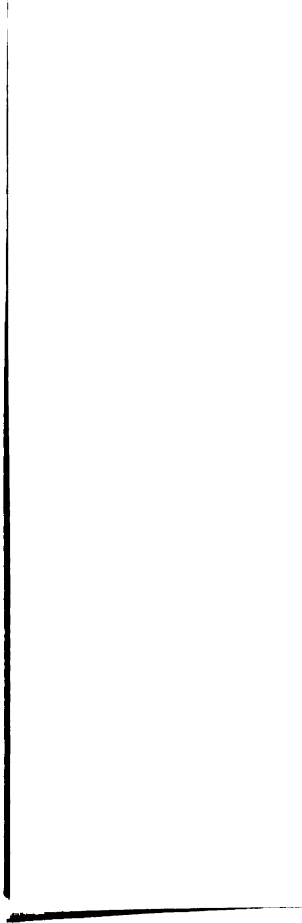


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ABSTRACT

THE HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM: A STUDY IN IDEOLOGICAL TRANSPLANTATION

by Allan August Spitz

Sweeping social and economic upheavals transformed Hawaii during the nineteenth century. The first of these upheavals was the replacement of the ancient Hawaiian religion by Christianity, and by economic changes through which a subsistence economy was supplanted by a plantation economy. The quasi-feudal system of land tenure characteristic of old Hawaii was gradually replaced by a system of private land ownership. A major change occurring in Hawaii as a product of the plantation system was that the Islands' population was steadily replaced by large groups of immigrants who soon dwarfed in size the declining population of native Hawaiians.

Partly as a result of the decline of the native population, a combination of forces supported a bill aimed at the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was enacted by the United States Congress in 1921, and has, since that time, constituted an important element in the social and political structure of Hawaii. Under that Act nearly 200,000 acres of Hawaii's public lands were set aside for a homesteading experiment designed to

assist that portion of the Hawaiian people which was believed to be most in need of rehabilitation.

This dissertation begins with a historical examination of the factors responsible for the decline of the Hawaiians and includes a general discussion of nineteenth century attempts to check the decline through the transplantation of homesteading.

The implementation of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act is examined from two vantage points: (1) the utilization of the lands provided by the Congress for the rehabilitation of the Hawaiians; and (2) the socio-economic condition of the homesteaders. The examination of the socio-economic condition is based partly on a sample survey of 10 per cent of the homesteader lessees.

The concluding section of the dissertation is an attempt to relate this experience to the specific problems encountered in transplanting American democratic institutions and ideology to Hawaii and a more general consideration of the problems related to transplantation of American democracy to any new environment.

It is clear from the findings of this dissertation that the number of people living on homesteads has never represented more than a small percentage of the Hawaiian community, and that it has never provided help for many of the needy Hawaiians.

Nor has the program aided the number of eligible and

interested Hawaiians to the degree envisaged by the program's founders. The results have been disappointing regarding the resettlement of homesteaders on farms and the general manner in which the lands have been utilized.

In evaluating the Hawaiian Homes program, the most damaging inferences which can be drawn from the socio-economic data are that there is not clear evidence of progress in such critical areas as the educational and occupational development. That is to say, the present homesteaders have not advanced appreciably beyond the levels attained by their parents with respect to education and occupation. The homesteading program, as it now operates, may actually constitute a barrier to the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people.

Both the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and its subsequent failure represented major victories for Hawaii's political and economic elite. The passage of the Act was important, for it satisfied the traditional American pressures for a homestead law and the specific demands of the Hawaiian community for help. A successful program would have represented a major threat to the sugar elite, for it would have encompassed both a demand for the use of sugar lands legally belonging to the Hawaiian Homes program, but under lease to the sugar plantations, and to an increased demand for a homestead program devoid of the ethnic restrictions built into the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

**THE HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM:
A STUDY IN IDEOLOGICAL TRANSPLANTATION**

by

Allan August Spitz

A THESIS

**Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Political Science

1964

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
INTRODUCTION.	1
Chapter	
1. CAUSES OF AND RESPONSES TO THE DECLINE OF THE HAWAIIANS	9
Introduction	9
Land Tenure and Sugar--Factors in the Decline of the Hawaiians	14
The Continued Decline of the Hawaiians--the Twentieth Century	29
The Transplantation of Homesteading-- Attempts to Check the Decline of the Hawaiians	40
Summary	45
2. ANALYSIS OF HAWAIIAN HOMES COMMISSION LANDS	47
Hawaiian Home Lands Today:	
Location and Use	47
Land Utilization and Distribution.	48
The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act--The Early Years	53
Direct Use or Occupancy of Lands by Homesteaders	69
Lands Providing Indirect Benefit to Homesteaders	85
General Land Uses Not of Special Benefit to Homesteaders.	100
3. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE CURRENT HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM: A DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS	107
Introduction	107
The Nature of the Socio-Cultural Environment.	109
The Social Profile of the Homesteader.	119
The Significance of the Analysis for Future Planning.	190

TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued

Chapter	Page
4. TRANSPLANTATION OF AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS	193
Introduction	193
The Failure of HHC and Homesteading.	193
Barriers to the Transplantation of Homesteading and the Success of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act--Hawaii's Ruling Elite.	201
A Consideration of Other Areas	211
Conclusions	216
APPENDIX A	221
APPENDIX B	224
BIBLIOGRAPHY	228

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Representation of Hawaiian Homesteaders by Geographical Location and Representation in the Sample Survey, September 1963	3-4
2. Representation of Hawaiian Homesteaders by Rural-Urban Classification and Representation in Sample Survey	4
3. Age of Homesteaders and Occupational Aspirations for Their Sons	7
4. Percentage Distribution of Hawaii's Registered Voters by Race, 1930 and 1934	32-33
5. Percentage Distribution of Entire Adult Population, 1910, 1930 and 1950.	33
6. Registered Voters by Race, 1902-1940	34
7. Citizens and Registered Voters by Race, 1928	36
8. High School Attendance, Territory of Hawaii, 1926	38
9. Juvenile Delinquency, Honolulu, 1926-1928	39
10. Utilization of Hawaiian Home Lands, By Island, October 1963 (Acres)	49
11. Horner's Description of Lands Chosen for Homesteading Under Hawaiian Homes Act.	58
12. Comparison of Acreage Totals and Locations of Land in HR 12683, HR 13500, and the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920	62
13. Classification of Hawaiian Home Lands, Molokai, By F. G. Krauss, Chairman, Classification Commission, October 1924.	67

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
14. Land Directly Used or Occupied By Homesteaders, October 1963 (Acres)	70
15. Types of Homesteading of Hawaiian Home Lands and Number of Lots By Island, 1926-1959.	72
16. Homesteader Use of Hawaiian Home Lands By Island, 1926-1950 (Acres)	73
17. Lands Providing Indirect Benefit to Homesteaders, October 1963 (Acres)	86
18. Income From Leased Lands, Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, By Island, November 1963.	87
19. Hawaii: Principal Non-Homesteader Users of Hawaiian Home Lands, November 1963.	90
20. Kauai: Principal Non-Homesteader Users of Hawaiian Home Lands, November 1963.	91
21. Maui: Principal Non-Homesteader Users of Hawaiian Home Lands, November 1963	92
22. Oahu: Principal Non-Homesteader Users of Hawaiian Home Lands, November 1963	94
23. Non-Homesteader Use of Hawaiian Home Lands Through Lease and Revocable Permits, By Island, November 1963.	95
24. Hawaiian Homes Community Pastures on Molokai and Hawaii, November 1963.	99
25. Land Use Not of Special Benefit to Homesteaders By Use, Island, Acreage, October 1963	101
26. Hawaiian Home Land Occupied Under Executive Order Exclusive of Forest Reserves, By Island, October 1963	104

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
27. Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian Population, 1849-1960.	118
28. Racial Composition of Hawaii's Population, 1920-1960.	118
29. Length of Time on Homestead.	121
30. Age of Homesteaders.	122
31. Age of Homesteader Houses, September 1963.	123
32. Number of Permanent Occupants of Home- steads, September 1963.	123
33. Number of Siblings Reported by Homesteaders, September 1963	125
34. Number of Children Among Current Home- steads, September 1963	125
35. Family Income, National, Hawaii and Hawaiian Homestead	128
36. Homesteader Automobiles (Newest Car), Year of Model	131
37. Most Recent Visit to a Doctor by a Member of a Homesteader Family	133
38. Distribution of Labor Force Among Occupational Groups, United States, Hawaii and Homestead, 1870-1963 (Percentages).	136-138
39. Distribution of Labor Force Among Occupational Groups, Hawaiians, Part- Hawaiians and Homesteaders, 1950 and 1963 (Percentages)	141
40. Distribution of Occupational Groups, Male Parent of Current Homesteader and Chief Wage Earners in Homesteader Families	142

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
41. Highest Occupational Achievement of Children From Current Homesteader Families, September 1963	144
42. Levels Reached in the Educational System, United States, 1899-1959	147
43. Educational Attainment of Persons 25 Years Old and Over, 1940-1960, Hawaii	148
44. Educational Attainment, United States, Hawaii and Homestead, 1960 and 1963.	148
45. Educational Attainment, Homesteader Father, Homesteader, and Homesteader Spouse	150
46. Educational Attainment of Homesteader Relative to Male Parent, September 1963	151
47. Educational Attainment of Brothers and Sisters of Homesteaders, September 1963 (Percentages)	152
48. Homesteader Attitude Toward Hawaiian Homes Program	156
49. Major Concern of Homesteaders in Regard to Departmental Aid.	157
50. Relationship Between Complaints About Departmental Loan Policy and Family Income	158
51. Age of Homesteader and His Educational Attainment	162
52. Age of Homesteader and Family Income	163
53. Age of Homesteader and Occupational Aspirations for Their Sons	165

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
54. Number of People Per Homesteader House, By Island and Project	167
55. Number of People in Two and Three Bedroom Houses	168
56. Proportion of Hawaiian Extraction and Reading Habits (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House).	170
57. Religion and Reading Habits (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)	172
58. Degree of Involvement in Homestead Associations and Membership in Political Parties.	174
59. Homestead Association Membership and General Satisfaction	174
60. Homesteader Educational Attainment and Family Income	176
61. Homesteader Educational Attainment and Reading Habits (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)	178
62. Homesteader Educational Attainment and Children's Use of Public Library	178
63. Educational Attainment of Homesteader Compared with Male Parent.	179
64. Educational Attainment of Homesteader and Reaction to Possibility of College for a Gifted Child	180
65. Job Stability and Age of Chief Wage Earner	182

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table	Page
66. Educational Attainment of Homesteader and Highest Occupational Achievement of any Child.	183
67. Receipt of Welfare and Family Income	185
68. Occupational Achievement of Children and Welfare Families	186
69. Family Income and Reading Habits (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)	188
70. Job Tenure for Chief Wage Earner and Health Insurance	189
71. Health Insurance and Family Income	189
72. Health Insurance and Last Member of Family to Visit Dentist	190
73. Present and Planned Hawaiian Home Land Homesteads, 1963.	198
74. Hawaiian Sugar Yields, Selected Dates, 1837-1950	203
A Occupation Distribution by Educational Attainment--October 1952 and March 1962--Employed Persons 18 Years Old and Over	226-227

Introduction

This dissertation evaluates the attempt to transplant a significant element of the American democratic ideology from the political and social environment in which it was originally formulated and developed to a different political culture. The purpose of such an evaluation is to use Hawaii as a test by which the general feasibility of transferring democratic political institutions and ideology can be assessed.

The specific problem on which attention will be chiefly focused will be the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, a homesteading experiment ostensibly aimed at the rehabilitation of that part of the Hawaiian community seen to be most in need of assistance.

The structure and methodology of the dissertation are as follows:

Chapter 1 is a chronological examination of the factors responsible for the decline of the Hawaiians. Emphasis is placed on the system of land tenure existing in nineteenth century Hawaii, the rise of the plantations and the development of a multi-ethnic community. This chapter includes a general discussion of nineteenth century attempts to check the decline of the Hawaiians through the transplantation of homesteading.

Chapter 2 is an examination of the Hawaiian Homes program from the use of its land. This chapter examines the processes followed in selecting and administering this land and some of the results of those processes. An analysis is made of the uses to which those lands have been put to achieve the ends of the program. Methodologically, the chapter is divided into two sections: (1) a historical examination of the theory of homesteading embodied in the Act, the original designation of Hawaiian Homes Commission lands and the initial settlement of these lands. For this section heavy use is made of historical records available in the State of Hawaii Archives; and (2) a tabular compilation and analysis of the present location and use of Hawaiian Home Lands. This latter section required a comprehensive up-dating and correcting of the records of the Department of Land and Natural Resources, the Department of Taxation and the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands of the State of Hawaii.

Chapter 3 is partly based on a sample survey of 175 homesteader lessees of Hawaiian Home Lands in the State of Hawaii, conducted during the months of September and October 1963. A ten per cent sample was obtained from an alphabetized listing of 1,746 homesteaders. Every tenth name was selected from this fixed position with the initial selection based on a table of random numbers. Alternate names were selected by this same method.

