michigan State College added much to the material gathered through a library search, and the two served as a check on each other.

The second technique was used to gain an insight into the development of an Hawaiian group at Michigan State College, along with the motivations involved in the migration to East Lansing, Michigan. Little information of a written nature was available due to the lack of records, letters, and other literature available to the investigator. There was, however, a multitude of pictures (snapshots) available. These furnished valuable information, in terms of ingroup associations and interaction. The bulk of the information pertaining to the section was gathered, however, through extended interviewing. This involved questioning individuals who either participated in, or have knowledge of, the development of the group under consideration.

The third technique proved to be the most fruitful of all three. A typical anthropological technique was utilized to a great extent. This was the participant-observer technique. In this, a well-rounded picture of the daily activities of the Hawaiian group members could be acquired. Participation in

sporting activities, visiting, work situation, baby sitting, parties, club meetings, and many other specific types of group and individual activities allowed the investigator to accumulate a clear conception of the way the group worked, culturally.

The Problem of Group Resistance

It was hoped that resistance would be minimal. This did not prove to be the case, however. An extended friendship with one member of the Hawaiian group at Michigan State College allowed a preliminary discussion of the situation, or "frame of mind," of the members of the group as they viewed outsiders. This informant mentioned that the members of the Hawaiian group were willing to have outsiders attend group activities—providing a member of the group "sponsored" the individual. The friend then volunteered his services in this respect. Thus, through pre-existent rapport with a member, a kind of entrance into the group was gained.

The problem of gaining the confidence of the group presented a somewhat greater obstacle. It was decided that the members should be informed as to what the investigator was attempting to accomplish, i.e., a socio-anthropological history

of the group. This was accepted in good faith by the Hawaiian group.

Still another problem presented itself with respect to gaining the confidence of the ethnic groups which constitute the Hawaiian group. Participation in activities which involved the entire Hawaiian group was acceptable. On the other hand, participation in activities which involved only one ethnic group was quite another story. The above mentioned friend (a Japanese-Hawaiian) of the investigator came to the assistance of the field worker when resistance was offered by the Japanese sub-group. This friend simply told the members of his ethnic group that such a record of the Hawaiian group might be of value in terms of fostering better relations among the people within the group, and with their relationships with people outside the confines of the group.

It was somewhat more difficult to establish a high degree of rapport with the members of the Chinese-Hawaiian ethnic sub-group. Fortunately, the Japanese-Hawaiian friend was on very good terms with an influential Chinese-Hawaiian. The field worker was able to establish relatively good rapport with this Chinese-Hawaiian through the influence of the Japanese-

Hawaiian friend. As time wore on, rapport with both ethnic sub-groups increased at an increasing rate. This remained true until the closing weeks of the field work at which time the investigator engaged in what proved to be an overbalance of interaction with the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group members. Following this, the field worker became identified with the Japanese-Hawaiian students. Rapport with the Chinese-Hawaiians suffered because of that identification.

Great care was exercised with respect to the problem of taking notes while with the group. This sort of thing (writing) was viewed with suspicion by several members of the group. As a result of this, many of the occurrences and statements which will appear within the text of the thesis were observed, or heard, during the course of interaction between the investigator and the group, or members thereof, and recorded at a later time. It is believed that all of the material thus recorded is an accurate presentation of that which actually occurred. Quotations are somewhat differently worded than their actual occurrence at the time. However, it is felt that in their present form there is no serious distortion of meaning, and that they retain the meaning and flavor of the original

context. The choice of language and grammar used in the quotations very closely approximates that which would normally be used by informants.

On the whole, as the field worker became able to behave in accordance with accepted behavior norms of the group, the ease with which information was gained increased. As a corollary of this, as the ease of information gathering, and associated bulk of information, increased, the ability to behave in accordance with the group's normative patterns of behavior also increased.

Summary of Chapter I

Following is a summary of the most essential elements of Chapter I. The reader may find it useful as a reference.

1. In general, this paper will involve an investigation of a situation in which continuous first-hand contact between peoples of varying cultural backgrounds occurs. The resulting changes in the culturally normative patterns of behavior will be of especial interest.

2. Several specific queries are to be answered on the basis of empiric evidence.

3. The changes in the patterns of behavior of the Hawaiian culture representatives, including ethnic variations, will be uncovered by means of comparing normative cultural patterns as they are manifested in Hawaii, with the normative behavior of a group of Oriental-Hawaiians following their migration to a somewhat different cultural and physical environment.

CHAPTER II

THE NATURE OF THE HAWAIIAN CULTURE

A Plurality of Peoples and Cultures

Early Western Contacts

At the time of Captain James Cook's discovery of what he called the Sandwich Islands (later called the Hawaiian Islands) in 1778, the culture and people of those islands was typically Polynesian. Western civilization was, then, first introduced by Cook and his men.[12] These few individuals could introduce but part of the elements of their own culture, for they could not, just as no individual could, be a representative of the totality of their culture. The most significant things introduced by these culture representatives from Europe were trinkets and

---

[12] "There are some reasons for supposing that a few Spanish or Dutch sailors may have landed on Hawaii at some time in the sixteenth century or about the beginning of the seventeenth century, but if such a landing took place it did not result in bringing the Islands to the knowledge of the outside world," R. S. Kuykendall and H. E. Gregory, A History of Hawaii, p. 52.

bits of iron.[13] These things, in themselves, were relatively insignificant, for their use to the Hawaiians was limited. The Polynesians lacked the technology necessary to transform the iron into many utilitarian forms. At the time of Cook's death in 1778 at the hands of some irate Hawaiians,[14] little of western culture had been introduced into the Islands.

The Inter-island Wars and Western Civilization

Shortly after Cook's visits to the Hawaiian Islands, traders engaging in a flourishing fur trade between China and the coast of North America, found the Islands to be an excellent stop-over. Many Russian, English, and French ships, in addition to those of America visited the Islands.

Ships on the way to and from China took on:

> . . . firewood and water, pork and salted fish, chickens and vegetables . . . In exchange they left firearms and ammunition, rum, cloth, tools, and furniture, and miscellaneous trinkets for the chiefs.[15]

---

[13] Ibid., p. 55.

[14] H. W. Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii, p. 9.

[15] C. Gessler, Tropic Landfall: The Port of Honolulu, p. 47.

Some of these ships and their crews stopped over in Hawaii for several months at a time.

The four kingdoms into which the Islands were divided during this period were governed by moi, or kings. The moi were engaged in wars of conquest against one-another. These kings were recipients of aid, in terms of firearms and military advice, from the foreign traders who regularly visited the Islands. As a result of the acquisition of additional (superior) firepower, the kingdoms increased the tempo of their warfare. The outcome of the inter-kingdom (Inter-Island) wars was ultimately decided upon the basis of superior quantities of western firearms, ammunition, and military advice.

One of the moi, Kamehameha I, proved to be the conqueror of the other three moi. Following his final military victory in 1796, he established a single government under his leadership.

As trade increased during that period, more of western civilization was introduced into the Hawaiian Islands. It can be safely assumed that the most significant introduction was that of firearms. In addition to these guns, iron implements, cloth, and ships' stores were introduced in increasing amounts.

The Early Missionary Activities

Kamehameha, who prided himself on being a man of broad horizons and enlightened nature, proved to be receptive to visits from foreigners. Settlement and participation in the social system of his royal domain was a privilege extended to non-Polynesians. Among those to accept his liberal permissions were followers and preachers of the Christian doctrine. Thus it was early in the nineteenth century that missionaries arrived in Hawaii. These individuals promptly set about to learn the Hawaiian language, reduce it to writing, prepare schoolbooks, translate the Bible, and print these books so that they could be used in the mission schools.[16] Among the first people to be baptized were individuals of high station.

Kamehameha did not become converted to Christianity. In fact, he rigorously attempted to maintain the native Polynesian religious system.

Shortly after the death of Kamehameha in 1819 the tabu (religious) system of Hawaii was legally terminated by his successor. It had been thought by the Polynesians in Hawaii that

---

[16] Kuykendall and Gregory op. cit., p. 106.

to v

the

oth

tab

In

Th

bl

to violate the dictates of the tabus would result in death for the violator. Open disregard for the system by traders and other foreigners led to suspicions concerning the power of the tabus. Suspicions led to agitation for overthrow of the system. In November, the king officially overthrew the tabu system. The religion of the Hawaiian Polynesians had suffered a death blow.

The Sandalwood Trade

The successful settlement and survival of missionaries in Hawaii was but one example of the liberal treatment of foreigners by Kamehameha. Another reflection of his liberal attitude was the permission granted to foreign traders to deal in sandalwood, a resource in which Hawaii abounded. American traders seized leadership in this kind of trade. Eventually they came to possess a virtual monopoly of the sandalwood traffic.

By selling sandalwood cut from their land holdings the Hawaiian leaders were furnished with a source of income which enabled them to purchase foreign goods. The great bulk of the goods purchased were American in origin or manufacture.

In so

ever

note

upo

In some cases, goods were paid for in wood already cut. However, the bulk of goods received were covered by promissory notes. In short, the leaders bought goods on credit.

Some of the goods purchased had far-reaching effects upon the organization of government in Hawaii. For example:

> In 1816 Kamehameha purchased two sailing vessels, the "Albatross," formerly commanded by Nathan Winship, and the "Forester," an English ship, whose name was changed to "Kaahumanu," in honor of the queen. These ships were paid for with sandalwood. The "Kaahumanu" was put under the command of Captain Alexander Adams, an Englishman in the royal service, and was sent the following year to China with a cargo of sandalwood for the king (emperor of China). A safe voyage was made, but the port charges and other expenses at Canton ate up most of the profits of the enterprise. From this venture Kamehameha learned of the practices of "civilized" governments in the regulation of their ports, and he immediately established a set of charges to be paid by ships visiting the port of Honolulu. Before his death Kamehameha bought two or three other foreign ships in exchange for sandalwood.[17]

One significance of the sandalwood trade lay in the changes wrought in the natives' means of gaining a livelihood in the Islands. The Polynesians spent so much of their time engaged in cutting and hauling the prized wood (to satisfy the wants of their leaders) that their regular means of making a

---

[17] Ibid., p. 112.

living was neglected. There was much suffering because of their neglect.

Another significance was the gradual diminishing of the sandalwood supply. The Hawaiian leaders continued to buy much American merchandise on credit in spite of the diminishing source of payment for goods received. In time their debts to the Americans far exceeded their ability to pay them. Thus, a real dilemma resulted. Default in payment became commonplace.

Partially as a result of these unsatisfied debts the United States government dispatched a warship, the "Peacock," under Captain Thomas ap Catesby Jones, to the Islands to protect American commerce and to discuss the sandalwood debts. The Hawaiian leaders agreed to raise the necessary money by levying special taxes upon the general public.

Apparently this was not the only task of the "Peacock's" commander, for on December 23, 1826, a treaty was negotiated between the Hawaiian government and that of the United States of America, as represented through Captain Jones. It provided for perpetual friendship and peace between the two governments, and for protection of American commerce.

Thus, the sandalwood trade had resulted in economic and political entanglements with the United States.

The Whalers

The whaling industry which flourished in the nineteenth century greatly increased the interaction between the peoples of Hawaii and the United States. The large number of ships and men engaged in this trade brought numerous articles of American culture into the Islands. In addition, many of the sailors decided to stay in the Islands, making them their permanent home. As whaling increased so did the number of caucasian settlers.

The Sugar Industry

With an increasing interest in Hawaii being shown by the United States government, new fields in the Islands for the investment of risk capital were sought by a few American entrepreneurs. In 1835 the American firm of Ladd and Company was able to obtain a fifty-year lease on a tract of land at Loloa, Kauai, for the purpose of raising sugar cane and

manufacturing sugar.[18] This marked the beginning of a successful sugar industry in Hawaii. The founding of this company did not represent the first attempt to raise sugar in the Islands. In truth, sugar is said to have been made as early as 1802 by a Chinese on the island of Lanai. This is not documented, however. Until the end of the reign of Kamehameha III, the history of the Hawaiian sugar industry was one of severe struggle for existence, with many failures and much loss of money.

Although continued development of the sugar industry was slow it was generally believed that this was destined to be the big industry of the Islands. In order to make it so, the sugar planters had three obstacles to overcome: (1) scarcity of capital; (2) shortage of labor; and (3) uncertain market.[19] A marked decrease in the native population was the causal factor in the shortage of labor. At the time of Captain Cook's arrival the population of the Islands was 300,000. It was 70,000 in 1853.

---

[18] Ibid., p. 201.

[19] Ibid., p. 206.

In January, 1852, two hundred Chinese arrived in the ship "Thetis." In August, a hundred more arrived. These were the first of the many thousands of laborers brought from abroad to supply the needs of the sugar plantations.[20] One hundred forty-eight Japanese were imported in 1868 to serve as laborers in the Hawaiian sugar fields.[21] In addition to the representatives of China and Japan, people from other Polynesian Islands and other areas of the world were imported to serve as laborers in the sugar fields.

The foreign peoples who came to Hawaii to work in the sugar cane fields did not arrive as individuals devoid of culture. On the contrary, being adults, they arrived as individuals who were fully enculturated in the cultures of their native politico-geographic areas. The implications of this fact were to be made more fully known to all racial and ethnic groups in Hawaii during the course of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

---

[20] Ibid., p. 207.

[21] Ibid., p. 224.

Annexation, New Industries and Immigration

Sugar production continued to dominate the economic organization of Hawaii until the annexation of Hawaii by the United States on August 12, 1898. Shortly thereafter, several new industries were begun in Hawaii. These developments had far-reaching effects upon the populationcomposition of the Islands.

The development of the coffee and pineapple industries made the labor situation more acute than it had been during the middle 1800's. Additional labor was imported to fill the gaps left by the general increase in production of the Islands' several exportable crops.