A personal interview following a preconstructed interview schedule was utilized. Lessees from the islands of Hawaii, Kauai, Molokai, and Oahu were interviewed. Since

the Maui development had not been completed, no names were included from this region in the sample universe. While no attempt was made to gain proportionate representation from each island, the prescribed method of selection produced an approximate geographical cross-section of the homesteader community. Table 1 indicates the number and percentage of homesteaders in the State by island and the proportion represented in the study. Again, no attempt was made to stratify the population in terms of rural-type or urban-type of community. However, as Table 2 indicates, approximate proportional representation by community-type was achieved.

Table 1

REPRESENTATION OF HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADERS
BY GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION AND
REPRESENTATION IN THE
SAMPLE SURVEY
SEPTEMBER 1963

Island Project	Number of Homesteaders	Percentage	No. in Survey	Percentage in Survey
<u>Hawaii</u>				
Keaukaha	355	20.3	47	26.9
Wainea	69	4.0	6	3.4
Kawaihae	13	.7	0	--
	—	—	—	—
	437	25.0	53	30.3
<u>Kauai</u>				
Anahola	53	3.0	4	2.3
Kekaha	12	.7	0	--
	—	—	—	—
	65	3.7	4	2.3

Table 1--Continued

<u>Island Project</u>	<u>Number of Homesteaders</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>No. in Survey</u>	<u>Percentage in Survey</u>
<u>Molokai</u>				
Hoolehua	173	9.9	11	6.3
Kalamaula	55	3.2	6	3.4
Kapaakea	38	2.2	3	1.7
O'ne Alii	25	1.4	5	2.9
	—	—	—	—
	291	16.7	25	14.3
<u>Oahu</u>				
Nanakuli	384	22.0	38	21.8
Papakolea-Kewalo	321	18.4	29	16.5
Waimanalo	248	14.2	26	14.8
	—	—	—	—
	953	54.6	93	53.1
TOTAL	1,746	100.0	175	100.0

Table 2

REPRESENTATION OF HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADERS
BY RURAL-URBAN CLASSIFICATION* AND
REPRESENTATION IN SAMPLE SURVEY

<u>Location</u>	<u>Number of Homesteaders</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Number in Survey</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Rural	686	33	73	42
Urban	1,060	67	102	58

*Based upon U. S. census criteria for rural-urban classification.

The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands was asked to assist in arranging the interviews. The local project managers on Molokai, Hawaii, and Kauai were supplied with a list of

names and times that the interviewers would be on their respective islands. The project managers were asked to explain the interview project, seek the cooperation of the homesteader, emphasize the confidentiality of the interview, and arrange for a suitable period of approximately 1-1/2 hours during which the interview would be held. The splendid cooperation of both the project managers and the homesteaders on the outer islands is attested to by the fact that only four interviews of eighty-four homesteaders, including alternates, failed to materialize.

Interviews were conducted by the author and a group of assistants under his direction.

The same general approach was used on Oahu, though the absence of a project manager for this island made the arrangement of the interviews somewhat more difficult. Hawaiian Home Lands' staff did the contact work by telephone or personal visit and the homesteaders responded well, though not with the same degree of success as on the outer islands. Some fifteen interviews failed to materialize on Oahu.

The coding of the completed questionnaire was done in two stages: (a) the author devised a code to fit all open-ended questions, and (b) responses to questions were coded by the author and student assistants.

Statistical analysis of the Hawaiian Homestead community was based primarily on socio-economic variables, though certain attitude variables and other factual data were

included. To establish a frame of reference for interpreting the data, a statistical measure of significance was deemed desirable. Such measurements can give an idea of the magnitude of the differences between two distributions or the intensity of the relationship between these distributions.

Correlation analysis was chosen as one of the best available statistical methods for this study. This was especially true for the large table distributions. The use of correlation here is obvious. It is desirable to know the nature of the relationship between two variables (e.g., x and y) so that one event can be predicted from or related to the other (i.e., y from x). But, in order to do this, with a certain amount of confidence, the degree or strength of the relationship must be known. In any case, if the relationship between the variables is weak, there is no point in trying to predict one event from the other. This is the meaning of the interpretation significant in the various analysis and discussions of the tabular presentations. In the present analysis, correlation scores generally were interpreted as significant if the probability was less than 5 per cent that such a score could have occurred by chance or random error. In other words, a significant score is interpreted to have a probability of occurring in at least 95 out of 100 cases. Moreover, since this is an exploratory study, regression analysis was not deemed necessary. The attempt has been to establish the extent of the relationships between the variables. Exact prediction was of secondary

importance.

The pattern of "significance" found in the results serves as a general guide in interpreting the findings of the study. In general, a 5 per cent level was accepted as significant. In those cases where clearly no relationship could be established, the results were summarized.

Interpretation of the findings in the form presented in Chapter 3 requires of the reader not only concentration on the significant relationships established, but also on the general direction and magnitude of some of these figures indicated in the various tables. In many cases a "significant" distribution was indicated when comparing two sub-groups in terms of proportions. The following is an example:

Table 3

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND OCCUPATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR SONS

<u>Age of Homesteader</u>	<u>Any Occupation Other than Ordinary Laborer</u>	<u>Ordinary Laborer or No Opinion</u>	
Over 65	9	6	
56-65	15	11	
46-55	28	12	
36-45	46	12	
35 or under	<u>31</u>	<u>5</u>	
TOTAL	129	46	175

Source: interviews

It may immediately be noted in the above table that a

significant proportion of homesteaders had some aspirations for their sons which were higher than that of ordinary labor. This is indicated by the totals--129 as against 46 out of a total of 175 homesteaders. Again, the observation made on this distribution was "More of the younger homesteaders wanted better than ordinary labor jobs for their children and they were more certain of their choices". This trend is noted in the increasing size of the ratios as one reads the age categories downward from the oldest to the youngest.

In summary the statistical presentation in Chapter 3 was primarily employed as an aid in making some observations and generalizations about the Hawaiian homesteader.

Chapter 4 is a summary of the Hawaiian Homes experience and an attempt to relate this experience to the specific problems encountered in transplanting American democratic institutions and ideology to Hawaii. On the basis of a consideration of the Hawaii experience, I try to consider the more general problems related to transplantation of American democracy to any new environment.

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CHAPTER 1

Causes of and Responses to the Decline of the Hawaiians

Introduction

One of the most widespread, important, and difficult areas of concern for social science in the twentieth century has been that of understanding cultural change, particularly as it relates to different political systems. Recent methodological developments in the social sciences have emphasized the utility of models in attempting to understand cultural change in a political system or the failure of a culture to change. In general this approach requires the construction of a model of a political system against which a different area, or segment of a system, can be compared and contrasted.¹ A major aspect of the task has been to achieve an understanding of ideological transfer--the transplantation of major elements of ideology from one political system to another.

¹Some of the most interesting work along these lines has been done by Fred W. Riggs. See especially his "The Use of Models for Administrative Analysis: Confusion or Clarity?" 6 Indian Journal of Public Administration (1960) 225-242, and "Agraria and Industria--Toward a Typology of Comparative Administration" in William J. Siffin, ed., Toward the Comparative Study of Public Administration (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1957) 23-116. See also Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (New York, Doubleday and Company, 1960).

For Americans the questions to which attention has most frequently been directed concern transplantation of elements of American democracy to areas undergoing the process of economic modernization and social or political change.¹

My postwar experience in Japan brought me into close contact with many dimensions of the attempt to transplant elements of American democratic ideology to that political system during the time Japan was functioning under the American Occupation. It appeared to me on the basis of my Japanese experience that a dogmatic transplantation of American democratic ideology failed in some important respects.²

The experience and continued interest in Japan had special significance for my interest in Hawaii. My extended research work at the University of Hawaii in matters of

¹Recent literature related to the subject of transplanting democracy would include: Werner Levi, "The Fate of Democracy in South and Southeast Asia," 28 Far Eastern Survey (1959); George W. Shepherd, Jr., The Politics of African Nationalism (New York, F. W. Praeger, 1962); and Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1959). Major works on institutional transfer would include Robert Scalapino, Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956), and David Apter, The Gold Coast in Transition (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1957).

²For example, see Kawai, Japan's American Interlude; R. P. Dore, Land Reform in Japan (London, Oxford University Press, 1959); Thomas A. Bisson, Prospects for Democracy in Japan (New York, The MacMillan Co., 1949); and Robert A. Fearey, The Occupation of Japan (New York, The MacMillan Co., 1950).

political and social significance in the State of Hawaii and specific and deep familiarity with one of the more pressing areas of legislative concern, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, led me to the conclusion that for over a century and a half the native population of the Hawaiian Islands has had a prolonged experience with this process of ideological transplantation and offers an unusually fertile area for study of this phenomenon. This dissertation emerged from my own extended overall interest in the question of transplantation of political ideology along with a growing interest in the changes occurring in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Hawaii.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act is one of a long series of efforts in Hawaii's modern history intended to offset the physical and social decline of the Hawaiians through the provision of farm and residential lands. A series of laws designed to provide homestead lands for Hawaiians failed to check the momentum of the decline of the Hawaiians. By 1920 the political power of the Hawaiians had diminished and indices of socio-economic well-being indicated that the Hawaiian people were facing a crisis which threatened their very existence.

Three major factors can be identified as having contributed to the decline of the Hawaiians: (1) changes in the system of land tenure; (2) the growth of a plantation system of agriculture; and (3) the creation of a multi-racial community in which Hawaiians no longer were a majority. Each factor

is closely related to the others.

Hawaii's nineteenth century history reveals that American missionaries and their immediate descendants, many of whom were among the closest advisors to Hawaiian royalty, accepted the basic tenets of the democratic ideology which had developed on the mainland of the United States during the nineteenth century. This was true, for example, in the area of public education where the missionaries and the school system established by them had a strong democratic orientation.¹

Under Hawaii's Organic Act, which provided for the government of the Territory, the franchise was guaranteed to all citizens of the United States, including all persons born in the Territory of Asian parents, though the latter could not become naturalized.

Other elements of American ideology were introduced. Homesteading, however, was an initial and central point of concern to the missionaries.² The early impetus for the use of public lands for homesteading stemmed from the missionary advisors to Hawaiian leaders. In the early years, of course, the opposition to homesteading came from the leadership of the Hawaiian community itself, the chiefs. This aristocracy was

¹The orientation was democratic in two important ways: (1) it was intended to be a "public" school system open to all; and (2) it taught the principles of democracy in the classroom.

²Homesteading presupposes a democratic system of land tenure, particularly the rights of the lessee to be free from arbitrary dispossession. The movement to give the Hawaiians more security on the land came historically at the same time as the first major changes in land tenure law--between 1840 and 1850.

understandably opposed to democracy. The first attempts at land reform, mainly in the Great Mahele of 1848, had only limited success viewed as democratic homesteading acts, for they made only a small portion of land available for use by commoners. Later attempts at land reform were strikingly similar in that concessions in law were made to the democratic elements but little land was made available. Whenever laws affecting land tenure came into conflict with the stronger forces representing aristocracy or the sugar oligarchy, the lands provided were of little or no use and carried such restrictions that homesteading never developed. The culmination of the confrontation between the contending forces¹, and the continuing decline of the Hawaiians, led those concerned with the plight of the Hawaiians to one final mighty effort at homesteading. In 1920 Hawaii had many of the foundations for the development of a democratic polity, but the full development still had to wait for more favorable circumstances following the Second World War. The final effort was in the form of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, which can be viewed as an attempt to transfer a democratic ideological element onto what essentially was still a non-democratic system.

To restate the general framework of the dissertation,

¹The contest was really between monarchy-oligarchy and democracy; the missionaries with their democratic moorings and hopes for land reform on the one hand, the monarchy and sugar oligarchy on the other. The common Hawaiians were in the middle.

my own interest is in attempting to understand the difficulties met in the implementation of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act within the broader context of Hawaii's modernization and democratic growth, enabling me to explore the hypothesis that there is a negative probability of success in the transplantation of ideological elements between political systems which are unlike in important respects. The most striking fact about the attempts to implement homesteading in the islands is that homesteading represented an ideological strain of American political thought nurtured on the mainland under historical, geographical, and socio-economic conditions which differed in important respects from those in existence in Hawaii. So different were these conditions that any attempts to implement such traditional programs were destined to encounter considerable difficulties, if not failure. Continued reflection and consideration on this type of problem is particularly necessary today in a period when the attempts to export American ideology to the developing areas are pronounced, and there is special relevance of these problems to the fields of international politics, international administration and development administration. The failure to relieve the situation of the Hawaiians through transplantation of homesteading shows the kind and nature of problems that may arise in transferring other elements of American democracy to developing areas.

Land Tenure and Sugar--Factors in the Decline of the Hawaiians
Land Tenure

The three developments in nineteenth century Hawaii

identified in my introduction as related to the decline of the Hawaiians were the changing system of land tenure, the growth of the sugar economy, and the rise of a multi-racial community.

We shall note that the numerical and cultural decline of the Hawaiians precedes all other developments and continues to occur even after attempts are made to stem it. The condition of the Hawaiians was of serious concern both to Hawaiians and foreigners, though of the latter the missionaries appeared to be the most interested.

Answers of the Hawaiians to the problem were not always clear, though an underlying theme was that the Hawaiians should attempt to return to a "fish and poi" existence such as that which had existed prior to the coming of the white man. The missionary response was somewhat similar, though it was greatly influenced by the American backgrounds of the missionaries themselves who saw American-style homesteading as an answer to the declining position of the Hawaiians. The choice by the missionaries of an element of American ideology is given institutional form in the first land divisions among the commoners and some of the changes in land tenure. These land reform measures frequently were attempts to bring American democracy to Hawaii, and in every case were to bring American democracy into conflict with other forces in the community concerned with the use of Hawaii's limited lands.

In 1779 Captain James Cook estimated the population of

the Hawaiian Islands to be 400,000.¹ Estimates for the period 1849-1853 range between 70,000 and 80,000.² By 1919 the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii believed the best estimates of the then current number of pure Hawaiians to be less than 23,000.³ While Cook's estimates were too high, perhaps by as much as 100,000, it is clear that a startling reduction in the number of pure Hawaiians had taken place between the time of Cook's arrival and the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1920.

The arrival of the first missionaries to Hawaii in 1820 came at a time 30 years after the first major impact of the West on Hawaii. A period of demoralizing influence by foreign sailors and the debilitating impact of diseases had already had a considerable effect in undermining the old political and social order.

About 1820 the growth of the whaling industry in the Pacific brought a new, but temporary, prosperity for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaii afforded an ideal location for rest and supplies necessary for the whaling crews who continued to provide the natives with exposure to new Western

¹Stanley David Porteus, A Century of Social Thinking in Hawaii (Palo Alto, Pacific Books, 1962) p. 165.

²See Andrew W. Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 27 and Porteus, ibid., p. 165.

³See "Statement by the Legislative Commission of Hawaii in Support of a Bill Providing for the Setting Apart of Portions of the Public Lands of the Territory of Hawaii for Use by Hawaiian Citizens of Hawaiian Blood" in the Judd Files, Territorial Departments Archives, Honolulu, Hawaii, July, 1920.

diseases. Furthermore, a considerable number of native Hawaiians were recruited as sailors, many of whom never returned to the islands. An 1846 official estimate places the figure of Hawaiians sailing on the whalers at 3,000.¹

In 1779, at the time of Captain Cook's first arrival, several independent kingdoms existed in Hawaii. Land was divided in such a way by the king that he chose the choicest lands for himself. Land was assigned by the king to his loyal warrior followers who, in turn, re-allotted the land to their own followers. While quasi-feudal in nature, the system did not tie land holders permanently to the land and claims of the superior were for economic rather than military services.² Land, however, belonged to the king.

The Hawaiian Islands were brought under the aegis of one ruler, Kamehameha I, in the early 19th century. In 1824, with the accession of Kamehameha III to the throne, the political elements of Hawaii's land problems became clearer. By this time major changes in the Pacific area had thrust a number of new forces onto the Hawaiian scene, including major commercial interests in whaling and sandalwood as well as men of the church. Later the major commercial interests were to turn to sugar.

One of the primary factors related to the possibility

¹Thayne Miller Livesay, A Study of Public Education in Hawaii (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1932) p. 19.

²Jon J. Chinen, The Great Mahele (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1958) pp. 5-6.

of successful sugar cane agriculture was the system of land tenure. A feudal system in which individual parcels of land were distributed and re-distributed throughout the feudal hierarchy did not lend itself to large-scale undertakings. So long as private ownership or long-term leasing of land was discouraged or barred, particularly for foreigners, the consolidation of land necessary in order to accomplish large-scale agricultural production could not be made. The land in Hawaii, however, was especially suitable for plantation agriculture, but the arid and semi-arid conditions which exist in many areas where the best agricultural land is located made expensive irrigation systems necessary.¹

It was highly unlikely that Hawaii's developing political system was going to cope with such problems, and only an extremely well-financed private enterprise could possibly be in a position to underwrite such an undertaking.² Finally, the growing of sugar cane in Hawaii created a composite of capital formation problems which are particularly related to the crop itself as well as Hawaii. The distance from ready markets and the consequent high cost of transportation were factors which added to the substantial capital requirements already necessary due to the two-year nature of the

¹Curtis Aller, Labor Relations in the Hawaiian Sugar Industry (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1957) p. 10. See also John W. Coulter, Land Utilization in the Hawaiian Islands, University of Hawaii Research Publication #8 (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1933) p. 56.

²Pointedly, one of the most enduring problems relative to the homesteading of lands on the islands of Molokai and Hawaii has been irrigation. See especially Chapter 2 of this study.

crop. These requirements made further demands on scarce capital and helped make mandatory a plantation type of development.¹

Sugar

Once the commitment to plantation agriculture had been made, the leaders in the agricultural revolution in Hawaii had to consider more carefully the labor problem. There is conflicting evidence concerning the ability and the inclination of the native population to adjust to plantation life. In any event, the 19th century saw the decimation of the Hawaiians as a separate group, and thus precluded their forming an adequate labor pool for the plantations. This caused plantations to seek new sources of labor and ultimately changed radically the ethnic composition of the islands.

Thus, at first the system of land tenure undoubtedly was itself one factor in handicapping agricultural pursuits in the islands. The scarcity of both investment capital and trained or willing labor added further to the early avoidance of agricultural entrepreneurship.² Both the problems of insecure land tenure and an inadequate supply of labor were eventually overcome, but only at the cost of a revolutionary transformation of the political and social structure of the community.

Between 1835 and 1840 a series of events occurred which

¹Aller, p. 10.

²Harold W. Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii (Palo Alto, Stanford University Press, 1942) p. 238.

were to have an undeniable impact upon Hawaii's future. In 1835 the government of Hawaii leased a tract of land located at Koloa on Kauai on a long-term basis. This was to become the site of Hawaii's first plantation.

Following the success of the Koloa enterprise on Kauai, other sugar plantations were begun, with the result that in 1838 there were 20 mills run by animal power and two by water power.¹ By 1840, land was being leased by the king on bid for a term of 25 years. In 1841 the legislature of the Hawaiian Kingdom authorized the leasing of lands on the various islands to foreigners for terms of fifty years.²

The entire prevailing system of land tenure was revolutionized with the signing of the Great Mahele in 1848.³ Under the Mahele all land in the Hawaiian Kingdom was to be voluntarily divided among the king, the government, the chiefs and the tenants. Four million acres were divided as follows:⁴

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>No. of People</u>
Crown lands	984,000	--
Government lands	1,495,000	--
Chiefs' lands	1,619,000	250
Tenants' lands	28,600	11,000
	4,126,000	11,250

¹Ralph S. Kuykendall, A History of Hawaii (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1926) p. 205.

²Bradley, p. 240.

³Chinen, pp. 15-24.

⁴U. S. Government, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, The Cane Sugar Industry (Washington, 1917) p. 88.

This was followed by the development of a system of land titles, title registration, and modern land tenure. One of the greatest obstacles to the investment of capital had been overcome.¹

The major laws affecting the public lands of Hawaii thus date back more than 100 years. One of the first laws to deal directly with the question of public lands was in 1848 with the Mahele.

The enactment of the Mahele occurred during a decade of important statutory change insofar as the history of public lands is concerned. Two other related events preceded the 1848 law, both of which are relevant:

- (1) In 1839 and 1840 the rights of tenants were recognized with the prohibition of evictions without cause of tenants living on and cultivating the land;
- (2) In 1846, the Kuleana Law, part of the "Act to Organize the Executive Departments," provided for sale of lands which tenants lived on and cultivated.²

There were no restrictions in the Mahele governing the disposition of government lands other than (a) a fifty-year limit on leases; (b) a prohibition of land sale to aliens; and (c) the approval of all terms and conditions of sale by

¹Ibid., p. 20.

²L. 1846, p. 99, RLH 1905, p. 1239.

the king and the privy council. The Act of July 10, 1850 removed the disability of alienage.¹ It was more than a quarter of a century before a public auction was required prior to the leasing or selling of government lands.

The passage of the great land reform embodied in the Mahele was undoubtedly in part intended for the benefit of the Hawaiian commoners who already were beginning to decline sharply in numbers. By providing land for a native population cut adrift from its cultural moorings, it was hoped that a rejuvenation of the size and morality² of the race would take place. The Mahele did succeed in making land available to a number of commoners at first, but their lack of experience in working with the land or in understanding the potential value of the land made the new land owners easy prey for the growing entrepreneurship of foreigners interested in acquiring land for sugar development. The land was either sold cheaply or never legally claimed in many cases, though the chiefs and their current descendants were to prove somewhat more fortunate than the commoners in holding their lands.³

The Mahele was to converge with an 1850 enactment abolishing the law preventing foreigners from acquiring land,

¹L. 1854, pp. 14-15.

²A number of publications by responsible Hawaiian and missionary leaders of the time deplored the lapsing morals of the Hawaiians. The criticisms were not only in Western terms.

³See Bernard Hormann, "Native Welfare in Hawaii," 19 What People in Hawaii are Saying and Doing (1951) p. 2.

and in combination with the latter event lead rather dramatically to the dispossession of many Hawaiians from the land. Foreigners with available cash and long-range financial expectations found ready sellers. Before too long the land had been sold and, under a new system probably not understood by the bulk of the commoners, could no longer be redistributed by the chiefs. A culture in which the accumulation of consumer goods had never been characteristic soon began to produce an impoverished and now landless native, and was gradually entering a period in which peoples from foreign lands would produce competition at a different level.

The speed with which the Hawaiians were divested of their land holdings is nothing less than remarkable. By 1862, more than 50 per cent of the land on Oahu was owned by non-Hawaiians, almost all of whom were Europeans and Americans.¹ By 1896 the census showed that only 12.8 per cent of all Hawaiians were landowners of any type. Blackman noted that by 1896 only .06 of the soil of Hawaii was owned by pure Hawaiians, almost a total dissipation of the lands granted or made available in the earlier land reform acts.²

The labor question and Hawaii's multi-racial community are both intimately associated with the development of Hawaii's sugar industry. At one point, in 1900, 61 per cent of the more than 90,000 employed persons in Hawaii were employed

¹William F. Blackman, The Making of Hawaii (London, The MacMillan Co., 1906) p. 161.

²Blackman, Ibid., p. 161.

by the sugar industry.¹ Very early in the development of plantation sugar misgivings were expressed as to how well the native Hawaiians would meet the plantation's labor needs. A simple agricultural life with great emphasis upon sharing did not prepare Hawaiians for an industrialized farming system in which profits were the primary objective and men were viewed as capital goods. William Hooper, Koloa Plantation's first manager, lamented: "The three years past prove the complete worthlessness of Sandwich Islanders as laborers. ... For the past three weeks we have employed on an average of 400 kanakas ... equal to 10 white men (poor) or 2-1/2 smart Yankees." Yet, the plantations in the early years were dependent upon Hawaiian labor. Disappointment resulted despite the use of various inducements and pressures, including cooperation with Hawaiian leaders. King Kamehameha III, in 1850, sought the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island as laborers for Hawaiian plantations. The attempt was without success.²

Despite the small promise of Hawaiians as plantation laborers, little was done to seek out an alternative source of supply until the American Civil War, but as late as 1872 3,299 of the 3,921 plantation workers in the islands were Hawaiians.³ Most of the others were Chinese. With the beginning of the reciprocity agreements in 1876, the entire labor

¹C. J. Henderson, "Labor--An Undercurrent of Hawaiian Social History," 15 Social Process in Hawaii (1951) p. 45

²Everett V. Stonequist, "The Marginal Man in Hawaii," 1 Social Process in Hawaii (1935) p. 22.

³James H. Shoemaker, "Labor in the Territory of Hawaii," (Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1940) p. 34.

picture took a dramatic change. The plantations needed labor badly, but plantation life was not appealing enough even to Asia's impoverished peasants.¹ It became increasingly difficult to keep workers on the plantations, especially when opportunity for an easier life existed in the cities. The plantation offered an ideal arrangement for the production of a staple crop. It was a tight economic unit, however, which offered little social or political flexibility.

Prior to 1876 only 1,800 Chinese had come to Hawaii. But by 1884, 12,000 more had been admitted. By 1896 the total was 22,000. Annexation to the United States in 1898

¹The Hawaiians never supplied the main body of plantation labor once the industry really began to develop: See Romanzo Adams, The Education and the Economic Outlook for the Boys of Hawaii (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1928) from which the following was taken:

Plantation Laborers Classified by Race at Three Selected Dates

	1886	1908	1926
Native Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian...	2,255	1,309	445
Portuguese.....	3,081	3,807	1,341
Puerto Rican.....	--	1,989	1,073
Spanish.....	--	750	70
Other Caucasian.....	379	970	62
Chinese.....	5,626	2,916	1,242
Japanese.....	1,949	32,771	13,603
Korean.....	--	2,125	741
Filipino.....	--	141	25,848
All Others.....	1,249	140	1,631
Total.....	14,539	46,918	46,056

Lind notes that the decline in total Hawaiian population was not as precipitous in Honolulu as in the rural areas. Honolulu's Hawaiian population declined from 10,000 to 8,000 between 1853 and 1900; the figure for all islands showed a decline from 71,000 to 30,000. By 1950 more than 40 per cent of the Territory's surviving full-blooded Hawaiians were resident in Honolulu. Lind, Hawaii's People, pp. 45-46.