The Development of Surplus Labor

As the absolute number of Orientals in Hawaii increased the point of diminishing returns was reached. There arose, then, a surplus of Oriental laborers. The surplus spilled over into the unskilled areas of employment, other than plantation work. In time the great number of Orientals (which continuously increased through immigration and natural means) encroached upon the areas of skilled trade and business. These inroads into

the fields of skilled trade and business increased with such alarming rapidity that by 1905 the "Third Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii," (pp. 383-392), included the following statement:

> . . . it is not easy to give an adequate idea of the resentment and bitterness felt by the white mechanic and the white merchant who see themselves being steadily forced to the wall and even driven out of the territory, by Asiatic competition.[22]

Caucasian Fear of Orientalization

With the coming of economic competition there arose a very real fear of the Orientalization of the Hawaiian Islands. Under the major conception of the "yellow menace" were lesser conceptions of "Chinese menace," and twenty years later, the "Japanese menace." An acting governor of the Territory of Hawaii said:

> There is no narrow race prejudice in fairly facing and acknowledging the fact that the Oriental and the white can never labor side by side.[23]

Thus, the rise of economic competition between the Oriental and Occidental groups resulted in a sharpening of racial

---

[22] A. W. Lind, Hawaii's Japanese, p. 12.

[23] Ibid., p. 14.

antipathy. This antipathy was expressed, by caucasians, as a dislike of the "rising Orientalization" of the Islands. Regardless of the motivation for such attitudes on the part of the caucasian population, the attitude did arise.

In a word, it would appear that the multitude of racial stocks and ethnic groups present in Hawaii remained as distinctly identified units during the early years of the 1900's. "Americanization" of the Oriental groups was not recognized by the caucasian groups.

Acculturation and "Americanization"

It is one of the most basic assumptions of anthropological acculturation theory that when groups of people representing different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, exchange of culture items will occur. In other words, culture change will be a resulting phenomenon. Consequently, it can be assumed that the popular beliefs of the early 1900's were incorrect, to a greater or lesser degree. It is true that these Oriental peoples did not become "mid-westerners" in orientation. But then, we would not expect such a thing, for it would run contrary to the principles of acculturation. In fact, Japanese,

Chinese, Korean, Polynesian (native Hawaiian), Puerto Rican, Filippino, as well as English, Scotch, German, Russian, Irish, in addition to United States (generalized) cultures were represented through individual and group representatives. We could not expect, in the face of such diverse cultural representation, a complete "Americanization" of the residents of Hawaii.[24]

The United States, as the dominant political and economic power represented in Hawaii for almost one hundred years, has exerted a great influence upon the acculturation processes of Hawaiian residents. The media through which the major cultural influence of the United States has become felt are the control of the political, economic, educational (for the most part), and religious (to a much lesser extent) segments of the total cultural picture of Hawaii.[25]

---

[24] John Embree has recorded the present cultural conditions of Japanese settlers in Kona, Hawaii. See J. Embree, "Acculturation Among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii," Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, N. 59, 1941 (supplement to the American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, No. 4, Part 2).

Another excellent work concerning acculturation in Hawaii is E. Beaglehole's "Some Modern Hawaiians," University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 19.

[25] W. C. Smith presents a well balanced picture of the significance of these segments to the total cultural picture of Hawaii. W. C. Smith, Americans in Process.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT OF A CAMPUS HAWAIIAN GROUP

The Type of Culture Contact

Several types of culture contact (which result in the operation of the processes of acculturation) are possible.[67] In the problem at hand one of the many types is in evidence. In this case, a small number of individuals left the area of their early experiences and took up residence on a semi-permanent basis[68] in a somewhat different cultural setting. This new setting was one in which a predominance of people of white European extraction made their homes. For the most part the immigrant Oriental-Hawaiians were unacquainted with one-another prior to their migration. However, several strong friendships were in existence among the members of the Hawaiian group before they left Hawaii. Thus, it was on

---

[67] Herskovits, Acculturation, op. cit., p. 132.

[68] Supposedly for at least four years, on an individual basis.

an unorganized, individual basis, and not as a group, that this migration occurred. Why was it then, that this unorganized aggregate chose to emigrate from Hawaii to a markedly different geographic location some thousands of miles away?

Motivations for Migration

It is, of course, impossible for the field worker to establish the exact motivations involved in the migration without subjecting the universe members to a complete series of tests. These tests would have to be administered at the time of the migration to achieve satisfactory results. Because of the lapse of time since the universe migrated, such testing was not possible. Therefore, generalized verbalizations made some years after migration occurred are utilized here as evidence of actual motivations.

According to many informants, the fundamental factors involved in the motivation for the migration were those of prestige and a desire to experience upward social mobility. Among Oriental-Hawaiians educational achievement is a vehicle for upward social mobility.[69] It is believed by the Oriental

---

[69] Smith, op. cit., p. 168.

population of Hawaii that the prestige associated with attendance at a mainland United States university exceeds that of attendance at the local university.[70] What is more, the mainland university which offers a high quality of instruction in the individual's chosen field of study also offers the individual the maximum opportunity for raising his socio-economic position (and associated prestige in Hawaii.

An additional factor is involved in the selection of Michigan State College as the school at which the Oriental-Hawaiians decided to study. It is commonly believed by the Orientals in Hawaii, that the midwestern states direct a minimum amount of prejudice against Orientals. Thus, the factor of prejudice enters into the motivations for migration to Michigan State College.

An illustration of the motivations involved in the migration of one Hawaiian student may serve to clarify the operation of the above mentioned factors as they affected his choice of schools. This student wanted to study veterinary medicine. His background was one associated with work on a sugar

---

[70] Field notes.

plantation. The prestige associated with attending a world famous mainland school was highly desired by this individual. Secondly, he expected to raise his socio-economic position in Hawaii through training at a leading veterinary medicine school. Thirdly, he expected to encounter a minimum of anti-Oriental prejudice in the midwest.

The Development of Group Consciousness

Prior to the 1946-1947 school year at Michigan State College there were enrolled at that school several representatives of the Hawaiian culture.[71] These people were cultural isolates, or, at best, cultural semi-isolates.

It was not until the 1946-1947 school year that Hawaii was represented at Michigan State College at one time in greater numbers than two. At that time eleven such representatives appeared upon the campus. All of those people were mongoloids (three male and two female Chinese, and five male and one female Japanese).

---

[71] Determined from the files of the Michigan State College Alumni Records Office.

These individuals did not possess that which Linton calls "esprit de corps."[72] Rather, they exhibited group "lonesomeness." This "lonesomeness" was a result of the racial difference of the Hawaiian students and the matrix population. These people were aware of the "fact" that they were different than other mongoloids. It was soon realized that to mention that they were from Hawaii automatically ascribed to them rights and duties which differed from those ascribed to other mongoloid individuals on campus.[73] They were pleased to find that they became objects of curiosity rather than objects of extreme prejudice. They were careful not to note that they were of Japanese or Chinese extraction.

This unique social position was not of sufficient significance to overcome the barrier of race. The result of this situation was a feeling of being looked at while walking down the street. One informant said:

> I used to get so angry when people would look at me that I wanted to turn around and ask them just what they were looking at. All of the people from home felt that way.[74]

---

[72] R. Linton, The Study of Man, p. 92.

[73] Field notes.

[74] Ibid.

During the aggregate "get togethers," which occurred about once a month, talk centered around Hawaii, Hawaiians, and things Hawaiian. It was at these meetings, which generally took place at the home of a married Hawaiian student, that the group cooked Hawaiian foods, sang Hawaiian songs, and used, almost exclusively, the variations on spoken English which have previously been mentioned.[75]

All of these activities were described by informants as stemming from group "lonesomeness." One person told the investigator:

> Whenever the folks did get together they would talk about home, especially. They were very conscious of being away from home. They got together partially because they were from the same place, they were different, and they had some problems in common.[76]

It was when group "lonesomeness" became acute that the aggregate members got together for informal gatherings.

During the 1947-1948 school year there developed a genuine "esprit de corps," or group consciousness. At that time organized aggregate picnics, parties, discussion groups,

---

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

intra-mural teams, and other get-togethers materialized. The aggregate began to feel that they were a distinct aggregate, i.e., that they belonged to a unit of social organization which differed from, or was clearly delimited from, the tangent social organization. They shared a common set of values.

Formal Structuring of the Group

With the arrival of the 1948-1949 school year the size of the Hawaiian social group had reached 33. Of that total, 12 were Chinese-Hawaiians, 18 were Japanese-Hawaiians, and three were Korean-Hawaiians. One of the Japanese students, Frank, said to another Japanese-Hawaiian student, during September, 1948:

> We had better get this group organized before the Pakes take over around here.[77]

This was later clarified, by Frank, to mean that he was afraid that the increasing number of Chinese-Hawaiians would organize the Hawaiians into a club and eventually sieze leadership within it. This, it would seem, was a reflection of the common

---

[77] Ibid.

Japanese-Hawaiian conceptualization (stereotype) of the Chinese-Hawaiians. One informant said:

> The Chinese always have to organize everything. They're really sly and crafty in the way they do it, too. They always have to be in a telling position. They always try to put the Japanese in the listening position. We (the Japanese-Hawaiians) don't like it at all.[78]

Total Japanese-Hawaiian support was quickly gained by Frank in his attempt to garner control of the Hawaiian group. The Japanese majority was sufficient to carry through his program, and to elect him to the presidency of the group. Along with the position of the president, several other positions were created within the formal structure of the group. These were:

Vice president

Secretary

Treasurer

Social chairman

All of the positions were filled by Japanese-Hawaiians. The faculty advisor for the year was a Japanese-Hawaiian graduate student.

---

[78] Ibid.

Intra-Group Dissension

The Chinese-Hawaiians soon became aware of the Japanese-Hawaiians' coup, and of the far-reaching effects of the coup. Numerous suggestions presented by Chinese-Hawaiians were either ignored or voted down by the Japanese-Hawaiians. In December, 1948, Henry, a leader of the Chinese-Hawaiians, was physically accosted by Frank, a contender for Japanese-Hawaiian leadership. Frank was dissatisfied with the "attitude" of the Chinese-Hawaiians, and, more specifically, with Henry's violent reaction to the subordination of the Chinese students by the Japanese-Hawaiians. Henry's life-long acquaintance, and nominal friend, Tim, was asked to come to the assistance of Henry. He did so. Tim, a leader of the Japanese-Hawaiians, was threatened by Frank because of the assistance offered to Henry, and the rivalry for leadership which existed between Frank and Tim. The resulting phenomenon was a cleavage among the Japanese-Hawaiians. In this, Frank and several of his friends temporarily withdrew from regularized interaction with the remainder of the Japanese-Hawaiian students whose loyalties were given to Tim.

With this cleavage, the Japanese-Hawaiians, led by Tim, decreased their attendance at the meetings of the formal structure of the group. The decreased attendance allowed the Chinese-Hawaiians to elect officers from among their own ranks for the 1949-1950 school year. Following this election Frank and one Japanese-Hawaiian who remained loyal to Frank were ostracized by the Hawaiian group as a whole, but by the Japanese-Hawaiians in particular. The Japanese-Hawaiians were convinced, by Tim, that Frank was responsible for the temporary cleavage which resulted in the Chinese-Hawaiian seizure of control of the formal structure of the group.

Sub-Group Formation

Prior to the expression of dissension within the Hawaiian group formal organization there was overtly manifested little ethnic antipathy among the members of the group. An informant said of this matter:

> Nationality was never talked about, but it was there like an undercurrent at all times. It was not openly held against anyone, though. It was like one big happy family.[79]

---

[79] Ibid.

However true this may have been, the situation following the dissension was quite different. Individuals of a given ethnic extraction tended to interact, most frequently, and with the greatest regularity, with individuals of the same ethnic extraction. Parties, picnics, sporting activities, e.g., bowling, tennis, and touch football, were organized and executed within the framework of the ethnic group. It would appear, then, that by the closing months of the 1949-1950 school year the close-knit group of Hawaiians at Michigan State College had become somewhat disorganized: that the group-wide harmonious relationships of the aggregate of Hawaiian students had become organized along ethnic lines with the development of ethnic sub-groups resulting. In short, the ethnic identification of the individual became sharpened through sub-group formation.[80]

---

[80] W. L. Warner and L. Srole state that "cliques (in this case ethnic sub-groups) and associations . . . operate to increase or decrease ethnic identification." W. L. Warner and L. Srole, The Yankee City Series, Vol. III, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, p. 284.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE GROUP

Material Culture

Economic Pursuits

Many of the Hawaiian students have engaged in remunerative pursuits while enrolled in college, and between school years. These students are, for the most part, Japanese-Hawaiians. In terms of the number of students engaged in work, janitorial work in the Michigan State College buildings is the most common type of work. In general, the leader of the Japanese sub-group takes it upon himself to become acquainted with the job opportunities on campus. In turn, he informs the members of the sub-group of these positions. Following this, they are at liberty to choose between applying or not applying for the job. This same pattern of job getting has proven true with reference to another type of occupation. Many of the Japanese-Hawaiians are intensely interested in sports. The leader of the Japanese sub-group is an excellent sportsman.

He has been employed as an umpire and referee by the intramural sports department of the college for several years. As his position within the ranks of umpires and referees has improved (in terms of his friendship with the director) he has made it possible for several Japanese-Hawaiians to acquire positions similar to his.

Employment in the above two types of occupations is generally restricted to the school year. The principal type of summer vacation employment involves duties as bus boys, dishwashers, and general handymen in summer resorts. A secondary type of summer occupation is that of day laborer in a factory.

Neither of these occupations is considered to be desirable by the working members of the group. They take such jobs because nothing better, in terms of "desirability" and monetary return, is available to them.[81] The principal

---

[81] The Hawaiian job seekers are acutely aware of racial prejudice in the United States as it is operative in the job seeking process. One Japanese-Hawaiian mentioned the trouble he had in acquiring an accounting job for the summer months. He said that he was told that he would not be hired because he was a Buddha-head (the island term for Japanese-Hawaiian). When further questioned he said that most of the Japanese-Hawaiians could not get jobs of the "white collar" type. These people

motivation involved in working during the school year is that of gaining extra spending money. A secondary motivation is the desire to demonstrate the individual's industry. This simply means that the more difficulties the individual encounters in the course of gaining a college diploma, the more esteemed he is within the Japanese sub-group.

The Chinese students, on the other hand, do not approve of outside work by a Chinese-Hawaiian. They emphasize academic concentration. As a result of this disapproval few Chinese-Hawaiians engage in menial labor.

With reference to preparation for economic activity following college graduation, one outstanding thing is noteworthy. All of the students have elected to engage in studies leading to a "bread and butter" degree. This means that the fields that have been chosen prepare the students to make a living by employing their college acquired technical training. Engineering, teaching (secondary education), business administration, social service, and veterinary medicine are typical of such

---

believe that caucasians are "always given preference." A recent development has been an avoidance of attempts to acquire anything other than menial jobs for their stay on the mainland.

chosen fields of study. Examples of both Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian ethnic sub-groups are to be found in each of the above-mentioned academic fields.