[illegible]

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 84

brought the application of the Chinese Exclusion Act to Hawaii with the effective end to Chinese immigration. Long before this, however, plantation management had shown considerable uncertainty about the Chinese. The strong ambitions of the Chinese to move from the plantations to more urbanized business undertakings led to a search for new races. By 1886 about 10,000 Portuguese had been brought to Hawaii.¹

Japanese immigration came later than that of the Chinese and Portuguese. About 12,000 were in Hawaii just before annexation, all as a result of an 1885 treaty with Japan. Nearly 30,000 entered during the first two years after annexation and the number of immigrants remained high until 1907 when the "Gentlemen's Agreement" ended the Japanese influx.²

With the disappearance of both China and Japan as sources of plantation labor, management turned to the Philippines. Census figures show sharp increases in Filipino population from 2300 in 1910 to 21,000 in 1920 and 63,000 by 1930. In addition, some 50,000 Filipinos had left the islands during this period.³ The overall total of plantation immigrants by 1930 had reached the following levels:⁴

¹Henderson, p. 46.

²Henderson, p. 47. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" was an unwritten understanding between Japan and the United States limiting Japanese emigration to the United States.

³Henderson, p. 47.

⁴Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 4.

| | |
|---------------|---------|
| Japanese | 180,000 |
| Filipinos | 125,000 |
| Chinese | 46,000 |
| Portuguese | 17,500 |
| Koreans | 8,000 |
| Spanish | 8,000 |
| Puerto Ricans | 6,000 |

The great difficulty in obtaining labor for plantation use reached such proportions in 1882 that the Hawaiian Labor and Supply Co. was organized for the purpose of recruiting and regulating the supply of foreign labor and to reduce the competition for laborers which existed between the several plantations. This period witnessed the transition from Chinese to Portuguese labor.

By 1896, shortly after the major land changes brought about by the Land Act of 1895, sugar gained a dominant position in Hawaii. The McKinley Act had caused much concern within the sugar industry and, for a time at least, the situation appeared hopeless. The passage of the Wilson Tariff Act in 1894 and annexation to the United States in 1898 turned the tables to the advantage of sugar.

Once annexation had taken place, a new surge of capital came in from the mainland. New plantations began operation, others consolidated. In 1900, three-fourths of all the cultivated land in the islands was being used to grow sugar cane.¹

¹ Coulter, Land Utilization in the Hawaiian Islands, p. 65.

The area devoted to sugar continued to expand for more than thirty years after annexation, and production per acre has expanded since the 1930's when acreage totals reached their maximum.

By the early years of the Wilson administration in Washington, sugar faced one of its last major problems in Hawaii. In 1913 profits began to drop sharply, finally reaching an all-time low in that year. The passage of the Underwood Tariff in 1913 was particularly vexing to sugar people for it reduced the protection against Cuban sugar to 1 cent per pound and even that protection was to be removed by 1916.

Two things were to help sugar, however. During the Civil War sugar from the West Indies and Louisiana had been eliminated from the New York market, putting a premium price on Hawaiian sugar. In World War I Hawaiian sugar gained as a result of European sugar beets being out of production in many areas. The price per pound of sugar began a slow but dramatic rise from 3.8 cents in 1914, 4.6 in 1915, 5.8 in 1916, to 7.8 in 1917. By May of 1920 the price had reached a phenomenal all-time high of 23.5 cents per pound.¹

¹Kuykendall and Gill, pp. 381-383. Gartley, in his annual report to the stockholders of C. Brewer and Co., called 1920 "the most spectacular year in the history of the Hawaiian sugar industry." Net profits in 1920 amounted to \$62.50 per ton, compared to an average year during the 1920's of \$18.00 per ton. See Allen Bottomley, A Statement Concerning the Sugar Industry in Hawaii; Labor Conditions on Hawaiian Sugar Plantations; Filipino Laborers Thereon, and the Alleged Filipino "Strike" of 1924 (Honolulu, Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, 1924).

Not only were prices shoved higher by the war, but the impact of the war on the United States Treasury was also to prove of benefit to the sugar industry. The depleted treasury now sought aid where it could be found, and a sugar tariff promised great income. The danger to Hawaii's sugar industry posed by free sugar was now past. With an expanded market almost guaranteed, an increasingly mechanized and efficient industry had only one great barrier to overcome--that of security of its lands against homesteading experiments and Wilsonian democracy.

The Continued Decline of the Hawaiians--the Twentieth Century

There were other forces than sugar which looked to the United States for help, for the Hawaiians themselves by the end of the century were becoming aware of the great changes that were taking place throughout the islands. An increasing Oriental population, a stable but relatively small Caucasian group, a declining and inter-marrying native group all made the future for the Hawaiians seem more difficult. The guardian of Crown Princess Kaiulani noted that "the revolution arose out of a feud of races."¹

The economic decline of much of the remaining Hawaiian population continued unabated. At the time of annexation

¹Theophilus H. Davies, "The Hawaiian Revolution." 33 Nineteenth Century (1893) p. 832. He is speaking here of the overthrow of the monarchy which led to the establishment of a provisional government and the Republic. All of this was, of course, a prelude to eventual annexation by the United States.

the Hawaiians had almost a monopoly on commercial fishing, though the market was rather rapidly won by the Japanese.¹ The Hawaiians did not adjust as rapidly as the Chinese or Japanese to Western cultural activities and patterns, with the single exception of politics.

Shortly after annexation the Hawaiians still held a preferred position in some areas, such as non-plantation employment opportunities. Only the Caucasians, Americans in particular, were able to speak and use English more correctly. For many Hawaiians it had been virtually their mother tongue, a result of long and dedicated service by the missionaries to the education of the Hawaiians. Official and clerical positions were open to them and county and public utility jobs were frequently reserved for them.² At annexation the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were among the most literate groups in the islands. Eighty-five per cent of those above six years of age were literate. They thus had the one requisite to exercise the franchise effectively, for only literacy was required in order to vote. Of those with the franchise, the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians made up an overwhelming majority,³ which they put to use by completely dominating, in numbers of elected officials, the first two

¹Edwin Grant Burrow, Hawaiian Americans (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947) p. 44.

²Adams, The Education and the Economic Outlook for the Boys of Hawaii, p. 8.

³See: Blackman, p. 246; Thrum's Annual, 1899; and U. S. Census, 1896.

legislatures.¹

This exercise of their suffrage was especially important in a community in which the majority of the adults were non-citizens. An equally important dimension to their having the vote was that the Hawaiians represented a major threat to all groups in the community, including the sugar barons. For little other reason than this, the sugar interests had to come to an understanding with the Hawaiians.

The voting advantage was to hold for some time, as Table 6 indicates. Writing in 1933, Lorna Jarrett still found Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians to be the most numerous office holders, and quite plentiful in all branches of government service and clerical positions. A great many were discovered working as stevedores, fishermen, cattle-raisers and small farmers.²

As the twentieth century progressed, the most striking political fact in Hawaii was the rapidly increasing size and diversity of Hawaii's legally enfranchised electorate. Between annexation and the beginning of World War I, the increase was almost nine-fold.³ In this period, the ethnic groups most affected were the Japanese, who sharply increased in number and percentage of eligible voters, and the Hawaiians, who

¹Hormann, p. 2.

²Lorna H. Jarrett, Hawaii and Its People (Honolulu, Star-Bulletin Press, 1933) p. 27.

³Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 91.

underwent a sharp decline in the same category. The growth and development of the sugar industry had, in its great need for increased labor, produced a situation in which Orientals might become the dominant forces in the community. An apparent reaction to this possibility was a combination of Caucasians and Hawaiians to form the nucleus of support for the early politics of the Territory, the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in 1920, and the great power of the Republican Party in Hawaii until the mid 1950's. In all of these circumstances the gains for the Hawaiians were scant, if any, for when Hawaii's democratic revolution finally was consummated after World War II, the Hawaiians remained at the bottom while the Orientals had gained considerable economic and political power--though the Japanese in particular had not yet blended into the social mixtures of the old Caucasian-Hawaiian elite.

A decade after the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Act Hawaii's voting population was divided ethnically as follows:

Table 4
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HAWAII'S
REGISTERED VOTERS BY RACE
1930 AND 1934

| | 1930 | | 1934* | |
|---------------|------------------|----------|------------------|----------|
| | No. of
Voters | Per Cent | No. of
Voters | Per Cent |
| Hawaiian | 13,262 | 30.5 | 14,290 | 22.9 |
| Part-Hawaiian | 3,632 | 8.3 | 5,154 | 8.2 |

Table 4--Continued

| | 1930 | | 1934* | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| | No. of Voters | Per Cent | No. of Voters | Per Cent |
| Portuguese | 6,976 | 16.0 | 10,294 | 16.5 |
| Other Caucasian | 7,941 | 18.3 | 10,950 | 17.5 |
| Chinese | 3,697 | 8.5 | 5,447 | 8.7 |
| Japanese | 6,012 | 13.8 | 13,630 | 21.9 |
| Others | 2,001 | 4.6 | 2,662 | 4.3 |
| Total | 43,521 | | 62,427 | |

*See Andrew Lind, "Voting in Hawaii," 1 Social Process in Hawaii (1935) p. 4.

Table 5

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENTIRE
ADULT CITIZEN POPULATION
1910, 1930 and 1950

| | 1910* | 1930 | 1950 |
|----------------------------|--------|--------|---------|
| Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian | 47.5 | 25.9 | 15.8 |
| Caucasian | 35.0 | 49.4 | 32.8 |
| Chinese | 3.9 | 8.0 | 7.7 |
| Japanese | .4 | 12.2 | 34.7 |
| Filipino | | | 4.5 |
| Other Races | 7.5 | 3.8 | |
| Total Number | 20,748 | 79,994 | 223,615 |

*1910 figures include only the male citizens 21 years of age and over. Based on Romanzo C. Adams, Peoples of Hawaii (Honolulu, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933) p. 16, and Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 91.

Table 6

REGISTERED VOTERS BY RACE
1902-1940

| Race | Number of Voters | | | | Per Cent of All Voters | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1902 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1902 | 1910 | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 |
| Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian | 8,680 | 9,619 | 14,650 | 19,858 | 21,581 | 68.8 | 66.6 | 55.6 | 38.1 | 24.7 |
| Caucasian (Including Portuguese) | 3,786 | 4,414 | 9,886 | 20,269 | 26,322 | 30.0 | 30.6 | 37.5 | 39.1 | 30.1 |
| Chinese | 143 | 396 | 1,141 | 4,402 | 7,402 | 1.1 | 2.7 | 4.3 | 8.4 | 8.5 |
| Japanese | 3 | 13 | 658 | 7,017 | 27,107 | .0 | .1 | 2.5 | 13.4 | 31.0 |
| All Others | --- | --- | --- | 603 | 4,880 | --- | --- | --- | 1.0 | 5.6 |
| TOTAL | 12,612 | 14,442 | 26,335 | 52,149 | 87,312 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Lind, Hawaii's People, Table 18, p. 93.

One of the most interesting phenomena occurring during the 1920's was the great disparity that existed between eligible voters and voting registration. The data from 1928 depict this (Table 7). The data clearly indicate the sharp drop in the size of the Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian total population and citizen population. Yet, they still had 41.1 per cent of the registered voters, more than double the combined percentage of Japanese and Chinese registered voters.

Though they were no longer a majority, the Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians in combination still had a heavy though declining plurality in politics in 1930 (39 per cent) and in 1934 (31 per cent). At this particular time (1930) American citizens of Japanese ancestry already outnumbered Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians by almost two to one (92,000 to 41,000). By 1936 the Japanese figure was 111,000 to the Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian figure of 59,000.

The relatively strong position of the Hawaiians was necessarily transitory as far as voting was concerned. Children of Oriental immigrants were soon to become the dominant group in Hawaii's public schools and eventually constituted a plurality among the electorate. While in 1910 less than half of the children in Hawaii's public schools were of Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Filipino descent, by 1920 they made up 60 per cent of the enrollment.¹ The trend continued adversely to the position of the Hawaiians, though

¹Hormann, "Integration in Hawaii's Schools," 21 Social Process in Hawaii (1957) p. 6.

Table 7
CITIZENS AND REGISTERED VOTERS
BY RACE
1928

| Racial Classification | Total No. in Population | Per Cent of Total Population | No. of American Citizens | Per Cent of American Citizens | No. of Registered Voters | Per Cent of Registered Voters |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian | 46,704 | 13.4 | 46,704 | 20.5 | 18,952 | 41.1 |
| Portuguese | 29,117 | 8.3 | 26,145 | 11.4 | 7,057 | 15.3 |
| Chinese | 25,310 | 7.2 | 15,058 | 6.6 | 3,950 | 8.5 |
| Japanese | 134,600 | 33.5 | 83,252 | 36.5 | 4,839 | 10.5 |
| All Others | 113,036 | 32.3 | 57,117 | 25.0 | 11,260 | 24.4 |
| TOTAL | 348,767 | 99.7 | 228,276 | 100.0 | | |

Source: Romanzo C. Adams, Further Developments of Race Contacts in Hawaii
(Honolulu, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1929).

the increasing numbers of Part-Hawaiians was a relieving factor. By 1947 Hawaii's 85,000 public school children were divided on an ethnic or racial percentage basis as follows:¹

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians... | 22% |
| Caucasian..... | 9 |
| Chinese..... | 5 |
| Japanese..... | 46 |
| Filipino..... | 10 |
| All Others..... | 8 |

The deterioration in the educational position of the Hawaiians became clearer during the 1920's, more starkly by far for the pure Hawaiians than for the Part-Hawaiians. Statistics for high school attendance indicate that by 1926 the pure Hawaiian boys were worse off than any group including Filipino boys, using high school attendance as a measure of well-being. Pure Hawaiian girls were better off than Filipino girls, but considerably worse off than all others. Part-Hawaiians were still better off than the Japanese. Table 8 indicates the data for high school attendance in 1926.