Other than the "bread and butter" generalization it is difficult to generalize about the academic pursuits of the Hawaiian students.

In summary it can be said that it is the Japanese-Hawaiians who engage in part-time work and get summer jobs, both of which are menial in nature. It is the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader who informs the sub-group members of available jobs. The Chinese-Hawaiians do not condone menial labor by their sub-group members. Finally, it is a "bread and butter" degree towards which Hawaiian students work while in college.

Housing

Hawaiian students occupy housing of two basic types. The first type is the one in which unmarried males and females reside. This type may be called the dormitory type of dwelling. This general type includes the college dormitory, the furnished cooperative house room, and the room in a

privately owned house. (The latter two types are occupied by only a few individuals.)

The second type of dwelling is the one in which the few married students live with their children, if any. This will be called the apartment type dwelling. Included in this type are the college owned and operated barracks apartments, and apartments in privately owned houses.

The furnishing of both of these dwelling types is planned, in part, by the agency, or person, which owns the building. Changes and additions to the furnishings are made by the Oriental-Hawaiian residents. These changes and additions may be explained as mechanisms, or techniques used by the occupants to maintain their ties with home.

In the dormitory type dwelling, for example, such things as bulletin boards, photographs, paintings, and other art objects point out the derivation (geographic and cultural) of the residents. The bulletin board contains such things as newspaper clippings of people, places, and incidences, or happenings, of Hawaii. The Chinese-Hawaiians tend to post Chinese-Hawaiian peoples' pictures, and Chinese-Hawaiian events. The Japanese-Hawaiians do not make as much of the bulletin board

as the Chinese-Hawaiians do. The Japanese-Hawaiians post such things as appointments, dates, and future events of the school, along with a few assorted pictures of personal friends in Hawaii (usually Japanese-Hawaiians). The Chinese-Hawaiians display wall hangings made of silk. These hangings include such subjects as calligraphy, Chinese landscapes, and Chinese human figures. These things are sent to the students, on their request, by friends and relatives in Hawaii.

The privately owned and operated apartment represents a sub-type of dwelling that is occupied by Japanese-Hawaiians only. There are very few such dwellings used. No bulletin board is present. However, a desk register of events of the college is kept. Small pictures of Japanese and Hawaiian landscapes are placed upon the wall. The use of silverware is kept at a minimum, being replaced by chop sticks. Numerous books printed in Japanese are kept in such rooms by the occupants. Japanese brassware is used.[82]

The apartment type dwelling which is designed for use by married couples is generally equipped with one or two

---

[82] Such things as ash trays, small candy bowls, and small trays.

Hawaiian landscape photographs or paintings. Artificial leis are placed in the living room on a table or desk. Silk table scarves are used along with embroidered silk table cloths and bedspreads. These are usually of Oriental manufacture. Nested black lacquered bowls, lacquered and inlaid trays, chop sticks, porcelain bowls and pots, and Oriental books (printed in Chinese or Japanese) are to be found in the married couples' homes. These things are more regularly found in Japanese-Hawaiian homes than in the homes of Chinese-Hawaiians.

In general, the residence rooms of the Hawaiian students at Michigan State College are Occidental, in terms of their furnishings. There is, however, a strong Oriental and Hawaiian "flavor" in evidence. On the whole the tendency is for the dwellings of the Japanese-Hawaiians to reflect this "flavor" to a greater extent than the dwellings of the Chinese-Hawaiians. Some Japanese-Hawaiians who live in the private rooms have established a very strong Oriental "flavor" in their rooms.[83]

---

[83] It has proven difficult for the Oriental-Hawaiians to find rooms which are not college owned. The prejudices of the predominantly white matrix populations towards Orientals is a possible explanation for this difficulty. In many cases their failure to find private rooms and apartments has been explained, bitterly, by the Oriental-Hawaiians, as a result of

Again, the dwellings of the Japanese-Hawaiian married couples tend to reflect the Oriental heritage of the occupants to a greater extent than do the dwellings of the Chinese-Hawaiian married students. All ethnically identified married students' dwellings tend to be more Orientally "flavored" than do the rooms of the unmarried students.

Clothing

On the whole, Hawaiian students tend to conform to the normative patterns of collegiate dress as they are manifested at Michigan State College. Slacks, skirts, sweaters, saddle shoes, and other oxfords, "pumps," overshoes, topcoats, snow-suits, and other similar articles of current United States collegiate design and fashion are regularly worn, in accordance with the dictates of the individuals' tastes and the weather.

The outstanding Hawaiian group deviation from normative collegiate dress is the regular use of the aloha shirt. This badge of "Hawaiianess" is regularly worn by both males and

---

their mongoloid extraction. Such individuals are usually anxious to establish themselves in private rooms so that they can have familiar elements of Japanese-Hawaiian culture about them without displaying such elements to caucasians.

females. The materials used in these shirts are often imported from Japan and China, via Hawaii, and sewn into aloha shirts by the married female Oriental-Hawaiians on campus. The tendency is for Chinese-Hawaiians and Japanese-Hawaiians to wear aloha shirts with equal regularity in informal situations which do not involve the entire Hawaiian group. In situations which do involve the entire group the aloha shirt is worn by all Hawaiian Orientals on campus.

In the privacy of the residence sandals of Japanese "split toed" design are worn by Japanese-Hawaiian males. Female Japanese-Hawaiians less frequently wear such footwear. Chinese-Hawaiians do not wear shoes other than occidental shoes.

While in the confines of their homes, married women sometimes wear Oriental clothing. This is more true of Japanese-Hawaiian women than of Chinese-Hawaiian women. One Japanese-Hawaiian female said:

> I wear a kimona sometimes. Actually they're much more comfortable than a house coat.[84]

---

[84] Field notes.

In more "formal" situations, e.g., attendance at an opera, suits are apt to be worn by males. The Chinese-Hawaiians are more prone to suit wearing than are the Japanese-Hawaiian males. Japanese-Hawaiian males are more prone to wear slacks, oxfords, and aloha shirts to such events.

Children are dressed in both Occidental and Oriental clothing. When taken to visit, or shopping by the parents, the children are usually dressed in Occidental clothes. While in the home or around the geographic neighborhood the children are usually dressed in Oriental clothing. This is more true of the Japanese-Hawaiian children than of the Chinese-Hawaiian children.

By way of generalization it can be said that the clothing of the Hawaiian students is primarily western in appearance. There is, however, a strong Oriental "flavor" present, just as in the case of the room furnishing. Aloha shirts are worn by all members of the group. Oriental clothing is more regularly worn by Japanese-Hawaiians than by Chinese-Hawaiians.

Food

In the dormitories there is little choice of food to be consumed. The diet is planned by the school dieticians. The Hawaiian students in dormitories eat the food for which they pay, i.e., dormitory food. Steak, chicken, pork chops, fish, beets, carrots, peas, potatoes, salads, desserts, and drinks such as milk and coffee regularly appear on the menu of the dormitory. The same is true of the cooperative house. It is because of the food that several Japanese-Hawaiian students have chosen to move out of dormitories and into privately owned apartment houses. Many Hawaiian students have chosen not to move into cooperative houses for the same reason. One informant said:

> I was in the dormitory for about one term. I didn't like it there. Oh! the people were all right, I guess. I couldn't eat what I liked, though. It took a long time to find my room (in the private apartment house), but I finally did. Now I cook all of the rice I want to. It's hard to eat one thing all of your life, and then have it taken away from you all of a sudden. A lot of the guys come over to my place to cook rice. I'm glad to have them, because I know just how they feel about having to eat potatoes.[85]

---

[85] Field notes.

Married students have much more choice in the selection of their food. The principal limitations on this selection are distance and climatological seasons. Many foods are not available in the United States. Again, such things as fresh strawberries are limited to certain seasons. A typical menu of a Japanese-Hawaiian family at Michigan State College follows:

> Shrimp, green beans, and sliced yam dipped in batter and fried in deep fat.[86]
> Rice (prepared in a variety of ways)
> Asparagus
> Peas
> Strawberry short cake
> Coffee (native Hawaiian [Kona] grown)

Occasionally such foods as Hekka,[87] dried, smoked, and salted fish (called aku), dried squid, and noodles are served in homes of married students.

The freedom of food selection, as well as the availability of cooking facilities acts as a magnet which draws the unmarried Hawaiian students on the campus to the homes of the married students. One of the married couples could not

---

[86] This combination of foods is called Tempura.

[87] A dish containing chicken and assorted vegetables.

remember eating a single evening meal alone in three years. At each such meal at least one single Hawaiian student was present. These unmarried people are expected to bring foods sent from the Islands, occasionally. During one week the following foods were brought to the home of a Japanese-Hawaiian married couple by unmarried Japanese-Hawaiians:

Dried scallops
Dried Shrimp
Ti leaves[88]
Poi[89]
Pickled plums
A box of Chinese candies
Several boxes of Kona coffee[90]
Several cans of preserved seaweed
and bonito fish
Two cans of abaloney
One-half gallon of shoyu (soy sauce)

On the whole it may be said that Japanese-Hawaiians have gone to greater lengths to engage in eating foods to which they are accustomed than have the Chinese-Hawaiians. By the same token, this greater effort extends from the married students through the single students. The Chinese-Hawaiians

---

[88] A native Hawaiian plant leaf used in cooking.

[89] A food derived from taro root.

[90] Grown in Kona, Hawaii.

adopt the use of the foods which are presented to them in their housing units much more rapidly than do the Japanese-Hawaiians.

Social Organization

Inter-Sexual Relationships

Dating

The dating patterns of the Hawaiian students are rather sharply defined. The sharp definition is due to the limited number of dating partners available to the Oriental-Hawaiians. Four factors operate to effect these limitations. They are: (1) the prejudices of the white matrix population as these prejudices are related to dating Orientals; (2) sub-group attitudes towards the act of dating, per se; (3) ethnic identification; (4) the unbalanced condition of the sex ratio.

Caucasian prejudices as they are related to dating Orientals are keenly felt by the Oriental-Hawaiians. They firmly believe that caucasians have feelings of superiority towards Orientals, and that these "white" attitudes limit the probability of Oriental-caucasian dating.

This stricture of the kinds of dating partners available has resulted in one kind of behavior by the Chinese-Hawaiians, and another kind of behavior by Japanese-Hawaiians. The Chinese-Hawaiians engage in no dating with caucasians. In fact, interracial dating is not sanctioned by the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. On the other hand, the Japanese-Hawaiians openly condone interracial dating, and engage in such dating not infrequently.

A possible explanation for the absence of Chinese-Hawaiian male dating of caucasians is found in the general sub-group attitude towards the act of dating, per se. Chinese-Hawaiian males are expected, by the sub-group, to pay strict attention to their studies while in school. It follows that regularized dating by Chinese-Hawaiian males, while on campus, is frowned upon. In truth, such schooltime dating does occur. The Chinese-Hawaiian males regularly journey to the campuses of nearby colleges and universities whereat Chinese-Hawaiian girls (who were known to these males prior to their migration) are enrolled. These girls are usually dated on weekends, at which time interference with school work is minimal. It is possible that they select Chinese-Hawaiian girls (non-caucasians)

because of their desire to avoid conflict with the dominant caucasian group.

Japanese-Hawaiian males usually date Japanese-Hawaiian females who are enrolled at Michigan State College. However, a great deal of prestige is accorded to the Japanese-Hawaiian male who dates a caucasian female. In point, one Japanese-Hawaiian male who was enrolled at Michigan State College during the 1946-1947 school year regularly dated two caucasian girls. At the time of the field investigation, regularized, on-going legends about the Japanese-Hawaiian and his two regular Haole "dates" were in existence. The prestige derived from dating caucasian girls may be a result of a demonstration by the Japanese-Hawaiian male of an extremely close relationship with a member of the dominant caucasian group.

In the cases of both ethnic sub-groups the dating norms are established by males. The females generally tend to abide by these male established, normative patterns of behavior. Thus, Chinese-Hawaiian females tend to date no caucasions, while Japanese-Hawaiian females highly prize a Haole "date." As general as female conformity to male normative dating patterns may be, there are certain differences which approach

the condition of distinct female patterns. Chinese-Hawaiian girls regularly date Chinese who are, or are not, identified as Hawaiian residents. The Chinese-Hawaiians dated are students of colleges other than Michigan State, as a rule. Other Chinese individuals are residents of China, or other politico-geographic areas, who are enrolled at Michigan State College. The explanation for dating of people outside the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group is relatively simple. The Chinese-Hawaiian females feel a need for male companionship which can be satisfied through dating. However, dates with male Chinese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College are scarce due to a sub-group sanction against male dating. By dating people outside the Michigan State sub-group the need for companionship is satisfied, while, at the same time, the normal dating behavior of the males in the sub-group is left undisturbed.

Japanese-Hawaiian girls, although taking great pride in a Haole "date," rarely have one. The Japanese-Hawaiian males frown upon interracial dating which involves a Japanese-Hawaiian girl and a caucasian male. In keeping with this, the Japanese-Hawaiian females have established a normative dating

pattern which directs the great bulk of their dating towards Japanese-Hawaiian males.

During the course of the field work a party was sponsored by the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group. Several caucasians were invited to attend. Following introductions, a Japanese-Hawaiian female "paired off" with a caucasian male. She stayed in his company during the entire party. Upon returning to the privacy of their homes the sub-group leader and several of his close friends discussed the deviant behavior of the girl. It was decided that she should be ostracized for a week or so, or until she realized that the sub-group membership didn't approve of the way in which she behaved. Before a week had passed the deviant girl told the wife of the sub-group leader that she had merely been polite to the caucasian male. She contended that the thought of dating him had not entered her mind. Upon this "apology" the girl was reinstated to her former position within the sub-group.

A third factor, ethnic identification, is of extreme importance, in terms of defining one's dating partners in the Hawaiian group. The Chinese-Hawaiians choose to date other Chinese-Hawaiians because of their common ethnic identification,

and because they feel that others are unlike them in certain ways. One Chinese-Hawaiian informant said:

> We date each other (Chinese-Hawaiians) because we're Chinese. We think alike. We don't date the Japanese (Hawaiian) kids because we haven't got as much in common with them. They're too loud for us. We wouldn't have any fun on dates with them.[91]

Dating by Chinese-Hawaiian males usually occurs only on outstanding occasions at the college. The "J-Hop" is an example of such an occasion. This must not be taken as an indication of regularized dating by Chinese-Hawaiians.

Similarly, Japanese-Hawaiians tend to date other Japanese-Hawaiians within the Hawaiian group on these occasions. A Japanese-Hawaiian informant said:

> The Chinese (Hawaiian) kids are "sticks in the mud." When they go out on dates they just sit. We like to laugh and have a good time. I don't want anything to do with dating any of them.[92]

Actually, dating across the sub-group lines does not occur. In keeping with the ethnic identification of the individual, he is generally in fear of having information to the effect that he has engaged in dating a member of the other ethnic

---

[91] Field notes.

[92] Field notes.

group reach his family in Hawaii. This fear may be founded in the autocratic Oriental family structure of Hawaii. In some of such families there are attempts made to "arrange" courtship and marriage. These marriages generally involve individuals of the same ethnic identification. To be sure, this Oriental pattern of arranging marriages is becoming less evident in Hawaii as time goes on. It may, however, help to explain the fear of being "found out" in an inter-ethnic dating pattern.

Still another factor, i.e., an unbalanced sex ratio, exercises an effect through limiting the number of dating partners available to members of the Hawaiian group. The scarcity of Hawaiian girls acts as a reinforcing agent in the maintenance of the attitudes of the sub-groups towards dating, and is manifested in their actual dating behavior. The Chinese-Hawaiians are not readily tempted to date while on campus because of the shortage of Chinese-Hawaiian girls. Conversely, the Japanese-Hawaiian males find a rationale for dating caucasian females. Such males recognize a need for dating. Again, they are aware of a scarcity of Japanese-Hawaiian females, and of their own aversion to dating Chinese-Hawaiian

girls. Thus, they conclude, they "must" date caucasians if they are to date at all.

It must be concluded that the dating patterns of the Oriental-Hawaiian individual is dependent upon the sub-group of which he is a member. The normative dating patterns of the sub-groups dictate whether a person should date, when he should date, and with whom he should date. Ethnic identification is, then, the prime factor in determining dating patterns for the Hawaiian students.

Marriage

There were, at the time of the field investigation, only seven married couples who were identified as belonging, to a greater or lesser extent, to the Hawaiian group. It is on the basis of these seven couples that statement concerning marriage and the family have been formulated.

The marriage patterns within the group are apparently closely likened to the dating patterns. The ethnic factor seems to remain prime in terms of internal (group) marriage. Of two married Chinese-Hawaiian males on campus, both have married Chinese-Hawaiian females. Of five married Japanese-

Hawaiian males, two have married Japanese-Hawaiians, two have married mainland Japanese-Americans, and one has married a mainland caucasian. There are no cases of inter-ethnic marriages (in terms of Chinese-Japanese identifications) on campus.

Both Chinese-Hawaiian couples were married in Hawaii. All five Japanese-Hawaiian couples met and were married at Michigan State College.

The Family

Both Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian families at Michigan State College are rather rigidly organized. They are conjugal, patriarchal, and patrilineal. Although the authoritarian nature of the husband is markedly evident to the observer, there are evidences of the influential position of the wife within the family structure. Usually requests by the husband are made as direct commands. The wife usually responds to these commands by obeying them. Occasionally, however, the wife rebels, telling the husband to do such and such himself. In all cases of observed "rebellion" the wives' "negative" behavior has been related to children. For example, a

husband would issue instructions to the wife pertaining to caring for the child. The wife then would verbally, as well as actually, reject the instructions in favor of her own method of caring for the child in a particular situation. Upon receiving such a rebuff, the husband regularly seeks out a member of his sub-group, telling him of the general inadequacies and inefficiencies of women. Seemingly this is done as a catharsis for him and a social means of punishing his wife for her deviant behavior. Although the above behavior is only rarely observed, it has followed the same pattern in every case.

In general, the child, if one is present (children are highly desired), constitutes the axis of home organization. Parents do everything within their economic and social powers to obtain the best available medical care, clothing, toys, and so forth for the child. Self deprivation is carried to the extent that the parents will go without necessities of life so that their children might have luxuries. In general, the Oriental-Hawaiian families appear to be more child centered than the caucasian families of the mainland United States.

When people outside the family are present in the home the relationship between the husband and wife is extremely formal. Laughter is shared with the company, but not with one another. Physical contact of no type was observed between the husband and wife during the course of the field work.

In all, the relationships within the familial unit of organization are formal ones. The husband dominates the wife. The child(ren) within the family receive attentions of a luxurious nature, even if they necessitate hardship for the parents.

Friendship Selection

The selection of friends within the Hawaiian student group is ethnically oriented. This does not explain, however, the selection of friends within the structure of the ethnic subgroup, and the exceptions to the ethnic orientation of friendship selection.

Several factors seem to be responsible for friendship choices. Perhaps the most outstanding of these factors is that of pre-Michigan State College friendships. Although few such friendships existed, those that did were carried over to the student group at Michigan State College. These, then, serve

as a sort of framework within which the extension of friendship occurs.

The common interests most prevalent in determining friendship extensions are similar residence area in the Hawaiian Islands, interest in academic pursuit, both within the area of study and in terms of intellectual pursuit as an end in itself, sporting activity such as bowling, tennis, boxing, weight lifting, and swimming, motion picture attendance, and consumption of alcoholic beverages (the latter is responsible for a minimum number of friendship developments).

Mutual friendships with a third party have been responsible for some friendship extensions.

Each and all of these factors have resulted in cross-ethnic friendship development. In one instance, a leader of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group was a participant in a mutual friendship relationship with a leader of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. This friendship carried over to Michigan State College. This was best evidenced by an occurrence of a crisis nature. The Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader's mother became gravely ill during the course of the school year. The news disseminated throughout the entire group. The Chinese-

Hawaiian sub-group leader, without hesitation, called upon the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader and insisted that he accept a loan of five hundred dollars, without signing any agreement, without interest, and without obligation of any other sort. In another case a Chinese-Hawaiian developed a strong friendship with a Japanese-Hawaiian on the basis of a commonality of interest in weight lifting.

On the whole, the Chinese-Hawaiians do not seem to readily form strong friendships with caucasians. Rather, they maintain friendships within their own ethnic sub-group. This does not mean that caucasians are unknown as friends. It simply means that the pattern of friendship making does not regularly include caucasians.

The Japanese-Hawaiians, on the other hand, readily form strong bonds of friendship with caucasians. This is more true of Japanese-Hawaiian males than it is of the females. This may be another reflection of a negative attitude of the male Japanese-Hawaiians towards outgroup directed social interaction by Japanese-Hawaiian females. Among the males each has at least one strong friendship with a caucasian, usually a caucasian male.

In summary it may be said that friendship selection patterns are different for Chinese-Hawaiians and Japanese-Hawaiians. Chinese-Hawaiians tend to form friendships with Chinese-Hawaiians, and Japanese-Hawaiians with Japanese-Hawaiians. Both of these selection patterns are based on pre-Michigan State College acquaintanceships, commonality of interests, and through associations with mutual friends. In some cases inter-ethnic sub-group friendships have been formed on these same grounds.

The tendency to establish friendships with caucasians differs on the basis of the ethnic identification of the Hawaiian student. The tendency of the Chinese-Hawaiians not to establish caucasian friendships may be a result of a feeling of friendship self-sufficiency within the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. The Japanese-Hawaiians' proneness to establish caucasian friendships might be due to a desire to gain prestige within the sub-group through such friendships.

The Formal Structure of the Group

The Hawaii Club of Michigan State College holds meetings semi-monthly during the school year. The meetings are

conducted within a framework of parliamentary procedure. The president of the club opens meetings by calling the club to order. The recording secretary is then called upon to read the minutes of the previous meeting. Following this the president asks the people in attendance for additions, corrections, and deletions of the minutes. This completed, the president asks for comment on old business of the club. New business discussion follows old business discussion. The formal meeting is then brought to a close by the president after the suggestion has been made, seconded, and passed by the assemblage.

The officers of the club are elected during the spring term of each school year. The officers elected serve out their terms during the following school year. Officers elected are: (1) president, (2) vice-president, (3) recording secretary, (4) corresponding secretary, (5) treasurer. Informal campaigns are conducted prior to elections. During these campaigns, the leader of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group calls upon his friends for close support of his candidates. In turn, his friends consult their friends, asking them for their support of the sub-group leader's candidates. This support is always given. The president then makes his choices for officers known at the

election meeting. He introduces the choices as those of the "executive committee." The people nominated during the 1950-1951, and 1951-1952 school years, by office, ethnic extraction, and sex follow:

	1950-1951	1951-1952
President	Chinese-Hawaiian (M)	Chinese-Hawaiian (M)
Vice-president	Japanese-Hawaiian (M)	Japanese-Hawaiian (M)
Recording secretary	Chinese-national (F)	Chinese-Hawaiian (F)
Corresponding secretary	Chinese-Hawaiian (F)	Deleted
Treasurer	Japanese-Hawaiian (M)	Chinese-Hawaiian (M)

In addition to these offices the office of social chairman has been filled, during both years, by Chinese-Hawaiians.

The predominance of Chinese-Hawaiians was explained by several informants as a reflection of the general composition of the club attendance, and an attempt (successful) to control the club by the Chinese-Hawaiians.

The leader of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group annually becomes disturbed by the election of Japanese-Hawaiians to "figurehead" positions within the officership of the club. He

regularly takes such elected Japanese-Hawaiians aside for a discussion of the situation. He told the vice-presidents elected for both years:

> You're being used by (the president) and his bunch. Don't you know that you're only figureheads? They won't listen to a thing that you say. Yes, they'll treat you all right, but it will be a front. They have to have one of us (Japanese-Hawaiians) in office so that it will appear that the club is representative of the entire Hawaiian group.[93]

The reactions of the two Japanese-Hawaiian vice-presidents have been ones involving a withdrawal from regularized interaction with members of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group, other than during the club meetings and in group-wide recreational activities.

The general composition of the Hawaii Club, in terms of members in good standing (members whose dues are paid) indicates a predominance of Chinese-Hawaiians. During the 1950-1951 school year fourteen such students of Chinese-Hawaiian identification regularly attended meetings. Eleven Japanese-Hawaiian students were members in good standing. However, six of them did not regularly attend meetings. Four Japanese-Americans from the mainland United States were members in

---

[93] Field notes.

good standing. All regularly attended meetings. One Chinese national was a member in good standing, and a regularly attending officer in the club during the 1950-1951 school year.[94]

The Japanese-Americans from the mainland United States were brought into the club during the 1949-1950 school year. It was during that year that the Chinese-Hawaiians first gained control of the club.[95] The decreasing Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group attendance alarmed the leader of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. It was decided that the way to maintain the enrollment of the club, and to retain a "Japanese" element was to enlist the Japanese-Americans on campus into the club. This, it was believed, would maintain an appearance of a multiple ethnic composition of the club.[96] The enlistment campaign was expanded to include all people who wishes to join the club. In this way the Chinese national became a member.[97]

---

[94] From a list compiled by the corresponding secretary, 1950-1951 school year.

[95] See page 69, this thesis.

[96] Field notes.

[97] Ibid.

None of the Japanese-Americans have occupied offices within the club. In general, they are inconsequential, in terms of the operation of the group's formal structure.

The Chinese national girl is accepted by the Chinese-Hawaiians as a person with a status of "honorary" Hawaiian. She has never developed strong bonds of friendship with members of either sub-group.

The Japanese-Americans are not accepted as members of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group. Rather, they are allowed associations as "honorary" Hawaiians. As such they have not developed strong bonds of friendships with Japanese-Hawaiians or Chinese-Hawaiians.

Among the objectives of the formal structure of the group are:

1. to afford the students from Hawaii an opportunity to meet in friendship and to discuss things Hawaiian, Hawaii, and Hawaiians;

2. to afford a structure within which group recreational activities can be organized;

3. to afford a structure within which relationships with people not from Hawaii can be organized and directed.[98]

---

[98] From a statement by a club officer.

Informal discussions following the regular club meetings usually center about Hawaiian subjects. Gossip about occurrences in Hawaii, about friends in Hawaii, and about political action in Hawaii is commonly heard. More often, however, conversation revolves about subjects involving Hawaiian students on campus.

The majority of group-wide and Chinese-Hawaiian recreational activities are conceived of within the structure of the club. The president and the social chairman, and/or the athletic chairman, usually take it upon themselves to organize such events, in terms of arranging for a place for the event to occur, arranging for transportation for the participating members, notifying members of the time and place of the event, and arranging for entertainment for the event. These individuals then call the leader of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group, or indirectly contact him through the vice president, so that he is informed of the planned event. The Japanese-Hawaiians are then organized by their sub-group leader. He then reports to the president, directly or indirectly, of the plans he has made, in terms of his sub-group. The activity is then presented and publicized as a club activity.

Numerous social and business organizations in Lansing and East Lansing have called upon the president of the club to furnish speakers for their meetings. The president then calls upon members of the club to volunteer for such speaking. Requests are never made to people who do not attend club meetings. During the 1950-1951 school year four speakers volunteered their services. All were Chinese-Hawaiians. Three were close friends of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader. The fourth was the sub-group leader himself.

During the 1950-1951 school year the Hawaiian students were called upon to present a few songs and a dance as a contribution to the International Festival, an event in which all foreign and territorial students on campus present bits of their cultural heritage on the stage before an audience of students, faculty, and townspeople. The request was made to the formal structure of the Hawaiian student group. The matter was referred to the social chairman for organization. The social chairman called upon the entire group for participation in the event. When notified of this, the president appointed two of his close friends to assist the social chairman. All arrangements had to be approved by these two men. As a result, all

of the people who actually participated on the stage were close friends of the president.

All of the groups represented in the festival sponsored booths, following the stage presentations, in which members of the groups wore costumes of the culture which they represented. These people were to answer questions dealing with their culture. The people who appeared at the booth for purposes of volunteering to wear costumes and answer questions represented both the Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian sub-groups. The people selected to perform this duty were Chinese-Hawaiians, for the most part. Exceptions were a Japanese-Hawaiian friend of the social chairman, and a Chinese-national. The remainder of the Japanese-Hawaiians were told, by the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader, that there was insufficient room for additional people in the booth. In truth, the booth was crowded. However, Chinese-Hawaiians who came to volunteer their services were allowed in the booth by the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader. The Japanese-Hawaiians left the activity before its termination because of the club control of the activity.