Occupationally, the Hawaiian's position has likewise deteriorated. Oriental groups were rising slowly through the occupational hierarchy of jobs from unskilled to skilled and the professions. In 1930 Hawaiians were still over-represented among the professional occupations. Since 1930

¹Hormann, "Integration in Hawaii's Schools," 21 Social Process in Hawaii (1957) p. 7.

their position in relation to Oriental groups has sharply dropped.¹

Table 8
HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
TERRITORY OF HAWAII
1926*

| | <u>Number Enrolled
in High Schools</u> | | <u>Per Cent
Enrolled</u> | |
|-----------------|--|-------|------------------------------|-------|
| | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls |
| Hawaiian | 104 | 91 | 12 | 11 |
| Part Hawaiian | 539 | 572 | 48 | 56 |
| Portuguese | 222 | 233 | 16 | 16 |
| Other Caucasian | 450 | 466 | 70 | 73 |
| Chinese | 664 | 444 | 77 | 54 |
| Japanese | 1,403 | 747 | 37 | 20 |
| Korean | 91 | 50 | 76 | 48 |
| Filipino | 42 | 11 | 14 | 5 |

*Adams, "The Education and Economic Outlook," p. 10.

One aspect of the social disorganization into which the Hawaiian community fell is revealed clearly by Table 9.

No simple economic or ecological ordering of delinquency was apparent at this time. The Hawaiians, well above the Japanese in the economic scale and occupying better residential areas nevertheless were responsible for an abnormally

¹Lind, "Changing Race Relations in Hawaii," 18 Social Process in Hawaii (1954) p. 9.

high number of the juvenile court cases.¹

Table 9
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
HONOLULU
1926-1928*

| Race | Number of
Juvenile
Court Cases | Ratio of Delinquency
Per 1,000 of Public
and Private School
Population |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| Hawaiian | 208 | 169.7 |
| Part-Hawaiian | 176 | 46.9 |
| Portuguese | 173 | 65.1 |
| Porto Rican | 51 | 167.1 |
| Spanish | 7 | 46.3 |
| Other Caucasian | 26 | 10.7 |
| Chinese | 114 | 26.8 |
| Japanese | 109 | 12.1 |
| Filipino | 49 | 108.1 |
| Korean | 43 | 72.8 |
| Total | 960 | 38.3 |

*Territorial statistics at that time distinguished between Portuguese, Porto Rican, Spanish and "Other" Caucasians. Source: Andrew N. Lind, "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," 36 American Journal of Sociology (1930) p. 215.

The twentieth century thus had brought no marked improvement for the Hawaiians. Much concern continued to exist in

¹Andrew N. Lind, "Some Ecological Patterns of Community Disorganization in Honolulu," 36 American Journal of Sociology (1930) p. 216.

the community for their improvement, but we shall see how the remedy again was an institution ill-suited for Hawaii's polity.

The Transplantation of Homesteading--Attempts to
Check the Decline of the Hawaiians

Homesteading is first recognized in the laws of Hawaii in "An Act to provide for the appointment of agents to sell government lands to the people," passed on July 11, 1851.¹ This law attempted to care for those people desiring land who could not qualify under the Kuleana Law. It provided homesteads for those without land. The 1851 statute allowed a maximum grant of 50 acres at a minimum price of 50¢ per acre; the Act of 1853² increased the maximum holding to 100 acres and decreased the minimum price to twelve and one-half cents per acre.

The great expansion of homesteading which took place during the post civil war period on the mainland United States was partially reflected in Hawaii by new legislation with direct application to homesteading. The Act of August 29, 1884, entitled "An Act to facilitate the acquiring and settlement of homesteads,"³ differentiated between various qualities of land by permitting the acquisition of from 2 to 20 acres of dry agricultural land or a maximum of 2 acres of wet land. The price was fixed at appraised value, with the

¹L. 1851, p. 52, RLH 1905, p. 1245.

²L. 1853, p. 55, RLH 1905, p. 1247.

³L. 1884, c. 45.

right to purchase conditioned upon the erection of a dwelling house on the land and continuous occupation by the purchaser for a fixed period of years. The Act required that the tract be fenced, though no requirement for cultivation was included. In 1893 the homestead laws were amended and consolidated though no major changes were made.¹

Hawaii's land laws were almost completely overhauled and rewritten in 1895,² repealing most previous legislation regulating homesteading in the islands. Homesteading provided for under the 1893 consolidation was prohibited and an entirely new law was structured and definitions set forth.

Congressional hearings indicate that one of the strongest arguments made by Governor Dole in favor of the 1895 homesteading provisions is that they were designed to return the Hawaiians to the land, and prevent them from alienating the lands which they received as homesteads under that law. The 1895 law, of the then Republic of Hawaii, established a board of "Commissioners of Public Lands" with the responsibility of managing the public lands. The Land Act of 1895 spelled out a comprehensive approach to homesteading in Hawaii. The Commissioners were given broad powers to lease and sell public lands under a variety of conditions.³ It is quite revealing

¹In 1893 the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown and a provisional government established. This was followed by the Republic of Hawaii and a new Constitution which provided that lands previously categorized as Crown Lands should become public lands.

²L. 1895, Act 26.

³Civil Laws 1897.

to note that the Land Act of 1895, making land available in several different ways, was never extensively used. The provision of the 1895 law which allowed for homestead leases under a 999 year lease had been especially designed to assist native Hawaiian families, but after five years only 86 holdings constituting 1,230 acres had been distributed. Right of purchase leases, on the other hand, had been granted in 329 cases involving more than 16,000 acres.¹

At the turn of the century, 521 holdings had been distributed under the 1895 Act, with only one-third of the land involved distributed to native Hawaiians.² Writing at that time, Blackman noted that "The leases under which this land (the public lands) is held expire from time to time--all of them by 1921; it will thus be possible gradually to break up the large holdings into homesteads and distribute them widely among an agricultural population. Probably this ought to be done, unless, at any rate, the planters in the meantime adopt of their own motion some method of cooperative production which would secure a like social result."³

A close examination of the qualifications written into Hawaii's homesteading laws reveals that little consideration was given to any experience relating to agricultural or pastoral work. Other qualifications abound, however, as the

¹Blackman, p. 64.

²Ibid., p. 64.

³Ibid., p. 164.

following list indicates:

- (1) citizenship;
- (2) age over 18 years;

Disqualifications were based upon:

- (1) civil disability for any offense;
- (2) delinquency in paying taxes;
- (3) prior false declaration in applying for land under homesteading acts; and
- (4) ownership of other land in excess of specified amounts.

The Organic Act made some administrative changes relating to the public lands,¹ but it modified civil qualification when it permitted homesteading under declaration of intent to become a citizen. The general qualifications remained other than agricultural until the passage of Public Law 484 in 1952 which provides for the direct sale of a homestead to any American citizen who is eligible for a loan under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.² No drawing or lot is required.³

Congressional amendments to Hawaii's land laws have been directed at administration, enlargement of the scope of the laws, prevention of abuse and Hawaiian rehabilitation. It is the latter area that I will focus upon in the empirical body of this dissertation.

¹Organic Act, section 73. "An Act to Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawaii" took effect June 14, 1900. See notes to Organic Act, Chapter 1, par. 1.

²50 Stat. 525.

³George W. Luter, Report on Homesteading in Hawaii, 1839-1961. (Hawaii, Department of Land and Natural Resources, 1961).

The Organic Act did recognize the interests of sugar in Hawaii. The Act permitted the omission of withdrawal provisions from public land leases suitable for the cultivation of sugar cane.¹ But, perhaps ominously for sugar, the widening impact of American democratic homesteading was also to be noted in the Organic Act, particularly when compared with the provisions of the Land Act of 1895.² The provisions of the Land Act concerning the opening of land to settlement were not mandatory. The Organic Act, on the other hand, is quite explicit that whenever 25 or more persons with qualifications of homesteaders make a written application to the Commissioner of Public Lands for the opening of agricultural lands for settlement, the Commissioner of Public Lands was bound to carry out such a request.³ Furthermore, and perhaps even worse for the growth of plantation agriculture, no more than 1,000 acres could be leased to any one plantation.

¹Organic Act, Par. 73(d).

²In 1911 the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii opined that much of the 90,000 acres of public land which had been distributed for homesteading under the 1895 law "might as well have been cast into the ocean, as far as real homesteading is concerned." See Lind, An Island Community (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 86. The quotation is from U. S., Congress, House, Committee on the Territories, 1. Bills Referred to Committee, 2. Bills Reported from Committee, 3. Reports Made by Committee, 4. Hearings before Committee; compiled by B. F. Oden, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1912, Vol. II, p. 413. In 1916 the Commissioner of Public Lands in the Territory reported that nearly two-thirds of all the products from homestead lands were sugar cane and pineapples. See Lind, Ibid., p. 86.

³See sections 73(m) and (n) for the mandatory provisions of the Organic Act.

SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion of the interaction taking place between changes in Hawaii's land tenure system, the growth of a plantation economy, and the rise of a multi-racial and multi-ethnic community is intended to help the reader understand the forces which contributed to the decline of the native Hawaiian community.

Among the resources available to Hawaii's political leaders which could be used to offset the deleterious impact of western civilization in general, and the above factors in particular, were programs and institutions which had been developed in the nineteenth century period of nation building in the United States. The primary force behind the attempt to transplant these American democratic institutions was the American missionary community, honestly concerned with the serious plight of the Hawaiians and deeply convinced that alternatives used in the United States to solve social problems and raise the quality of American society were also practical solutions for Hawaii's great social problems. Among the alternatives which the missionary community turned to was homesteading.

Homesteading was confronted with great barriers to be overcome, included among which was the relative scarcity of arable lands and the growing demands of an increasingly powerful sugar elite for the use of these lands. Historically speaking, the last great attempt to foster a homestead program in Hawaii was publicly justified as a potential cure for the ills which

beset the Hawaiians. The history of that attempt, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, provides the subject matter for Chapters 2 and 3 of this study. The consideration of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act within the problems presented by democratic transplantation will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The twin forces of a declining Hawaiian culture and population, and continued interest by many in a homestead experiment in Hawaii were to be important factors in the eventual Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Marylyn Vause¹ has shown how the threats to the sugar industry represented by homesteading were met. In 1920 the poor condition of some of the Hawaiian people and the ominous picture for the future of that group afforded the plantations the opportunity to give the Hawaiians a limited amount of marginal land and thus, in part, satisfy the drive for homesteading. At the same time the plantations were able to exempt sugar lands from homesteading, gain the political allegiance of the Hawaiians, and in the entire process kill any future homesteading in Hawaii.

¹Marylyn M. Vause, "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1962).

CHAPTER 2

Analysis of Hawaiian Homes Commission Lands

Hawaiian Home Lands Today: Location and Use

The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands currently is entrusted with the administration of approximately 184,000 acres of land. These lands are located on each of the major islands throughout the state. The bulk of this land is located in the following general areas:

| | |
|----------|--|
| Hawaii: | Keaukaha, Kawaihae, Panaewa,
and Waimea; |
| Kauai: | Anahola and Kekaha; |
| Maui: | Paukalo, Kahikinui, and Kula; |
| Molokai: | Hoolehua, Kalamaula, Kapaakea,
and O'ne Alii; |
| Oahu: | Nanakuli, Papakolea, and Waimanalo. |

On an island basis, this acreage is divided as follows:

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| Hawaii | 106,993 |
| Kauai | 17,187 |
| Maui | 28,965 |
| Molokai | 24,053 |
| Oahu | <u>6,956</u> |
| | 184,154 |

These data on the portion of public lands set aside for use by qualified Hawaiians represent the most accurate figure obtainable under present circumstances. It is very likely that there are very few areas remaining in the state on which agreement as to ownership has not been reached, at least in cases involving the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands.¹ Many of these agreements have come during the past two years.

Land Utilization and Distribution

A generalized picture of the present distribution of the departmental acreage can be drawn from Table 10. Table 10 is constructed so that two major points may be emphasized:

- (1) Relatively little land of the total is actually used directly by the homesteaders; and
- (2) a considerable amount of the land not used directly by the homesteaders nevertheless is of some indirect and considerable benefit to the recipients of grants under this program.

The table is divided into three major categories: (1) direct use or occupancy by the homesteader; (2) indirect benefit to the homesteader; and (3) non-direct benefit to or use by the homesteader. It also distinguishes between "homesteader use" (houselots, agricultural or pastoral lots, community pasture, and farm lots) and "non-homesteader use" (leased sugar and pasture, forest reserves, and "other"). This categorization suggests that less land than was originally thought is actually being used by the homesteaders.

¹The one area of consequence for which total agreement is not complete concerns the Anahola lands on Kauai.