Relationships between the ethnic groups became extremely strained following this occurrence. Expressions of dissatisfaction with the club in general, and its one-sided control in particular, were emitted by members of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group.

In the weeks that followed the annual Hawaii club picnic was the only event which witnessed participation by the majority of members of both sub-groups. In short, ethnic identification and antipathy had been forced to a new high as a result of the above-mentioned incident.

In all, it may be said that the objectives of the club are realized, in part. The opportunity for meeting in friendship is presented to the students. In reality, a division on the basis of ethnic identification is made more manifest by the club's parliamentary organization. This may be due to the resentment of Chinese-Hawaiian control of the club. The Japanese-Hawaiians simply do not like to be told what they can do and what they can not do by members of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. The majority of the group's activities are structured through the machinery of the club. Lastly, the club has fostered better relations with non-Hawaiians. In

the last matter great effort is expended to assure success. The prestige and fame brought to the Hawaiian group through musical and speaking programs presented to civic groups and the public in general, is highly prized by all members of the Hawaiian group.

Statuses in the Hawaiian Group

Ralph Linton has made the observation that statuses are of two kinds, i.e., ascribed and achieved.[99] Each of these is a collection of rights and duties. In the case of ascribed statuses the rights and duties are accorded individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. Achieved statuses are those acquired by individuals on the basis of their possession of special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these.[100]

It has been pointed out that a status is simply a collection of rights and duties which has been ascribed to the individual, or achieved by him. When these rights and duties

---

[99] Linton, op. cit., p. 115.

[100] Ibid.

are exercised by the individual he is playing a role. Thus, role is defined as the dynamic aspect of status.[101]

Both statuses and roles are derived from the patterns of the culture in which they are manifested. Linton has clarified the relationship of statuses and roles to patterns and individuals. He says:

> Although statuses and roles derive from social patterns and are integral parts of patterns, they have independent function with relation to the individuals who occupy particular statuses and exercise their roles. To such individuals the combined status and role represent the minimum of attitudes and behavior which he must assume if he is to participate in the overt expression of the pattern . . . They become models for organizing the attitudes and behavior of the individual so that these will be congruous with those of the other individuals participating in the expression of the pattern.[102]

Thus, a knowledge of the statuses within the Hawaiian group is prerequisite to understanding the way in which individuals conceptualize their relationships to others within the Hawaiian group. Such an understanding aids the observer to recognize the different kinds of social positions within the group, and the way in which they are reciprocally related.

---

[101] Ibid., p. 114.

[102] Ibid.

In short, a knowledge of status in the group assists the observer to know how the group of Hawaiian students at Michigan State College works.

The statuses selected for presentation in this paper are those which are, in the opinion of the author, the most significant, in terms of organizing attitudes and behavior of individuals within the Hawaiian group.

Investigaton of statuses of roles in this paper involves a combining of the two phenomena. Rights and duties and their exercise are viewed as but two facets of the same thing. They are grouped under more inclusive labels, i.e., achieved and ascribed statuses.

Ascribed Statuses

Ethnic extraction and identification. The ethnic extraction and identification of the individual is of extreme importance, in terms of according to him a collection of rights and duties. As an ethnic sub-group member he is more or less separated from members of the other ethnic sub-group. His rights within his own sub-group differ from his rights within the other sub-group. Duties within his own sub-group also differ from

those duties which he has within the other sub-group. By the same token, rights and duties ascribed to, or achieved by, the individual differ from ethnic sub-group to sub-group.

The primary unit of organization in any work situation is the ethnic sub-group. In activities involving the entire Hawaiian group the division of labor on the basis of sex is formed within the sub-group structure. To use a party as an example, purchasing of the food, and preparation of the food tends to be accomplished by Japanese-Hawaiian males and females, respectively; whereas arrangements for transportation and the furnishing of dancing (hula) girls tends to be left to the Chinese-Hawaiian males and females, respectively.

A sub-group member has the right to expect assistance, monetary, physical, social, or otherwise, from the members of his sub-group. It is the duty of the sub-group member to aid the needy individual.

Sex. Sex, as a determinant of status, is of great significance. Males are expected to perform any heavy labor association with a group activity. At group parties, for example, it is the male element of the people in attendance who gather and cut wood for the fires, who carry all of the

equipment and boxes used, and who do all of the "cleanup" duties, e.g., burn boxes, and other inflammable items. In the home it is the male who scrubs floors, paints, washes clothing, and makes any necessary repairs. Beyond these male duties, they handle the monetary facet of living. Males are expected to join together in activities which require more than one individual for its successful execution.

Females are generally given the lighter tasks to perform in any group activity. They are expected to prepare food, prepare the table for eating, and check the food bowls and platters to see that they do not become empty while the meal is progressing. In the home they are expected to cook, do the lighter housework such as dusting, keep things in place, make the beds, and care for children, in addition to receiving guests. Women do not join together in concerted action except to fulfill their duties at parties, picnics, and other group-wide activities which are mentioned above.

Men are expected to seize leadership in any group activity. In addition they are expected to strive to excel in activities which will bring prestige and fame to the group. Women, on the other hand, are expected to follow the

suggestions of the males. The males do the bulk of the planning of any event, as well as the bulk of the work involved in the execution of the event. If women refuse to abide by the decisions (suggestions) of the men they are reprimanded by the male members of the group, first, and second, by other females. An illustration may help to clarify this point.

Mary attended an Hawaiian group picnic which was an informal affair. During the course of the affair she failed to assist in the preparation of the food. When questioned about her "negative" conduct by her sub-group leader (Japanese-Hawaiian), she said that she wanted to dance a hula instead of doing her share of the cooking. The Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader consulted the oldest Chinese-Hawaiian present (the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader found it impossible to attend the event) concerning a possible opening for another hula dancer. It was decided by the Japanese-Hawaiian leader and the oldest Chinese-Hawaiian present that Mary should do a hula in lieu of cooking. Mary refused to dance following the meal. At this the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader instructed the Japanese-Hawaiian males to throw the girl in the lake. The Chinese-Hawaiians joined in the reprimand. After Mary had

removed herself from the water she was greeted by friendly laughter. She had been given her reprimand. The females in attendance then told Mary that she should have helped them prepare the food. No sustained reprimand was issued by the females.

In return for fulfilling the duties associated with sex, individuals are permitted freedom of association and participation within the structure of the group, and within the sub-group of which they are a part.

Achieved Statuses

Achieved statuses within the group are few in number. The few are, however, of extreme importance, for they indicate several positive values of the Hawaiian group, i.e., things, positions, or proficiencies towards which an individual, as a member of an ethnic sub-group, and as a member of the Hawaiian group, should strive.

The athlete. Athletic proficiency entitles the Hawaiian student to rights and duties denied other Hawaiian students. For example, it is the proficient individual who is allowed to participate in the group intra-mural sports program, and, in

turn, bring prestige and fame to the Hawaiian group. It is the extremely proficient individual who is elected to leadership on such teams. Such able people are expected to participate in the sport(s) in which they happen to be talented. If they do not lend a hand, without good reason, they lose prestige within the group. If they do participate they become objects of envy within the Hawaiian group. In essence, they become holders of high prestige positions.

A crucial distinction with reference to prestige must be made at this point. There is a difference in the kinds of prestige gained from extreme athletic proficiency on the basis of ethnic identification. Within the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group the prestige to be gained by the individual must not interfere with the individual's normal social interaction. If the individual uses his athletic proficiency as a basis for the establishment of new, out-sub-group, or out-Hawaiian group social interaction on a regularized basis, he is more or less reduced in the amount of prestige that he holds within the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. Overtly he is called a "good guy." He is so labeled because the prestige that he brings to the Hawaiian group through outgroup application of his skill is highly

prized by the ethnic sub-group and the group as a whole. Covertly, however, he seems to suffer some small diminution in personal prestige because of his "break" with his ethnic sub-group.

The Japanese-Hawaiians encourage outgroup application of athletic skill. This encouragement of outgroup social interaction (even at the expense of ingroup social interaction) fosters such outgroup athletic engagement. The individual is accorded a great deal of prestige within his sub-group and within the Hawaiian group. The prestige accorded to such an individual by his sub-group is greater than that accorded to him by the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group.

Athletes representing both ethnic groups do not engage in athletic competition with one another. By avoiding competition they avoid impairing the harmonious relationships which are necessary, among the Hawaiian group's athletes, when they engage in intra-mural sporting activities involving team efforts.

The scholar. Although high scholastic standing is sought by all members of the Hawaiian group, there are some individuals who have proven themselves to be outstanding in their academic pursuits. These people are expected to maintain a high level of academic output. Such high output, it is felt,

will tend to bring prestige to the Hawaiian group. The members of the Hawaiian group feel that the Hawaiian students should be noted for academic ability.

In order to facilitate high grades the group excuses the scholar from such duties as pre-recreational, male (or female if it is the case) preparational duties. He is not expected to engage in athletic events if it will impair his studies. He is not expected to engage in outside, part-time work. His principal duty to the Hawaiian group is to succeed, academically. In return, he is accorded much prestige within the Hawaiian group. His associations within the Hawaiian group are not threatened by his high rate of absence from Hawaiian group (social) situations.

The musician and the dancer. Hawaiian group musicians constitute the jovial element within the group. They are male members of the group. The Chinese-Hawaiian ethnic sub-group usually furnishes such individuals. Prerequisites for these statuses are an extremely extroverted personality structure, "a good sense of humour," and thorough familiarity with the music and dances commonly executed by both ethnic sub-groups. They are expected to furnish all musical entertainment to the

Hawaiian group, irrespective of the ethnic identifications involved in the "audience." In return for this service they are allowed a joking relationship with each member of the Hawaiian group. There are certain restrictions on this joking relationship, however. The Chinese-Hawaiians seem to view musicians' behavior as somewhat unorthodox. In this they see the musicians' clowning as less conservative than the behavior of the Chinese-Hawaiian males, as a whole. These individuals (the musicians) because of their humorous activities, are sometimes relegated to minor positions within the sub-group, in terms of ethnic group leadership. However, they may occupy higher prestige positions within the formal structure of the sub-group if they eventually come to have seniority within the sub-group and are no longer identified solely as "clowns" or "musicians." Nevertheless, their usefulness to the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group, as well as the prestige that they bring to that sub-group from the Hawaiian group as a whole, serve to accord to the musicians positions of high prestige within the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group and the Hawaiian group totality.

In addition to a joking relationship, musicians are allowed exemption from male work group duties.

Chinese-Hawaiian girls, from whose ranks come the dancers in the group, usually are very familiar with the proper execution of the hula. Engagement in this dance is highly recommended by the

Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. Its execution is viewed as a thing of beauty. Because of this the dancers are accorded a high prestige position.

Japanese-Hawaiians do not participate in dancing the hula as regularly as the Chinese-Hawaiian girls in Hawaiian group activities. Although it is looked upon as desirable, the Japanese-Hawaiian girls seldom dance the hula in any get-togethers other than those of the ethnic sub-group to which they belong. This may be a reflection of Chinese-Hawaiian control of the club. The arrangements for entertainment for group-wide activities are made within the structure of the club. The social chairman, in conjunction with other officers in the club, asks Chinese-Hawaiian girls to dance the hula. Thus, it is a matter of opportunity rather than one of ability which determines who dances at Hawaiian group activities.

As in the case of the Chinese-Hawaiian girls, the Japanese-Hawaiian girls who regularly dance the hula at sub-group activities and occasionally at Hawaiian group activities, are given a position of high prestige within the ethnic sub-group and within the Hawaiian group as a whole.

All hula dancers are given leave from the duties associated with women at all activities during which they are expected to dance.

Occasionally the musicians and the dancers exchange duties for one or two "numbers." This occurs at Hawaiian group activities and ethnic sub-group events. This is taken to be an extremely humorous thing. Actually, there is more involved than humor. Such status exchanges are used as a means of impressing upon the individual group and sub-group members the significance of the statuses within the group. The individual is shown that deviation from the proper statuses of the individual is met with ridicule and laughter.

The leader. Leadership within the Hawaiian group must be viewed as synonymous with ethnic sub-group leadership. The fundamental prerequisite for becoming a leader is the possession of advanced age. In this case age is not defined as the period of existence of a person from his birth to a point of time thereafter. Rather, it is defined as this and more. The individual's sociological age, in terms of the length of participation in the Hawaiian group, his psychological age, meaning his exhibition of mature or non-mature behavior in

social situations, and his academic age, referring to his class standing in the college, are necessarily included within the general definition of age. The possession of the maximum extent of all of these factors is very important in the possession of leadership within the ethnic sub-groups. A case in point is the leader of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group. He is one of the oldest individuals within the sub-group; he has the second oldest sociological age; he is regularly described, by members of his ethnic sub-group, as the most mature individual in the sub-group; he is the most advanced graduate student in the sub-group.

The leader of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group possesses these qualities in similar proportions within that ethnic sub-group.

Leadership and "followership" is graduated, downwards, from the leaders to the last of the followers on the basis of the possession of these qualities, in terms of the kind and extent of possession by the individual. Thus, the last of the followers in either sub-group would be the youngest person, chronologically, sociologically, psychologically, and academically. It is difficult to single out any of these factors as being the

most important in leadership determination. They seem to be inseparably entwined.

The duties of the leader, as they pertain to job procurement and enculturation have been discussed elsewhere.[103] Aside from these things the duties associated with leadership are few. He is expected, by his ethnic sub-group, to give council to the members of the sub-group upon request. In addition he is expected to arbitrate in intra-ethnic disputes. His dwelling is open for visitors at any time. He must organize recreational activities for his ethnic sub-group, and assist in organizing Hawaiian group activities. What is more, he must maintain communication with the other sub-group leader. The latter is necessary, for the two ethnic sub-groups work together through their leaders.

In return for the fulfillment of these duties he is accorded the greatest degree of prestige that the ethnic sub-group can offer. By the same token, although he is disliked by the other sub-group's members, he is highly respected, as a leader, by those members. Both ethnic groups accord equal prestige to their respective leaders.

---

[103] See pages 72, 126-127, this thesis.

Association with out-group members (caucasians) is a highly desirable thing for the leader of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader. This type of activity adds to the prestige accorded to him by his sub-group. The same is not true of the Chinese-Hawaiian leader. Ideally, he has a minimum to do with caucasians. No prestige value of a positive nature is placed on such interaction by the Chinese-Hawaiians—at least not verbally.

A possible answer to the difference in the "desirability" of interaction by sub-group leaders with caucasians, rests in the struggle by Japanese-Hawaiians to get as close to the dominant white group, as against the aloofness of the Chinese-Hawaiians to caucasians, coupled with the self-sufficiency which they conceptualize as existing within their own sub-group.

The Recreational Orientation

Recreation is the keynote of activities engaged in by Hawaiian students. This is equally true when observing the Hawaiian group as a whole, its ethnic group subdivisions, or their component members as individuals. By the same token, the kinds of recreational activities are homogeneous within the

Hawaiian group. The interaction involved is generally ethnically oriented.

The Hawaii club of Michigan State College fields intramural teams in baseball, football, basketball, and bowling. The Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian males "try out" for these teams. As a rule the baseball, football, and basketball teams are dominated (numerically and in terms of leadership) by Japanese-Hawaiians. The bowling team is usually totally manned by Chinese-Hawaiians. Most males join in a cheering section if they have not been selected, on the basis of their excellence in the particular sport, for positions on the team.

The annual Hawaiian group picnic, which occurs towards the end of May, is looked forward to with great anticipation by all Hawaiian students. This is the "high point" of the year's recreational activities. Sports, singing, dancing, card playing, and eating of great quantities of foods imported from Hawaii occupy prominent positions at this event. In these activities the ethnic group is the framework within which interaction most regularly occurs.

Ethnic sub-group picnics are held at least once a month during May and June. The sub-group members engage in activities identical to those which transpire at the annual group picnic.

Parties held at the homes of married students are held at irregular intervals. They usually occur at a rate of not less than once a week throughout the school year. Interspersed between parties are activities such as golf, tennis, barefoot touch football, baseball, bowling, boxing, motion picture attendance and card playing. Touring on weekends is a regular occurrence.

In all, recreation can be considered to be the most fundamental interest of the Hawaiian group, aside from the purpose for which they are at school, i.e., to enable themselves to "better" themselves. Aside from academic pursuits Hawaiian students at Michigan State College devote more time to recreation than to any other single type of activity.

An emphasis upon recreation does not distinguish this group from any other group of students on campus. The thing that makes them different is the fact that it is an ongoing group which retains a well formulated set of values and attitudes. The

internal structure, on the basis of ethnic identification, remains as a constant.

Enculturation in the Campus Hawaiian Group

One very important function of enculturative experiences within the Hawaiian group is the integration of the malihini[104] into the group. It is through exposure to enculturative experiences that he learns his statuses within the group.

The newly arrived individual is contacted during the first few days of his residence on campus by the sub-group leader of the ethnic group of which the newcomer is a part. He is first introduced to the members of the sub-group who are close friends of the sub-group leader. Secondly, he is introduced to other members of the sub-group. Thirdly, he is introduced to members of the other sub-group, but not necessarily by his prospective sub-group leader. Other sub-group members may attend to this kind of introduction. Thus, introductions to members of the Hawaiian group is the first step in the newcomer's enculturation in the Hawaiian group.

---

104. The Island term for newcomer.

The second step in the process of this enculturation differs in accordance with ethnic identifications. The Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader, following introductions, escorts the newcomer to the club meeting place. He then points out the way in which the club functions, i.e., its objectives and its activities. The membership in the club is made known along with the desirability of joining the club.

The second step in the Japanese-Hawaiian's encultura-tion involves an invitation to the home of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group leader. Several older members of the sub-group are also invited. During the ensuing gathering a meal of typical Japanese-Hawaiian design is served. Small talk of Hawaii is heard during the meal. Following the meal the newcomer is told of the club, its structure, and its member-ship. He is then informed of the undesirability of joining the organization.

The third step in the enculturation of the malihini is alike for both the Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian. In informal meetings with the sub-group leaders and other sub-group members the ingroup division on the basis of ethnic identifi-cation is pointed out. Remarks concerning the supposedly "superior"

attitudes of the Chinese-Hawaiians towards the Japanese-Hawaiians are pointed out in the Japanese-Hawaiian meetings. The Chinese-Hawaiians point out that the Japanese-Hawaiians are unconventional (i.e., from the Chinese-Hawaiian point of view). Other examples of "characteristic" behavior by the other sub-group are given in both ethnic groups' meetings.

Once these three steps in the enculturation process of newcomers has been completed, i.e., he has learned his rights and duties within the group, the newcomer is eligible for acceptance into the sub-group. His membership in the sub-group is dependent upon a dichotomous response to his "education." He verbally, at minimum, internalizes the enculturative experiences which he has received, and thereby becomes a sub-group member in good standing, or he verbally rejects his enculturative experiences and does not become a sub-group member in good standing.

In this, enculturation in the Hawaiian group becomes a means of controlling the occurrence of change within the orientations, organization, and activities of the Hawaiian group, as well as the ethnic sub-group, by insuring compliance to normative patterns of behavior. It might be well to consider examples of control of change, through enculturation, at this

time. Three illustrations of deviations will suffice to demonstrate the operation of this phenomenon.

Carl:

Carl arrived at Michigan State College in September, 1949. He was enrolled as a freshman. As a Chinese-Hawaiian, he underwent the enculturative experiences of his prospective sub-group. He apparently accepted the process, and subsequently was accepted into the sub-group as a member in good standing. Closely following his acceptance, he attempted to cause dissension within the sub-group by rejecting the suggestions of the sub-group leader, and other, older members of the sub-group.

Carl rejected these suggestions because of his mature character which had been brought about by his father's early death, and Carl's subsequent acceptance of the "father" status within his family. He felt that his more mature character entitled him to a high degree of freedom of expression within the sub-group.

The sub-group leader warned him that his "negative" behavior would not be tolerated by any part of the Hawaiian group. He was told that he would be socially ostracized if

he continued to misbehave. Carl ignored the warning. He was ostracized by the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group.

The Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group leader, along with all of the members of that sub-group, took it upon themselves to inform the Japanese-Hawaiians of Carl's intolerable behavior.

Carl was rejected by the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group when he attempted to attach his loyalties to that ethnic sub-group. Several terms transpired before Carl could convince the Japanese-Hawaiians that he had "reformed." He was accepted, as a minor prestige member, by that sub-group. In this he was allowed to attend Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group activities. His prestige position remained as that of a newly enculturated member of the Japanse-Hawaiian sub-group. He did not experience upward mobility, in terms of the relationship of his "age" to leadership.

The Chinese-Hawaiians never readmitted him into their ranks.

Keno:

Keno was a Japanese-Hawaiian. He was never completely accepted as a member of that ethnic sub-group. The incident which was responsible for his rejection occurred during the

second step of his enculturative experiences. He made fun of the use of Japanese food and speech. He maintained that continued use of those things would delay, or hinder, associations with caucasians. To Keno any kind of behavior which would impair close association with Haoles was behavior which should be abandoned.

He commenced to "drift away" from interaction with members of the sub-group. He was informed that he should behave more as the other Japanese-Hawaiians behaved. He continued to engage in deviant behavior. Keno was socially ostracized by his prospective sub-group. He was never accepted following that incident, even though he made several attempts to be accepted.

Jerry:

Jerry was never subjected to the entire enculturative process of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. One of the older members of the sub-group had known Jerry at another mainland college in which both were enrolled. At that school Jerry had refused to direct the majority of his interaction towards Chinese-Hawaiians. His refusal was based on socio-economic distance existing between himself and the Chinese-Hawaiian students with whom he came into contact. Jerry's family was

extremely wealthy. His family's wealth was used as the rationale for his deviant behavior. He felt that he should not have to associate with "run of the mill" people.

The older sub-group member transferred to Michigan State College one year before Jerry transferred. When Jerry transferred, the older sub-group member informed the Chinese-Hawaiians of Jerry's refusal to associate, primarily, with Chinese-Hawaiians. The Chinese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College decided to give Jerry a fair chance to become a participant in their sub-group. He continued his pattern of rejecting Chinese-Hawaiians. The "negative" behavior resulted in discontinuing his indoctrination into the group.

It is clear that enculturation within the group is oriented towards the successful integration of the newcomer into the structure of the Hawaiian group as a whole so that the structure of the group can be successfully maintained, per se. Deviation from group and sub-group normative behavior results in fair warning. Continued "misbehavior" results in ostracism from the group as a whole, or from the ethnic sub-group. In all, the ethnic identification of the individual, as it has been fostered during his early enculturation, is reinforced by the

enculturation which he experiences while being integrated into the Hawaiian group.

Religion

The majority of Hawaiian students are, overtly, at least, Christians. No attempt was made in the field research to establish their adherence to Christian dogma. Rather, verbalizations were accepted as the criteria for establishing religious convictions.

The Chinese students verbalize their religious positions as that of Christians. They do not, however, attend, with great regularity, church meetings. Those that do not attend are Protestants, for the most part. In fact, the majority of the Chinese-Hawaiians are Protestants. There is no adherence to organized religions other than Christianity within the ranks of the Chinese-Hawaiians.

The Japanese-Hawaiian element presents quite another picture, in terms of religious representation. The majority of the people are nominally Christians. Few of them attend church meetings, however. One married couple regularly

attends Sunday church meetings. When questioned about this apparent devout position, the wife said:

> It is true that we attend church almost every Sunday. I was brought up in a Seventh Day Adventist home. We attended church regularly. My husband was reared in a Baptist home. They were members of a (Japanese) Baptist Church. They didn't go very much, though. After we were married here, I changed to his religion and we started to go to church regularly. We like to go to church now because it gives us a chance to meet the people in East Lansing. Also it gives us a chance to have our daughter play with the Haole children in church.[105]

Three Japanese-Hawaiian students are Buddhists. They were reared in Buddhist homes. As a result of their exposure to Buddhist orientations in the home, these Japanese-Hawaiians are fully aware of Buddhism and most of its implications. None of these individuals had ever been in a Christian church prior to their migration to the mainland. Two of them have become married during their stay at Michigan State. Both of them married Christian girls (one a caucasian and one a mainland Japanese-American). Both of them were married in Christian churches. Following marriage both of the couples attended church. This attendance may be explained as a recognition of attendance at church as a way of making the marriages more

---

[105] Field notes.

like those of caucasian marriages. By making the marriages more like those of caucasians the Japanese-Hawaiian males may believe that they and their wives will be accepted into interactional patterns with caucasians more readily than they would be if they did not attend church.

The third Buddhist is an unmarried man. He has not attended a Christian church service. He has gone into the building, however. He has taken other members of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group to church in an automobile, and called for them following the services.

Religion, on the whole, is of very little importance, in terms of group and sub-group organization. The Hawaiian students do not attend services regularly, as a whole. Nominally they are Christians, however, there are representatives of the Buddhist religious system within the group. Religion is rarely talked about within the group. There is no apparent prejudice leveled by one religious group against another.

Aesthetics

The Visual Arts

One of the most popular forms of art in the group is that of photography. The Hawaiian students have become quite adept at taking pictures. They delight in showing slides to other members of the group. A sort of rivalry amongst the photographers is in evidence. The photographers sometimes get together and compare slides, techniques, and cameras.

The ownership of a camera is not a universal thing. Those members of the group who do own cameras are expected to lend them to other members of the group who do not possess such an instrument. This lending of cameras is more or less confined within the limits of the ethnic sub-group.

The homes and rooms of the students are partially decorated with pictures taken by members of the group. Subjects are things Hawaiian, Hawaiians, landscapes of Hawaii, landscapes of Michigan, of the college, and still life pictures.

On the whole it can be said that the people with the greatest interest in photography, using the ownership of cameras, use of borrowed cameras, and talk of photography as

the criteria for judgment, are the Japanese-Hawaiians. They take great pride in the fact that they, as a group, are excellent photographers.

Floral design is a matter taken quite seriously by the women in the group (especially Japanese-Hawaiians). They take great pride in the arrangements of most recent design. The patterns of design are typically Oriental. For example, the favorite number of flowers in any given design is three.

Leis, both of orchids and carnations, are regularly imported from Hawaii. These are displayed in the homes of the married students. Along with leis loose orchids and other flowers are imported for use in the above-mentioned floral designs.

Appreciation of Oriental lacquered objects, porcelain, paintings, and earthenware is evidenced in the appearance of such objects in the homes of married Hawaiian students and in the rooms of the unmarried people.

The principal interest in art is, then, centered about photography. Interest in floral design, flowers, and other objects of art is also present in sufficient scope to merit

consideration as a very real part of the aesthetic aspect of the cultural organization of the Hawaiian students.

Singing

Musical vocalizations are varied within the group, in terms of the origin and content of the songs. In general the variations occur at the ethnic sub-group and group levels of organization. Thus, examination of singing and songs will be conducted at those levels.

During meetings of the Chinese-Hawaiians (parties, picnics, and other informal meetings) the songs which are heard are principally those sung in the Hawaiian Islands. They are, however, composed of English words, for the most part. The texts tell of Hawaiian peoples, events, and of Hawaii as a thing in itself. On occasion, songs which "poke fun" at the many ethnic groups in Hawaii are heard. Songs composed of Chinese words are rarely heard. When they are, the Chinese words are at a minimum, i.e., there may be one or two Chinese words in the entire song.

Songs sung by Japanese-Hawaiians during sub-group get-togethers present quite another picture. The English word

songs native to the Islands are heard here just as they are heard at Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group get-togethers. The majority of songs heard, however, are either linguistic conglomerates or Japanese, in terms of the words utilized. Following are examples of linguistic conglomerates:[106]

Ballad

Fort Street Mauka,[107] not the Makai,[108]
Too many signs makapio[109] the eye,
You may take the car, but as for me,
A holo holo[110] on the H. R. T.[111]

Translation

Fort street towards the interior, not towards the sea,
Too many signs to confuse the eye,
You may take the car, but as for me,
I'll ride around on the H. R. T.

---

[106] Ibid.

[107] Towards the mountains. Used to denote direction towards the interior of the island.

[108] Towards the sea. Used to denote direction away from the interior of the island.

[109] Make hazy, obscure, glaze over, confuse, etc.

[110] To roam around. To walk around.

[111] Honolulu Rapid Transit.