Table 10

HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS UTILIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION
ACREAGE BY ISLAND
OCTOBER 1963

| Use | Hawaii | Kauai | Molokai | Maui | Oahu | Total | Per Cent
of Total |
|--|--------|--------|---------|--------|-------|---------|----------------------|
| I. Direct Use or Occupancy
by Homesteader | | | | | | | |
| 1. Houselot | 318 | 37 | 1,000 | 11 | 295 | 1,661 | .9 |
| 2. Farm | 1,128* | 289 | --- | --- | 4 | 1,421 | .8 |
| 3. Ranch/Pasture | 15,159 | --- | 750 | --- | --- | 15,909 | 8.5 |
| SUB-TOTAL | 16,605 | 326 | 1,750 | 11 | 299 | 18,991 | 10.2 |
| II. Indirect Benefit to
Homesteader | | | | | | | |
| 1. Leased or Permit
Land | 61,288 | 16,539 | --- | 20,104 | 3,002 | 100,933 | 54.6 |
| 2. Subleased (Pine-
apple Agreements) | --- | --- | 5,000 | --- | --- | 5,000 | 3.1 |
| 3. Community Pasture | 3,349 | --- | 14,882 | --- | --- | 18,231 | 9.9 |
| 4. Miscellaneous | 175 | 17 | 194 | 10 | 66 | 462 | .2 |
| SUB-TOTAL | 64,812 | 16,556 | 20,076 | 20,114 | 3,068 | 124,626 | 67.8 |

*Probably inflated since almost 1,000 acres of this total is located in the Panaewa area of the Big Island, out on revocable permit to homesteader farmers in this area. An examination reveals very little actual cultivation of Panaewa farm land at this time, though present departmental plans include the eventual farming of this area.

Table 10--Continued

| Use | Hawaii | Kauai | Molokai | Maui | Oahu | Total | Per Cent
of Total |
|--|---------|--------|---------|--------|-------|---------|----------------------|
| III. Non-Direct Benefit to
or Use by Homesteaders | | | | | | | |
| 1. Game Reserves | 11,124 | --- | --- | --- | --- | 11,124 | 6.0 |
| 2. Forest Reserves | 9,634 | --- | 250 | 8,700 | 1,413 | 19,997 | 11.0 |
| 3. Military | 188 | --- | --- | --- | 1,782 | 1,970 | 1.1 |
| 4. Unoccupied | 4,630 | 305 | 1,977 | 140 | 394 | 7,446 | 4.0 |
| SUB-TOTAL | 25,576 | 305 | 2,227 | 8,840 | 3,589 | 40,537 | 22.1 |
| GRAND TOTAL | 106,993 | 17,187 | 24,053 | 28,965 | 6,956 | 184,154 | 100.0 |

150

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected by author in consultation with several State Departments.

Almost 19,000 acres, or 10.2 per cent, of the total of all lands belonging to the department are occupied or used directly by the homesteaders, though most of this land is used as pastures. The bulk of this acreage--15,159 acres, or 79.8 per cent of all the land directly used by the homesteaders--is located in the Waimea area of Hawaii being used as ranch-pasture land by 55 homesteaders. With the exception of 180 acres in the Kamuela area and some experimental farming by one homesteader on 289 acres in Kauai, farming is limited to rather small parcels, many of which are rather sporadically cared for.

The total acreage used for houselots represents less than 1 per cent of all lands belonging to the department. This figure itself must be qualified by pointing out that 1,000 acres of the 1,661 acres in the total are located on Molokai. Approximately 175 homesteaders with pineapple agreements on that island are usually permitted to retain approximately five acres of land for houselot purposes. Much of this land is idle, though many of the homesteaders make a serious effort to maintain it in good order. The 1,000 acres of Molokai houselots provide homes for only 291 families; the 295 acres on Oahu care for more than 950 families.

While the homesteaders do not directly occupy or use much of the land set aside for their benefit, they do share dramatically in the income or benefits from much of the other land belonging to the department. 124,626 acres of Hawaiian home lands, or 67.8 per cent of all departmental lands, are

used in such a manner as to provide indirect benefit to the homesteaders. The land in this particular category is considered in this study to be of benefit to the homesteaders if it provides: (a) income which is earmarked for departmental use or personal use of homesteaders; or (b) indirect social benefit.

Lands leased for sugar, pasture or industrial uses (100,933 acres) comprise 54.6 per cent of all Hawaiian home lands and provide an annual income of \$253,718 (see Table 17). That portion of this income not allocated to the administration account (approximately \$200,000 is so allocated) is credited to the development fund. The existence of this source of income and the possible increase of the magnitude of this income in the future is one of the most promising signs that a self-supporting department is within the realm of possibility.

A relatively small amount of land in the "indirect benefit" category (462 acres) is of significant social and economic importance. While it consists of only 2/10 of 1 per cent of all the Hawaiian home lands, this acreage provides the space upon which the schools, churches, playgrounds, beaches, demonstration farms, and roads are located.

Table 10 includes two other categories of indirect benefit which should be mentioned--lands subleased to the pineapple companies on Molokai (5,000 acres) and community pastures on Hawaii and Molokai (18,231 acres). Many homesteaders argue that such lands should be categorized as directly used or occupied. Such a categorization does not seem accurate, however, for in each case the homesteader himself is unlikely to

participate in the day-to-day operation of the system.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act--
The Early Years

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 embodied principles and goals of homesteading greatly divergent from those which had evolved within the continental United States. Limitation of benefits to one ethnic group--persons with one-half or more Hawaiian blood--was perhaps the most novel departure from previous American homesteading policy.¹ Furthermore, governmental retention of title to homestead land, an important feature of the Act, was at variance with a venerated American theory that a large class of land-owning farmers provided an essential anchor to a democratic society. The evil consequences of land speculation, most frequently operating to the disadvantage of native Hawaiians, and apparently incurable under existing mainland homestead laws, provided a rationale for governmental retention of land titles. Immediate consequences of governmental retention of land titles were the paternalistic provisions for commission management of the homesteading program. Commission responsibilities at first included choosing a limited area for the first homestead settlement, clearing land and providing water prior to settlement, and screening applicants for homestead leases; later they were to extend into the organization and management of community pastures and the operation of nursery schools. As a homesteading program

¹See particularly The Homestead Act of 1862, 12 Stat. 392.

for Hawaiians, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act contemplated a cautious, limited, carefully controlled, but hopefully fool-proof beginning.

The joining together of the ideas of homesteading and the social and economic rehabilitation of a group for which the community assumed some degree of responsibility appeared to justify the new concept of homestead policy contained in the Act. Rehabilitation of those considered temporarily unable to adjust themselves to the demands of a Hawaii in the process of industrialization obviously implied a governmentally planned and administered program. One purpose of rehabilitation, however vaguely the overall term was advanced, justified the assignment of some of the Territory's less desirable lands to the program. This argument, perhaps a rationalization, centered on the contention that an easy living to be gained from already developed cane lands might further demoralize the Hawaiians while arduous labor on undeveloped lands could provide the Hawaiians a morale and character-building experience. Further, the choice of lands made in the Act safeguarded the Territory's financial stake in sugar lands managed by large plantations, while starting the program on a small scale gave protection to lands used by large ranchers.¹

Section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act designated the public lands "available" to the Hawaiian Homes Commission. However, this section of the Act specifically

¹ See U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Territories, Hearings on Rehabilitation, 66th Cong., 2d Sess., 1920.

excluded: (a) all lands within any forest reservation; (b) all cultivated sugar cane lands; and (c) all public lands held under a certificate of occupation, homestead lease, right of purchase lease, or special homestead agreement. Since the initial passage of the Act these exceptions have caused considerable confusion as to what was and what was not Hawaiian Homes Commission land. Additional confusion has been created by the fact that in some instances Congress referred to a broader area of land from which the commission was to select the designated acreage.

Although the precise boundaries of lands available to the commission were not made clear in the Act, there was general agreement that the lands were mainly of second or third class. The choice of inferior lands for homesteading resulted from the fact that the Congressional territorial committees involved gave consideration to the idea of the rehabilitation program for Hawaiians simultaneously with their consideration of Hawaiian land law changes. The land laws were being examined because the leases on many of the Territory's best cane lands were about to expire and these lands would become available for general homesteading. The House Committee on Territories was led to the view, buttressed by testimony from Secretary of the Interior Lane, that Hawaii could not yet afford to permit its cane lands to be homesteaded; therefore, homesteading should be limited to the undeveloped or marginal lands.¹ That the alleged need to preserve the

¹Ibid., p. 123.

plantation system was uppermost in the mind of the chairman of the Committee on Territories possibly explains his failure to inquire into the suitability for homesteading of the lands chosen for rehabilitation. The chairman's questions were aimed at determining who currently leased the lands to be designated available, and whether use of them for homesteading would result in any injustices or unnecessary inconveniences to the current lessees.

At a later Senate Committee on Territories¹ hearing, objections were raised as to the suitability of lands proposed for Hawaiian homesteads. One witness noted that the American Sugar Company had invested \$1.5 million to establish a sugar plantation on the Molokai lands in question, but had abandoned its investment when engineers estimated the cost of tunneling required to get water to the land at an even higher figure than the amount already expended. If as valuable a crop as sugar could not justify the cost of irrigation, despite a large investment already made, how could homesteading be made to pay? Testimony from a representative of Parker Ranch (Parker Ranch stood to lose 99,000 acres of land under the bill) claimed that the particular pasture lands chosen on Hawaii would be worthless for homesteading or for pasture because of drought conditions which required moving cattle widely over the island.

¹U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, Hearings on H. R. 13500, to Amend Act to Provide Government for Hawaii, As Amended, to Establish Hawaiian Homes Commission, and for Other Purposes, 66th Cong., 3rd Sess., 1920.

Furthermore, the Parker representative testified, ranchmen estimated the cost of starting a 2,000-acre cattle ranch at \$25,000. Similar objections were raised by a representative from the Raymond Ranch on Maui which stood to lose 25,000 acres of leased land under the bill.

Mr. B. G. Rivenburgh, ex-commissioner of public lands for the Territory, testified that the 25,000 acres taken from the Raymond range, "is not in any sense agricultural land. It is not, in a broad sense, grazing land. It is totally a lava flow, unwatered ... not suitable for Hawaiians to take as grazing land, because they would have no land to remove their herds to in time of dry weather."

Prince Kuhio, however, indicated his satisfaction with the lands chosen. When asked at the hearings why he would not prefer the rich cane lands for the Hawaiians, he replied that the Hawaiians couldn't manage to cultivate sugar cane, while maintenance of the plantation system would provide revenues essential for the support of Hawaiian homesteading.¹

A more detailed description of the lands was provided for Congressional consideration by Albert Horner² in a letter to Senator Miles Poindexter. Table 11, an abstracted version

¹Ibid.

²Horner was a sugar expert of the Hawaiian Canneries Co. (Ltd.). His letter to Senator Miles Poindexter, member of the U. S. Senate Committee on Territories, is reproduced in U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920, Hearings on H. R. 13500..., pp. 79-81. See also Marylyn M. Vause, "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Hawaii, 1962).

of his description, indicates why it was said that the lands chosen for homesteading, with very few exceptions, were lands that would require great diligence, expense, and knowledge in order to develop successful farming or ranching.

Table 11

HORNER'S DESCRIPTION OF LANDS CHOSEN FOR
HOMESTEADING UNDER HAWAIIAN HOMES ACT
BY ISLAND, APPROXIMATE ACREAGE,
AND LAND POTENTIAL

| Island | Acreage | Land Potential |
|------------------------|---------|--|
| <u>Hawaii</u> | | |
| Kamoa-Puueo | 11,000 | Useful for grazing only for a few months a year. No water for domestic use. |
| Puuhapu | 1,200 | Land adjacent to site where a Hawaiian rehabilitation project had been attempted and had failed. Most suitable of available lands for homesteading purposes. |
| Kawaihae I | 10,000 | Same as Kamoa, except less soil covering rocks. |
| Pauaki | 750 | Same as above. |
| Kamoku-Kapulena-Nienie | 12,350 | Third class agricultural in part, and balance second class pasture. Water for domestic use would have to be piped in some miles. |
| Humuula | 53,000 | Fourth class grazing; no water supply; beyond reach of water; almost entirely lava waste with no agricultural land. |
| Piihonua | 2,000 | Second class agricultural; annual rainfall 250 inches. |

Table 11--Continued

| <u>Island</u> | <u>Acreage</u> | <u>Land Potential</u> |
|------------------------|----------------|--|
| <u>Hawaii (cont'd)</u> | | |
| Koaki Mahuu | 2,000 | Rocky, almost solid lava; fertile soil, well situated for fishing. |
| <u>Kauai</u> | | |
| Upper Waimea | 15,000 | Third class grazing; valueless without fattening lands, rough, rocky, very dry; could produce crops if \$1,000,000 spent to bring water. |
| Moloaa | 2,500 | No agricultural or grazing lands. |
| Anahola and Kamalomalo | 5,000 | Second class agricultural land; would require irrigation; large part planted to cane and irrigated. |
| <u>Maui</u> | | |
| Kahikinui | 25,000 | Third class grazing when held in large tracts; most of land can be grazed only a few months of year because of frequent dry spells; steep and rocky. |
| Kula | 6,000 | Second class agricultural; crops can be expected one year out of three. |
| <u>Molokai</u> | | |
| Palaau | 11,400 | With irrigation would produce abundant crops, without water is poor grazing land; irrigation project estimated to cost \$2,000,000. |

Table 11--Continued

| Island | Acreage | Land Potential |
|-------------------------|---------|--|
| <u>Molokai</u> (cont'd) | | |
| Kapaakea | 2,000 | Steep part of mountain; worthless for agriculture. |
| Kamiloloa I and II | 3,600 | |
| Makakupaia | 2,200 | |
| Kalamaula | 6,000 | Upper half, second class agricultural land; lower same as Palaau. |
| <u>Oahu</u> | | |
| Nanakuli | 3,000 | Rough, rocky, dry; no value except for its proximity to sea, and fishing rights. |
| Lualualei | 2,000 | |
| Waimanalo | 4,000 | Second class agricultural or cane land, with water might be first class. |

Source: See U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920.