Ballad

Janet-O-san,[112]
I loba you,
Honesto I do,
You bet'chi do.
I loba you you know,
Loba you ga su piki me.[113]

Translation

Janet honorable one,
I love you,
Honest I do,
You "bet" I do.
I love you, you know
Loving you I therefore speak to you.

The first ballad is a conglomerate of English and Polynesian. The second ballad is a conglomerate of English and Japanese. Both of these songs are regularly sung by the Japanese-Hawaiians. The Chinese-Hawaiians sing the first ballad occasionally, however not as frequently as the Japanese-Hawaiians. There is a tendency for the Japanese-Hawaiians to add verses to the first ballad. Two such verses are herewith included as illustrations:[114]

---

[112] Honorable, or honored one.

[113] Therefore I speak to you (now).

[114] Field notes.

M. S. C. the school of basic college,
M. S. C. professors and the books,
M. S. C. the school of comprehensives,
They make you whistle for your 2.5.

General MacArthur, hero of Bataan,
Got a recall from Washington,
Stood before the congress, said I'm here to stay,
Makuli[115] soldiers just fade away.

At group-wide activities, such as picnics and parties, the majority of songs heard are those English word songs dealing with Hawaii. "My Yellow Ginger Lei," "Blue Hawaii," and "I Will Remember You," are but three examples of the kinds of copyrighted songs regularly heard. In addition to this category of songs, some few of the ballads most regularly sung by Japanese-Hawaiians are heard. At every meeting of the group at which singing occurs the "Hawaiian War Chant" is sung. This and one or two other Polynesian language songs are very popular with the group as a whole.

Aside from the kinds of songs already mentioned several popular songs are interjected into a song program. These appear at the rate of about one in three. The texts of such songs are generally left unaltered. Changes in the songs are

---

[115] Makuli soldier is a soldier who serves overseas.

made, however. Usually some form of group call, or yell, is made at the end of each verse of popular songs. The yell may be of a nonsense character or it may be in keeping with the text of the song.

In all, Hawaiian students sing songs pertaining to Hawaii, Hawaiian characters, or things in their new environment. Linguistic conglomerates are most frequent, in terms of the wording of the songs. Singing and songs tend to vary between ethnic groups, with reference to the kinds of songs and their wording. When the Hawaiian group sings as a group, English worded, copyrighted songs pertaining to Hawaii, along with popular songs are more prevalent than when the ethnic groups gather by themselves, for singing.

Dancing

Dancing varies on the basis of the ethnic group, and the group, as a whole. The Chinese-Hawaiian individuals, when dancing on a date, or in any other sort of public activity involving dancing, and when dancing in the privacy of a home, engage in the face-to-face couple embraced (ballroom) style of dancing. Occasionally a hula is executed. Similarly, the

Japanese-Hawaiians, although they engage in ballroom dancing, ask the girls in the ethnic group to do hulas. Occasionally a male will be asked to do a hula. This is generally asked of the musicians in the group. Their performances are accompanied by laughter. Rarely a dance of Japan, such as the Bone Dance, which depicts, in dance form, the spreading of the ashes of a cremated individual, is performed, to the strains of the appropriate Japanese song.

When the group meets in such activities as a party the pattern of dancing in which both ethnic groups engage is followed. Hulas by the female dancers and the male musicians are executed. On occasion, if caucasian friends of Hawaiian students are present, they are called upon to do a hula. This is taken to be a thing of the most humorous nature. The awkward gyrations of the caucasians are talked about during the remainder of the get-together—accompanied by laughter.

Musical Accompaniment

Musicians are expected to furnish music for ethnic and group activities at which music is desirable. These people do so. They are not, however, the only people who lend such

service to the different units of organization. Most male students are capable of playing the Ukelele. They have the right to borrow any available "Uke" at any time they wish to do so. While the musicians are engaged in eating, or in athletic events, other members then accompany the singing and dancing of the group.

In addition to the male Ukelele players several of the girls are able to play the instrument. They do not do so at group meetings, nor at ethnic meetings, however.

The Spanish guitar is sometimes used as an accompanying instrument for singing and dancing. Its use is restricted to two individuals who know how to play it. When these individuals are not present such music is lacking. Thus, it is the Ukelele which is the true means of song and dance accompaniment.

Folklore

The folklore of Hawaii, as it is reflected in the group at Michigan State College, is minimal. Very rarely does a student refer to such Hawaiian folklore. Rather, two new types of folklore have arisen within the group. The first type is that

which refers to events and places in Hawaii. This is perhaps the most outstanding type of folklore. Tales of such events and places are to be heard, repeatedly, from any given member of the group, at any sort of occasion. Another type of folklore is that which deals with the early members of the Hawaiian student group. Tales of their exploits as individuals and as a group are well known to the entire group. Heroes and villians within the historic development of the group have arisen in this folklore. One of the most popular forms of amusement for the people of the group is to get together and relate these tales. These tales are passed on to malihinis as they are integrated into the group. They are, in truth, ongoing, living tales.

On the whole, the folklore of the group, as it is overtly expressed, centers about the place from which the group migrated, and the early members of the migration. The folklore "with which the people were raised" is rarely heard. The only time it is mentioned is when an individual is specifically asked, by an outgroup member, about the possibility of folklore pertaining to a specific event or place in Hawaii.

Language

The use of language is best examined, it is believed by the author, by following the individual as he interacts with different kinds of individuals, i.e., individuals with his own, or different cultural, or subcultural backgrounds and orientations.

The individual Chinese-Hawaiian regularly uses excellent spoken English. He does so when he interacts with caucasians and with members of his own Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group. The detection of an accent would require a complex linguistic analysis of his speech.

The individual Japanese-Hawaiian, on the other hand, regularly uses three types of spoken language in his normal speech. While interacting with caucasians he uses English the sounds of which are definitely affected by accent. The grammatical structure of his speech is excellent, however. While interacting with members of his own sub-group, and in some cases with members of the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group, he uses to a great extent, a form of English, with an interjection of Hawaiian (Polynesian) words, Japanese words, and

pidgin words, i.e., conglomerate words.[116] A conversation between a Japanese-Hawaiian, his wife, and a friend (both of whom are Japanese-Hawaiians) expresses this use of language:[117]

J.H.: (to his wife) Take the baby.
W.: All right, I take 'em.
J.H.: (to his friend) We go now?
F.: Let's go.
W.: (to baby) Come! Go nene (sleep).
Baby: Shishi (need for elimination).
W.: O.K.
J.H.: (to F.) Come. Go get ice-cream.
F.: I get 'em.
J.H.: No. I get.
F.: We decide (later).
J.H.: I get.
F.: (jokingly) Ah! you bakasan! (crazy-sir).

The entrance of caucasian strangers, or other people relatively unknown to the participants in this conversation would have resulted in a shift from the use of this type of speech to the use of the accented, grammatically excellent speech.

Occasionally the Japanese language, per se, is used by Japanese-Hawaiians. Its use is generally confined to gatherings of two or three persons of either or both sexes.

---

[116] Hereafter called deviant English.

[117] Field notes.

In meetings of the Chinese-Hawaiian and Japanese-Hawaiian sub-groups, for example in planning a recreational event, they generally utilize their "best" English. On the other hand, communication between the two sub-groups may be conducted in deviant English. Pidgin, as it is spoken in Hawaii, is not used, except on rare occasions, by the members of the Hawaiian group. When engaging in contests with people other than Hawaiians, the group as a whole, through ethnic representation, may converse in pidgin. They use this as a protective device, so that instructions may be given to individual contestants without the opposition knowing of the nature of the instructions. When such usage is employed the Hawaiian students find the confusion of the opposition to be greatly enjoyable. As the confusion of the opposition mounts the Hawaiian students increase their use of pidgin. Upon completion of the event all involved Hawaiian students lapse into their normal inter-ethnic sub-group speech. After the group of people who participated in the event break up into twosomes or threesomes, as the case may be, they execute a second lapse into their normal sub-group form of speech.

In general, in joking situations a language other than English is used. In such usage a negative connotation is not associated with words which are negative in terms of their use in the context of the language.

By the same token, most of the swearing which occurs in the group is conducted in a language other than English. Like the foreign words used in joking relationships, the profanity drawn from other languages loses its "negativeness" when used by the Hawaiian students. Its use is simply to express displeasure at an occurrence, or thing, or person. They do not internalize the correct meaning of the profane words used.

It has been seen that the Hawaiian students are capable of utilizing several kinds of speech, the employment of which depends upon the kinds of people with whom the users are in association, and the kind of situation in which the individual finds himself. The Chinese-Hawaiians are prone to use a more accent-free English in most conversations than the Japanese-Hawaiians. Again, the employment of words with a negative connotation, when used in their native language context, is done without malice. The meaning of these words, to the users, is merely that of displeasure.

CHAPTER V

CULTURE CHANGE

In this paper it has been demonstrated that a generalized Hawaiian culture has been a result of the processes of acculturation as they have been operative in the Hawaiian Islands. By the same token, it has been pointed out that the processes of acculturation have not been so complete as to eliminate variations in cultural patterns (within the generalized culture) which are commensurate to the many ethnic groups residing in Hawaii.

It was an aggregate of individuals who were representatives of the Hawaiian culture, and variations thereof, who migrated to a new environment. These people, who were highly motivated and financially able to undertake the migration, subsequently established an ongoing social group at Michigan State College. Developing within the social group of Hawaiians were sub-groups which were peopled by individuals who identified themselves as Chinese-Hawaiians and Japanese-Hawaiians.

The Nature of the Sub-Groups

The Chinese-Hawaiians

The Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group has been discovered to be a well knit, internally interacting, sub-group. The membership of this sub-group possesses a high degree of ethnic identification which is reflected in a commonality of values, attitudes, and orientations.

The Japanese-Hawaiians

The great extent of homogeneity of values, attitudes, and orientations possessed by the individuals who identify themselves as Japanese-Hawaiians marks off the totality of such individuals as a well defined sub-group.

The Occurrence of Culture Change

Occurrence of actual changes in the culturally determined patterns of behavior of the ongoing Hawaiian group must be denoted at two levels of social organization, i.e., the Hawaiian group and the ethnic sub-groups.

The Hawaiian Group

Multiple changes have occurred in the patterns of culture at the Hawaiian group level. The bulk of these changes are permanent in nature. What is more, most of such changes have occurred in the material aspect of culture. Heavier clothing, e.g., overcoats, overshoes, and snowsuits, have become commonplace in the wardrobes of the Hawaiian group members. Beyond this, Hawaiian group members, the majority of whom live in dormitory type dwellings, eat potatoes (in lieu of rice) as a staple food. To be sure this is a "forced" change. The fact remains, however, that the substitution of potatoes for rice is a very real group change.

With reference to economic organization, the use of an especially high socio-economic background as a legitimatizing agent for upward social mobility in the group is not tolerated within the group. In the Hawaiian group leadership within the sub-groups is not dependent upon a dominant socio-economic position. Rather it is dependent upon the chronological, social, psychological, and academic ages of the involved individuals. Possession of a maximum age in each of these things is a determining factor in leadership achievement. In short, age

grading of a sort has replaced socio-economic grading, in terms of ethnically based leadership.

In so far as Haoles are not represented in the Hawaiian group the status of leadership among the Hawaiian cultural representatives could not be "automatically" ascribed to a dominant caucasian group. In the struggle to fill this void, the Chinese-Hawaiians emerged as the controlling faction within the formal structure of the group. This change appears to be a permanent one.

A definite increase in the number of copyrighted, English language songs seems to be a permanent change in the singing behavior patterns of the group, when the Hawaiian group gathers for recreational purposes. A continuous change in the actual copyrighted, English language songs sung is another facet of this kind of change. In point, the Hawaiian group sings popular songs currently in vogue.

In addition to singing, the folklore of the Hawaiian group has shown positive change. Instead of lore relating to the history of the Islands, folklore pertaining to occurrences and happenings within the lifetimes of the group members, as well as that pertaining to members of the group itself, are in use.

An increasing interest in photography marks another change in the aesthetic aspect of the Hawaiian groups' behavior. The incidence of the art of picture taking is increasing.

A very noticeable change has occurred in the language spoken by the members of the Hawaiian group. Contact with caucasians, which far exceeds that in Hawaii, has resulted in a necessary usage of the "best" English at the command of the group. In relation to this linguistic change one Chinese-Hawaiian informant said:

> The longer we (the Hawaiian students) are up here (at Michigan State) the better our English becomes. We talk to mainland residents all of the time in school, so we just naturally pick up better speaking habits.[118]

A Japanese-Hawaiian who returned to Hawaii for a few weeks said, upon his return to school:

> My family and all my friends poked fun at my speech. They said I talk just like a Haole.[119]

Thus, noticeable changes in the spoken English of the Hawaiian group have occurred. From all indications this tendency towards linguistic change is a permanent trend, so far as the group as a whole is concerned.

---

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

Culture change at the social group level has been a result, for the most part, of forces impinging upon the social group from without. In a word, utilitarian adjustment is the keynote of culture change at this level. This simply means that these changes came about as a result of more or less conscious efforts on the part of the social groups' members to adjust themselves to the almost unalterable forces contained within the new environment.

The Chinese-Hawaiian Sub-Group

Individuals who identify themselves as Chinese-Hawaiians have readily adopted foods offered in the dormitory type dwellings. Potatoes offer no exception to this rule. Their acceptance of occidental clothing has been complete. No Oriental clothing is worn by the Chinese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College, other than the aloha shirt which has been retained.

With reference to inter-sexual relationships, the Chinese-Hawaiians have exhibited little cultural change. The only point of change which seems to be significant is that of dating girls who have not necessarily met with the approval of the parents of the student. The data at hand indicates that this may become

a permanently established pattern. In any case, such behavior represents a fundamental cleavage in the traditional Chinese-Hawaiian attitude towards inter-sexual relationships, even though it seems to be the only change which has occurred.

Chinese-Hawaiians (who probably handled the English language better than the Japanese-Hawaiians in Hawaii) have almost completely lost any trace of accent. The field worker was in a position to note such changes as they occurred in several Chinese-Hawaiian malihinis' speech. Within the school year the accents with which they arrived had almost dissolved themselves. Ready acceptance of a predominance of English word songs is another reflection of the rapid adoption of the use of an almost "perfect" English in most social situations.