Mr. Horner further noted that the only desirable lands mentioned were Waimanalo and Anahola-Kamalomalo which were "cultivated sugar cane lands" and were therefore excluded from available lands. "In short," says Horner, "it gives the plantations all arable and the Hawaiians all arid lands!"¹

Prior to Congressional passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921, two other bills regarding Hawaiian homesteading were introduced in Congress. (See Table 12 for

¹Ibid., p. 81.

comparisons of the three bills). A bill introduced in February, 1920, HR 12683, would have made 191,300 acres more or less¹ available, while the Act designated 203,300 acres more or less as available lands. The difference is accounted for by the addition of the following lands: Molokai--5,000 acres for the Leper Settlement; Oahu--Nanakuli (3,000 acres) under lease to Oahu Railway and Land Co.; Lualualei (2,000 acres) under lease to Waianae Co.; Hawaii--Waimanu (200 acres), Panaewa, Waiakea (2,000 acres), Keaukaha (2,000 acres); Kauai--Anahola and Kamalomalo (2,500 acres) under lease to Makee Sugar Company. Some lands included under HR 12683 were dropped in the Act; 3,000 acres on Hawaii, Kawaihae leased to Parker Ranch and Moloaa, Kauai, 2,500 acres of forest land. These reductions and additions in land designated available do not appear to have had any special significance.

Changes of greater significance than those made in available lands designated were the exclusion of all cultivated sugar cane lands, and all public lands held under a certificate of occupation, homestead lease, right of purchase lease, or special homestead agreement contained in the Act but not in HR 12683. This meant that some of the acreage added in the final draft (Waimanalo and Anahola-Kalomalo) actually was excluded. Much of the land designated available was under homestead lease, right of purchase lease, or certificate of occupation.

¹The expression "more or less" is written into the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

Table 12

COMPARISON OF ACREAGE TOTALS AND LOCATIONS OF LAND
IN HR 12683, HR 13500, AND THE HAWAIIAN HOMES
COMMISSION ACT OF 1920

| Island | Location of Grant | HR 12683 | HR 13500 | Act |
|---------|------------------------|----------|----------|---------|
| Hawaii | Kamaloa-Puueo | 11,000 | 11,000 | 11,000 |
| | Puukapu | 15,000 | 12,000 | 12,000 |
| | Kawaihae I | 13,000 | 10,000 | 10,000 |
| | Pauahi | 750 | 750 | 750 |
| | Kamoku-Kapulena | 5,000 | 5,000 | 5,000 |
| | Nienie | 7,350 | 7,350 | 7,350 |
| | Humuula Mauka | 53,000 | 53,000 | 53,000 |
| | Panaewa | not in | not in | 2,000 |
| | Piihonua | not in | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| | Kaohē-Makuu, Puna | not in | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| | Waimanu | not in | 2,000 | 200 |
| | Waiakea Kai (keaukaha) | not in | not in | 2,000 |
| Maui | Kahikinui | 25,000 | 25,000 | 25,000 |
| | Kula | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 |
| Molokai | Palaau | 11,400 | 11,400 | 11,400 |
| | Kapaakea | 2,000 | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| | Kalamaula | 6,000 | 6,000 | 6,000 |
| | Hoolehua | 3,500 | 3,500 | 3,500 |
| | Kamiloloa I and II | 3,600 | 3,600 | 3,600 |
| | Makakupaia | 2,200 | 2,200 | 2,200 |
| | Kalaupapa | not in | not in | 5,000 |
| Oahu | Nanakuli | not in | 3,000 | 3,000 |
| | Lualualei | not in | 2,000 | 2,000 |
| | Waimanalo | 4,000 | 4,000 | 4,000 |
| Kauai | Waimea | 15,000 | 15,000 | 15,000 |
| | Molooa | 5,000 | 2,500 | 2,500 |
| | Anahola & Kamalomalo | 2,500 | 5,000 | 5,000 |
| TOTAL | | 191,300 | 194,300 | 203,500 |

Sources: (1) Vause, p. 73; and (2) Hawaiian Homes
Commission Act of 1920.

Unlike HR 12683, the Act provided that only certain lands on Molokai and on Hawaii were to be used or disposed of by the Hawaiian Homes Commission in the first five years. Again, unlike HR 12683, the Act provided that any available land under lease at the time of passage of the Act should not assume the status of Hawaiian home lands until the lease expired or the Commissioner of Public Lands withdrew the lands from lease. This provision was included also in HR 13500. The net effect of changes from HR 12683 to the Act was to make an additional grant of 12,000 acres nominally available while reducing the land actually available to some 37,900 acres.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, section 204, paragraph 3, provided that in instances where the commission was to select lands out of the larger area of available lands, the commission was required to acquire the approval of the Secretary of the Interior and give notice of its selection to the Commissioner of Public Lands before the land selected could acquire the status of "Hawaiian home lands". The selections were to be made within three years following the expiration of the first five-year period; selections made thereafter were deemed invalid and of no effect.

The commission selected acreage as follows:

| <u>Location</u> | <u>Acreage Total</u> | <u>Date of Selection</u> |
|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Keaukaha, Hawaii | 2,000 | June, 1924 |
| Panaewa, Hawaii | 2,000 | June, 1924 |
| Waiohulo, Maui | 6,000 | November, 1926 |
| | | June, 1929 |
| Humuula, Hawaii | 33,000 | June, 1929 |

| <u>Location</u> | <u>Acreage Total</u> | <u>Date of Selection</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Piihonia, Hawaii | 2,000 | June, 1929 |
| Kaohē Makuu, Hawaii | 2,000 | June, 1929 |
| Waimanalo, Oahu | 4,000 | January, 1931 |

Section 204, paragraph 3 was deleted when the Act was amended on March 7, 1928; however, the commission was advised by the attorney general's office¹ on November 27, 1928, that selections made after the eight years specified in the Act would be invalid. All of the selections made by the commission except the 4,000 acres in Waimanalo were made within the eight-year period required by the Act. However, since a survey of Hawaiian home lands has never been made, even to this day, questions arising as to whether a certain parcel is or is not Hawaiian home lands have had to be settled by mutual agreement of the Department of Land and Natural Resources and the Hawaiian Homes Commission. In most cases, little controversy remains and, for the purposes of this study, the Hawaiian Homes section of the State Land Inventory will be considered definitive.

While section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act designated the above described 203,300 acres as "available lands," section 204 reduced the quantity of land actually available to the program to 37,900 acres; 33,700 acres on Molokai, and 4,200 acres on Hawaii. The commission had five years in which to develop a homestead program on these actually available lands of sufficient merit to warrant the continuation

¹Hawaii, Opinions of the Attorneys General of Hawaii,
Opinion 1515, November 27, 1928.

of Hawaiian homesteading. Should the program prove a success, the written approval of the Secretary of the Interior and further Congressional authorization could make the other lands referred to in section 203 actually available to the commission.

The 1925 report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission describes the "homelands" given for actual settlement as second-class pastoral lands worth about \$1.00 per acre in 1918 and rented at that time for five cents an acre.¹ F. G. Kraus, a University of Hawaii agriculturalist appointed by Governor Farrington to evaluate Molokai's Hawaiian Homes Commission lands, described the lands on which the homestead experiment was to take place: "At that time the low lands bordering the sea from Kaunakakai westward were dry and almost barren wastes, excepting for the algaroba tree."² These and the open grasslands of Palaau and Hooilehua towards the mountains, as well as the lands of Kalamaula and Kaunakakai to the eastward, were those available for the rehabilitation project.

Lower Kalamaula was chosen as the site for the first settlement, named the Kalaniana'ole Settlement after Prince Kuhio. The plan called for the subdivision of 23 lots of approximately 25 acres each, adjoined by 2,000 acres of

¹Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1925, p. 9.

²Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1923, p. 38. See Table 13 for Krauss report.

community pasture. Water for domestic use was brought in from the Waihee Valley, while irrigation water was obtained from an old spring at a cost to the Territory of \$20,513. By February 1923, 35 acres of algaroba growth had been cleared, much of the work having been done by settlers with a minimal amount of equipment. Thirteen settlers were on the land. Another 87 acres had been cleared and 278 persons were on the settlement by August, 1924.

The commission planned for a second tract in the Palaau and Hoolehua districts consisting of about 80 forty-acre lots suitable for pineapple raising or other dryland farming.¹ (See Table 13 for land classification in these areas.) Sixteen of these lots had been surveyed and subdivided by mid-1924. The commission decided to use the South Hilo lands of Panaewa and Keaukaha in Waiakea for houselots, as they were inappropriate for agricultural use. A considerable degree of interest in these lands on the part of the working people in the Hilo area gave impetus to this decision.²

The status of the land referred to as "available" in section 203 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act caused some confusion in the early years of the homestead program. Some 151,670 acres of land designated "available" were under general leases and included leased land lying within districts from which the commission was to select a certain acreage.

¹Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission, 1925, p. 15.

²Ibid., p. 14.

Table 13

CLASSIFICATION OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS, MOLOKAI
BY F. G. KRAUSS, CHAIRMAN, CLASSIFICATION
COMMISSION--OCTOBER 1924

| Designation of Land | Potential Use |
|---|---|
| "Upper" Palaau and Hoolehua Lands (4,375 acres) | First class agricultural land suitable for pineapple production and other dry land field crops. "It will, of course, require careful planning to select the right crops and taking advantage of the most favorable season of the year for preparing the land and for seeding the crops, as well as practicing the best cultural methods, including the devising of rational systems of crop rotation to prevent depletion of the inherent soil fertility and erosion ..."
(pp. 42, 43) 40-acre lots planned. |
| "Lower" Palaau and Hoolehua Lands (10,463 acres) | First class pastoral land with irrigation, first class agricultural lands--recommended use as community pastures. Drier than higher lands. |
| "Upper" Palaau Lands (230 acres) | Second class agricultural land (due to location) good for pineapple production and general farming. Inaccessibility and limited area which does not permit economical sub-division. |
| "Lower" Palaau Lands (260 acres) | Second class pastoral land; with flood control and irrigation, would be first class agricultural lands. Flood waters may be a menace.. |
| Kapaakea-Kamiloloa 1 and 2, Makakupaia 1 (4,600 acres) | Second class pastoral land. "... one of the poorest areas of land that we have inspected. It is very dry, rough, and rocky." Couldn't carry over 100 cattle, perhaps only part of year. Estimated cost of making domestic water available, \$10,000. |
| Kalamaula (below forest reservation and above the Kalaniana'ole Settlement) (2,800 acres) | First class pastoral land, if irrigated, first class agricultural land. |

Source: Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1923, pp. 41-45.

Initially the commission was under the impression that it was entitled to 100 per cent of the rentals from the lands under lease. However, Attorney General Matthewman gave the opinion¹ that the commission was entitled to the entire receipts only from those of the so-called "available lands" which it ostensibly returned to the commissioner of public lands, and were actually under the commission's control, that is, "Hawaiian Home Lands." He determined that "Hawaiian Home Lands" were: (1) the actually available lands, (2) those of the so-called available lands which were not under lease at the time of passage of the Act, and (3) so-called available lands not under lease at the time of passage of the Act and selected by the commission out of a larger area of available land. The "Hawaiian Home Lands" then included:

Hawaii

| | |
|------------------|-------|
| Waimanu | 200 |
| Panaewa, Waiakea | 2,000 |
| Keaukaha | 2,000 |

| | |
|----------------|--------|
| <u>Molokai</u> | 33,700 |
|----------------|--------|

Oahu

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| Lualualei | 2,000 |
|-----------|-------|

Kauai

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| Waimea | 15,000 |
| Anahola and
Kamalomalo | 5,000 |

| | |
|-------|--------|
| TOTAL | 59,900 |
|-------|--------|

Since the commission had already received \$11,067 from lands

¹Hawaii, Opinions, Opinion 1027, December 20, 1922.

leased but not selected in 1921, it entered an equivalent liability in its 1923 financial statement. Amendatory legislation passed by Congress on January 3, 1923, provided that "the entire receipts derived from any leasing of the 'available lands' defined in section 203, these receipts including proportionate shares of the receipts from the lands of Humuula Mauka, Piihonua, and Kaehe, of which lands portions are yet to be selected, ... shall be covered into the fund." Repeated requests were made by the commission to be permitted to use the rentals on available lands for administrative costs in order to prevent depletion of revolving fund income. By Act of November 26, 1941, the receipts from the available lands were credited to the Hawaiian home administration account up to the actual budget approved for department use by the legislature. Any greater amount than that needed for the approved budget was credited to the general fund. Prior to this time the department had depended upon special legislative appropriation or use of the revolving fund income.