The Japanese-Hawaiian Sub-Group

The Japanese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College have modified, or otherwised changed, certain culturally determined patterns of their ethnic group as they exist in Hawaii. The aspect of culture which has undergone the most marked and significant change within the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group, is that of social organization. In terms of dating, the Japanese-

Hawaiian males have re-oriented themselves to think in terms of caucasian girls. In Hawaii "thinking" about dating caucasian girls is socially acceptable. Actual engagement in such dating is not commonplace. Among the Japanese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College the males quite frequently date caucasian girls. Beyond simple dating, Japanese-Hawaiian male marriage to caucasian girls is positively sanctioned by the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group. No stigma whatsoever is attached to such marriage by the Japanese-Hawaiians.

With reference to friendship selection, the Japanese-Hawaiian males make conscious efforts to establish strong bonds of friendship with caucasians. In Hawaii such friendship may be desirable, butmost often not realized, in fact. Generally speaking, each Japanese-Hawaiian male at Michigan State College has at least one "good" friend who is a caucasian.

Thus, although primary associations are with members of the Japanese-Hawaiian sub-group, the sub-group normative patterns of social organization sanction interaction with caucasians to the extent of openly advocating such interaction. The system of enculturation, although mostly unchanged, has altered sufficiently to allow for this sanctioning. Although evidence is

"scanty," there appears to be a trend towards adoption of changes in the religious convictions of the Japanese-Hawaiian Buddhists. It is highly doubtful, on the basis of present evidence, that this trend is anything more than a temporary change of convenience on the part of a few individuals. In any case a generalization, per se, cannot be made.

Resistance to Culture Change

It must be assumed that all elements of the somewhat different cultural setting into which the members of the Hawaiian group have migrated will not be whole-heartedly adopted by the Oriental-Hawaiians. Some elements will be "politely ignored," while others will be genuinely, openly resisted. In this paper any conscious effort to avoid adopting elements of the donor culture will be considered as resistance to culture change.

The Hawaiian Group

On the whole resistance to culture change has been manifested in the internal social organization of the group. This means that the way in which Chinese-Hawaiians and Japanese-

Hawaiians structure their mutual relationships in Hawaii is more or less approximated within the Hawaiian group at Michigan State College. There is a conscious system of enculturative experiences utilized by both sub-groups to maintain the inter-ethnic relationships of Hawaii. Thus, enculturative experiences also approximate those of Hawaii, in that ethnic relationships are "taught" in both places.

The Chinese-Hawaiian Sub-Group

Resistance to culture change by the Chinese-Hawaiians is identical to that of the group as a whole, in terms of the cultural aspects towards which resistance is directed. For example, the Chinese-Hawaiians openly and regularly avoid interaction with caucasians. In short, they tend to maintain the social relationships which the Chinese ethnic group in Hawaii considers to be normative. The way in which the individual is taught to behave in accordance with Chinese-Hawaiian social organization is through an enculturative system which assures compliance with the dictates of the social organization. Little change has been manifested in the aspect of enculturation.

Thus, it is readily seen that, through resistance to culture change, the Chinese-Hawaiians attempt to preserve the social organization and enculturative system of Hawaii in general, and the Chinese-Hawaiian ethnic group in particular.

The Japanese-Hawaiian Sub-Group

Oriental-Hawaiians who are identified as Japanese-Hawaiians at Michigan State College offer resistance to culture change in different aspects of culture than those in which resistance is offered by the Chinese-Hawaiians. The Japanese-Hawaiians go to great lengths to preserve the patterns of daily living associated with the material aspect of culture in Hawaii. The high rate of consumption of Japanese food is an excellent example of this resistance. In some cases single (unmarried) Japanese-Hawaiian students have gone to considerable expense to obtain private rooms with kitchen privileges so that they might cook Japanese foods, and have other material elements of Japanese culture about themselves. By the same token, Japanese-Hawaiians are more prone to using Oriental articles of household furnishings than are the Chinese-Hawaiians.

In the aspect of language, the Japanese-Hawaiians, although exhibiting noticeable change in the use of English, frequently resort to the use of Japanese. In the privacy of the dwelling the language is used to a considerable extent when two or more Japanese-Hawaiians are present. In addition to this deviant English is regularly used.

In this the reader may see an attempt, by the Japanese-Hawaiians, to maintain certain aspects of the Hawaiian culture and the Japanese-Hawaiian ethnic variations thereof.

The Future of the Group

In light of the data at hand it is possible to make certain statements about change which might take place in the Hawaiian group. Graduation, along with other kinds of withdrawals from college, has resulted in the loss, to the group, of the oldest members of both sub-groups. Among the people who have subsequently become the oldest Chinese-Hawaiians are two group musicians. Both of these individuals have engaged in a great deal of recreational interaction with Japanese-Hawaiians. Among those people who have become the oldest Japanese-Hawaiians are two individuals who engage in a more than normal

amount of interaction with the Chinese-Hawaiian sub-group members. Thus, closer inter-sub-group cooperation, coupled with increased social interaction, through example set by some of the older members of the Hawaiian group, becomes a very real possibility.

It is hoped that the intra-group differences which have been pointed out in this paper have not left the reader with an incorrect impression of the nature of the Hawaiian group. The number of cross-ethnic strong friendships which exist are many. As a rule the tendency for inter-ethnic antipathy to overtly manifest itself is minimal. Usually antipathy is expressed only in situations which involve basic loyalties. It must be remembered that the students from Hawaii think of themselves as a well organized group totality with well defined social dimensions. This may be viewed as one level of social organization. The ethnic sub-group is simply another level of organization. The sub-group members are very much interested in maintaining the dignity of the ethnic group. The members of the sub-groups, the totality of whom consider themselves as belonging to the larger Hawaiian group, consider it as being encumbent upon themselves to maintain the Hawaiian tradition

of inter-racial and inter-ethnic tolerance. The inter-ethnic antipathies which seem to exist are more latent than manifest. They are not apparent to the casual observer. The Hawaiian students feel that verbal expressions of antipathy must be kept at a minimum so that the above-mentioned Hawaiian tradition may be maintained.

There is every indication that the ascension of more inter-ethnically oriented individuals to positions of sub-group leadership will tend to increase the reality of the traditional Hawaiian overt harmonious relationships which exist.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This paper has, it is hoped, empirically demonstrated that each of the culture aspects of the Hawaiian student group has undergone change. The culture change which has occurred has not, however, been of equal extent in each of the aspects. The difference of extent of change in the culturally defined patterns of behavior is manifested within the structure of the Hawaiian group as a whole, and within the structures of the two ethnic sub-groups with which we have been concerned. The aspects of culturally defined behavior which have undergone the greatest extent of change at the Hawaiian group level are those of material culture and language. Those which have undergone the smallest extent of change are social organization and enculturation. Change in the social organization and enculturation aspects of culture have been openly resisted.

With reference to the ethnic sub-groups we have seen that a difference exists in the kind and extent of change accepted

and/or resisted.[120] This has been empirically demonstrated. The Chinese-Hawaiians, for example, have readily accepted change in the material and language aspects of culture, while resisting change in the aspects of social organization and enculturation. In this they closely approximate the acceptance of, and resistance to changes in the culturally defined behavior of the Hawaiian group as a whole.

The Japanese-Hawaiians, on the other hand, have most readily accepted change in their culturally defined behavior which falls in the aspect of social organization. The Japanese-Hawaiians have consciously resisted change in the material aspects of culture and language. In this they run counter to the acceptance of, and/or resistance to the organization of the culturally defined behavior of the Hawaiian group in general, and the Chinese Hawaiians in particular.

In addition to discovering that a difference in the kind and extent of changes of culturally defined behavior exists withing the Hawaiian group, and ethnic sub-groups thereof, we have found that it is a commonality of values, attitudes, and orientations

---

[120] See Appendix B.

which mark off the delimitations of ethnic group membership, and serve to intensify the individual's self identity with the ethnic group. Thus, it is a group of individuals, all of whom identify as members of a specifically defined ethnic sub-group who, as a body, participate in the maintenance of the continuity of their culturally defined behavior. In some cases the culturally defined behavior of the ethnically identifying individuals is oriented towards change in their behavior as it was defined while they were in Hawaii. In other cases such culturally defined behavior is oriented towards the preservation of behavior as it is defined for the individual in Hawaii.

In any case, we can logically deduce that sub-group difference in the acceptance of, or resistance to changes in culturally defined behavior, is commensurate with ethnic group identification. It follows then, that as the ethnic group identification changes, so does the reaction to continuous first-hand contact with a specific culture. Acceptance of, and/or resistance to, change in the aspects of culture by the ethnic groups from Hawaii, following continuous first-hand contact with the specific culture, is then a function of the ethnic group identification involved. Although not particularly fruitful, scientifically

speaking, this kind of functional relationship can be reduced to a simple mathematical equation. Such an equation reads:

$$AR:C = fEGI$$

AR = Acceptance of, and/or resistance to, culture change.
C = A specific culture.
EGI = Ethnic group identification.

The demonstration of the functional relationship of ethnic identification to the phenomenon of culture change leads to a more or less natural query, i.e., what are some of the implications of such a demonstration?

Today numerous anthropologists are engaged in an effort to effect working adjustments between peoples of different cultural backgrounds so that harmonious, equitable relationships might be established between such groups. For the most part, these "applied anthropologists" (anthropologists interested in action programs) might well utilize the kinds of methods and materials embraced in this paper to aid in the prediction of the nature of the reactions of the representatives of specific cultures as they come into contact with one another. For example, assuming that the methods utilized in this investigation are appropriate, they could be aptly applied in helping to

resolve the problems of colonial administration which have become so acute in Africa, Oceania, and Asia.

Again, and getting a little closer to home, the kinds of information presented here might be useful in solving problems associated with the acceptance of the Territory of Hawaii as a state in the federal system of the United States.

Further, the findings of this study might be used, profitably, by administrators of colleges and universities in the United States as they undertake to assist in the integration of groups of foreign students, as well as United States Territorial students who identify themselves as members of specific ethnic groups, into the larger American scene as it is represented on the college campus.

In any case, an insight into the implications of ethnic identifications, as they exercise affect upon reactions to continuous first-hand contact between different cultural groups, should prove to be useful. Ethnic identification is not the factor in determining such reactions. Rather, it is a factor, and, it appears, an extremely significant one.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Glossary of Hawaiian Terms Used

Aku:	Dried (preserved) fish.
Aloha shirt:	Brightly printed cotton, silk, or nylon short sleeved shirts.
Bakasan:	Crazy-sir.
Buddha-head:	The Island term for Japanese (person).
Furo:	A large wooden or cement tank (bathtub) heated from beneath.
Ga su piki me:	I speak (to you).
Haole:	The Island term applied to white persons, especially those of superior economic position.
Ham ha:	A Chinese food.
Hekka:	A dish containing chicken and assorted vegetables.
Holo holo:	Walk around.
Hula:	A Polynesian dance expressing ideas and emotions.
Kamaainas:	The Island term for Haoles of long standing Island residence.
Kim Chee:	A Korean food.
Lei:	A garland of flowers.
Luau:	A type of Polynesian feast.

Makai: Towards the sea. Used to denote direction away from the interior of the island.

Makapio: To make hazy, obscure, glaze over, confuse, etc.

Malihini: A newcomer.

Mauka: Towards the mountains. Used to denote direction towards the interior of the island.

Moi: An Hawaiian king.

Makuli: Over seas.

Pake: The Island term for Chinese (person).

Poi: A paste food derived from taro root.

San: Sir, honorable one, honored one.

Shoyu: A soy sauce used as a seasoning.

Tatami: Rice straw mats of regularized width.

Tempura: Shrimp, green beans, and sliced yam dipped in batter and fried in deep fat.

Ti leaves: A native Hawaiian plant leaf used in cooking.

Tiger balm: A "cure all" medicated salve.

Yobo: The Island term for Korean (person).

Appendix B

A Table of the Acceptance of, and Resistance to, Culture Change Among Hawaiian-Americans at Michigan State College

Aspect	Level of Organization		
	Chinese-Hawaiians	Japanese-Hawaiians	Group Totality
Material culture	+	-	+
Social organization	-	+	-
Enculturation	-	-	-
Religion	0	0	0
Aesthetics	x	x	x
Language	+	-	+

+ Openly accepted by the ethnic group (or a tendency of the group totality).

0 Change occurs at the option of the individual.

x Available data indicates a definite tendency towards acceptance of change by the group involved.

- Openly resisted by ethnic group, or the group totality.

LITERATURE CITED

Adams, R., Interracial Marriage in Hawaii (New York, 1937).

Beaglehole, E., "Some Modern Hawaiians," in University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 19 (Honolulu).

Bradley, H. W., The American Frontier in Hawaii (Stanford University, California, 1942).

Coulter, J. W., and C. K. Chun, "Chinese Rice Farmers in Hawaii," in the University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 16 (Honolulu, 1937).

Embree, J. F., "Acculturation Among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii," in the Memoirs, of the American Anthropological Association, No. 59 (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1941). Supplement to The American Anthropologist, Vol. 43, No. 4, Part 2.

Gessler, C., Tropic Landfall: The Port of Honolulu (Garden City, New York, 1942).

Herskovits, M. J., Dahomey, An Ancient West African Kingdom (New York, 1942).

Herskovits, M. J., Acculturation (New York, 1938).

Herskovits, M. J., Man and His Works (New York, 1949).

The Honolulu Advertiser, Sunday, May 6, 1951.

Kuykendall, R. S., and H. E. Gregory, A History of Hawaii (New York, 1927).

Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology (New York, 1948).

Lind, A. W., Hawaii's Japanese (Princeton, New Jersey, 1946).

Linton, R., The Study of Man (New York, 1936).

Linton, R., Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (New York, 1940).

Malinowski, B., The Dynamics of Culture Change (New Haven, Connecticut, 1945).

Miller, G., "A Study of the Dietary and Value of Living of 44 Japanese Families in Hawaii," University of Hawaii Research Publications, No. 18 (Honolulu, 1937).

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., "The Nature of a Theoretical Natural Science of Society," from notes on a discussion in a seminar at the University of Chicago, 1937 (Chicago, 1938).

Redfield, R., R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," in The American Anthropologist, Vol. XXXVIII (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1936).

Smith, W. C., Americans in Process (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1937).

Stonequist, E. V., The Marginal Man (New York, 1937).

Warner, W. L., and L. Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (Vol. III, Yankee City Series), (New Haven, Connecticut, 1945).

Page 31-60 out 5/64