In 1958 another amendment permitted the department to retain that amount in excess of its approved budget collected from available lands.¹ The excess amount is now transferred to the development fund.

Direct Use or Occupancy of Lands
by Homesteaders

Less than 20,000 acres of the land entrusted to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands is directly used or occupied

¹Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, Section 213(f).

by the homesteaders. This acreage represents about 10 per cent of the department's lands. The following table pictures the present acreage and location of this land:

Table 14
LAND DIRECTLY USED OR OCCUPIED
BY HOMESTEADERS
OCTOBER 1963
(ACRES)

| Use | Hawaii | Kauai | Molokai | Maui | Oahu | Total | Per Cent
of Total |
|-------------------|--------|-------|---------|------|------|--------|----------------------|
| Houselot | 318 | 37 | 1,000 | 11 | 295 | 1,661 | .9 |
| Farm | 1,128 | 289 | -- | -- | 4 | 1,421 | .8 |
| Ranch/
Pasture | 15,159 | -- | 750 | -- | -- | 15,909 | 8.5 |
| TOTAL | 16,605 | 326 | 1,750 | 11 | 299 | 18,991 | 10.2 |

Source: State Land Inventory, as corrected.

Table 15 pictures the changes between 1926 and 1959 in the division between house and farm lots. The exclusion of pineapple contract land from the "direct use" category actually considerably reduces the total of farmlots in the earlier years.

Table 15 shows a steady increase in the proportion of houselots to farmlots. At the program's outset there were slightly less than twice as many houselots as there were farmlots. By 1959 there were more than four houselots to every farmlot, and many of the existing farmlots were not under cultivation by the homesteader himself.

Table 16 provides some useful material for comparing the present acreage use ratio. These figures suggest a great differential between farmlot and houselot acreage. In fact,

however, 6,000 acres of the farmlots were being cultivated by the pineapple companies and not the homesteaders.

Diversified Farming

Diversified farming was a fundamental goal and a fundamental problem for the homestead program from its inception.

In accord with one of the implied purposes of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, the first efforts of the commission were directed at establishing a viable community of subsistence farmers and ranchers on Molokai. The coastal flats at Kalamaula were chosen for the first settlement after agricultural specialists had examined the Molokai lands. The 22 farmlots of around 25 acres apiece and the 21 houselots combined with the community pasture (1,800 acres) represented use of about 40 per cent of the land available to the commission at Kalamaula. About 10 per cent of the land available was to be used for farm and houselots. Before the settlers arrived, the commission had cut roads, piped in water, developed a demonstration farm and started the difficult task of land clearing.

While land was being cleared and homes erected at the Kalanianaʻole Settlement in 1923, the commission pushed on to survey, subdivide and locate domestic water sources for the larger settlement planned in the Hoolehua area. Since the expenditure necessary to irrigate the Hoolehua plain¹ was out

¹By 1923, the engineer assigned to the commission had estimated this cost to have risen to more than \$3,000,000. See Jorgen Jorgensen's letter to the commission, in Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1923, p. 33.

Table 15

TYPES OF HOMESTEADING OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
AND NUMBER OF LOTS BY ISLAND
1926-1959

| Island | Type of Lot | 1926 | 1932 | 1938 | 1944 | 1950 | 1959 |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|
| Molokai | Houselots | 19 | 33 | 38 | 54 | 90 | 55 |
| | Farms | 96 | 152 | 165 | 151 | 209 | 229 |
| | Ranch/Pasture | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | --- | --- |
| Hawaii | Houselots | 157 | 200 | 207 | 253 | 378 | 381 |
| | Farms | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 74 |
| | Ranch/Pasture | --- | 1 | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Oahu | Houselots | --- | 237 | 309 | 351 | 798 | 894 |
| | Farms | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | Houselots | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | 40 |
| Kauai | Farms | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| Total Houselots*
For All Islands | | 176 | 470 | 554 | 658 | 1,266 | 1,370 |
| Total Farms* For
All Islands | | 96 | 152 | 165 | 151 | 209 | 303 |

Source: Reports of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii

*It should be noted that this table uses the department's categories of classification. This results in the inclusion of lands being subleased to pineapple companies in the "farm" totals.

Table 16

HOMESTEADER USE OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS BY ISLAND
1926-1950
(Acres)

| Island | Type of Lot | 1926 | 1932 | 1938 | 1944 | 1950 |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Molokai | Houselots
Farms
Ranch/Pasture | 19
3,539
500 | 33
5,011
500 | 34
5,892
750 | 48
5,702
500 | 57
6,990
500 |
| Total Leased to Homesteaders | | 4,058 | 5,544 | 5,926 | 5,750 | 7,546 |
| Oahu | Houselots
Farms
Ranch/Pasture | 157

--- | 127

--- | 140

--- | 140

--- | 282

--- |
| Total Leased to Homesteaders | | 157 | 127 | 140 | 140 | 282 |
| Hawaii | Houselots
Farms
Ranch/Pasture | ---

--- | 195

200 | 199

200 | 214

200 | 268

200 |
| Total Leased to Homesteaders | | --- | 395 | 399 | 414 | 468 |
| Kauai | Houselots
Farms | ---
--- | ---
--- | ---
--- | ---
--- | ---
--- |
| Total Houselots | | 176 | 355 | 372 | 401 | 607 |
| Total Farms | | 3,539 | 5,011 | 5,892 | 5,702 | 6,990 |

Table 16 ~~Continued~~ Continued

| Total Ranch/Pasture | 500 | 700 | 950 | 700 | 700 |
|---|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Total Acreage Under Lease to Homesteaders | 4,214 | 5,437 | 7,224 | 6,803 | 8,296 |
| Total Community Pasture | 1,800 | 14,000 | 12,630 | 6,100* | 10,296 |

Source: Reports of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii.

*Plus unspecified amounts at Hooilehua.

of the question, a decision was made to provide for larger leaseholds of 40 acres apiece to be used in dry land farming. These lands were leased in October, 1924. At this time, 75 per cent of the available land near Hoolehua came under homesteader control, although only 4 per cent was leased as farm-lots. Ten thousand acres were to be used as community pasture. These two settlements were the only settlements ever opened by the commission as wholly farming communities. At the maximum, they could only have provided around 100 farm homes as compared with the 15,000 homesteads considered necessary for Hawaiian rehabilitation during Congressional hearings on the Hawaiian homestead bill.¹

The brave attempt of the first Molokai settler to develop a farm economy on the barren but fertile soil of Molokai was viewed initially as a great success. About 2.5 million gallons of irrigation water a day was pumped from an old spring, although the salt content of this water was nearly 60 grains per gallon. By mid-1924, the settlers had 25 acres of alfalfa, which, in combination with the large number of hogs, was expected to form the economic base of the community. Some 47 acres were planted in tomatoes, bananas, watermelons, and cucumbers. Unfortunately, fruit flies destroyed much of the watermelon crop, tomatoes were bruised in shipment to Honolulu and cucumbers failed to sell because "the market did

¹U. S., Congress, House, Committee on Territories, Hearings on Rehabilitation, 66th Cong., 2d Session, 1920, p. 43.

not know what they were."¹

By 1927, the early hope for a successful program of subsistence or diversified agriculture and ranching for the Hawaiians was fading. A severe drought in 1925-26 had convinced the commission that more water must be found for Molokai. The Kalanianaʻole well had become hopelessly saline and had to be abandoned. Pineapple tracts in Palaa were leased to the Kalanianaʻole settlers, who commuted to their pineapple lands. The Hoolehua homesteaders had no water for irrigation available and rainfall proved to be insufficient to support dry land farming. Consequently, pineapple contracts were signed with Libby, McNeill and Libby in 1926. By mid-1928, there were 565 acres under pineapple cultivation and a reduced acreage planted in other crops. Diversified farming in Molokai was beginning to disappear as a goal.

Despite continuous failures, the Hoolehua settlers continued to attempt dry land farming. In 1929, 42 tons of sweet corn, 200 tons of field corn, and small amounts of peanuts, tomatoes, pumpkins, watermelons, cantaloupe, Irish potatoes, cucumbers and sweet potatoes were grown. In 1933, 240 acres were devoted to diversified crops, while 3,074 acres of pineapple were harvested. In 1933, 730 acres were given to crops other than pineapple; in 1934, 690 acres. In 1941, 1,000 acres of field corn were tried but half of the corn was lost due to drought.

¹Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature, 1925, p. 15.

At one point in the desultory history of diversified farming on Molokai, the suggestion was made to move the homes into a central location, rather than having them dispersed throughout the Hoolehua plain. This would give the homesteaders an opportunity to develop community life, it was thought. Furthermore, each homesteader could be assigned a five-acre plot for diversified crops in an area just outside the home area. Such a consolidation of land used for diversified agriculture would have made irrigation more feasible. At the time the suggestion was made, the water distribution system had to be replaced anyway, so that the cost of moving the houses would not have been prohibitive. The plan, however, was never carried beyond the talking stage.

In 1943, the Hoolehua settlers planted 420 acres of field corn, 95 of potatoes from which they reaped only 60 tons of corn. Six of the potato planters suffered financial losses; others were barely able to recover their investments. The Board of Agriculture and Forestry planted 1,355 acres to corn and 975 to milo maize. Despite their use of the best equipment, seeds, and fertilizers, the experiment was a financial loss yielding little corn or maize.

The cumulative weight of these disasters caused Julian Yates, then Executive Officer of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands to conclude that diversified agriculture was too great a risk for individual homesteaders. He noted that each of the four years in which he had been associated with the Hoolehua Project, the homesteaders had lost at least 50 per

cent of the cost of planting and raising the diversified crops they had attempted. In 1944-45, a severe drought caused a 100 per cent loss of crops (315 acres of field corn, 25 of sweet corn, 60 of potatoes and 55 of other crops).¹

Lack of water was unquestionably responsible for the Hawaiian homesteader's failure to develop a diversified agricultural economy. Molokai had little surface water to the south and west; ground water supplies could not be counted on, since salt water saturated the whole island below sea level. An adequate water supply could only have been obtained by tunnelling through the mountains to bring the more plentiful waters of windward Molokai to the Hoolehua plains, and only at a prohibitive cost. The water problem was well known and even had been discussed by the House Committee on Territories when considering the Hawaiian homes bill. But Prince Kuhio had assured the Congressmen that dry land farming would be possible as there were types of taro that needed no water.¹

The tunnelling project was estimated to cost a prohibitive amount at the outset of Hawaiian homesteading.² It was estimated that such a water development would have brought 55 million gallons of water per day or enough to irrigate 5,500 acres in sugar or the whole acreage available to

¹See U. S., Congress, House, Committee on Territories, Hearing on Rehabilitation and Colonization, p. 72.

²Early testimony indicated a minimum cost of \$2,000,000. See Ibid., p. 61. Later estimates were to range from \$3,250,000 to \$6,185,000. See Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1945, p. 6.

Hawaiian homes in diversified farming.³

In 1927 an alternative plan to semi-irrigate Hoolehua and Palaaau by overhead sprinkling was suggested. This plan would have required acquisition of Meyer Lake Reservoir Site to store the winter flood waters for summer use. The reservoir would have held 149,000,000 gallons; enough for one million gallons per day for the five summer months. It was estimated that fulfillment of this plan would make possible the irrigation of 200 acres at a cost of \$125,036. However, the territorial legislature appropriated only \$50,000 for water development in 1927; further, it did not acquire the Meyer Lake site. Hoolehua continued to be watered from rainfall alone, and pineapples continued to dominate the homestead program.

The two main sources of water for domestic use at Hoolehua were the Kamiloloa and Waihanau intakes. Originally, water was stored in five redwood tanks of 20 thousand gallon capacity, and then distributed through wooden pipes over the plateau. In 1927-28 additional storage was provided by three 80,000 gallon wooden tanks at Kauluwai. Still the water supply even for domestic use was inadequate, and had to be strictly rationed. In 1935 two concrete 3.5 million gallon reservoirs were added. It was hoped that the additional capacity would

¹The just completed Molokai Irrigation Project is expected to provide a maximum flow of 14 million gallons of irrigation water per day for use on 13,650 acres of land in the Hoolehua and Maunaloa areas. See Harold L. Baker, Molokai: Present and Potential Land Use (University of Hawaii, Land Study Bureau, 1960, Bulletin No. 1), p. 57.

at last provide a sufficient supply of domestic water. The additional storage still proved to be inadequate. During 1943 and 1944 the homesteaders faced acute water shortages, so drastic that for one month each homesteader received only a small container of water once a week. The Kamiloloa and Waihana intakes went completely dry at times. During 1945 and 1946 the homesteaders again faced severe water shortages. In 1951 a new well was completed at Kalamaula which pumped 750,000 gallons per day, leaving the other sources of water free for the Hoolehua settlers.

The 1945 report of the commission to the Territorial legislature recommended that the policy of diversified agriculture for Hoolehua be abandoned. The commission reasoned that the estimated cost (over 6 million by this time) of the tunnelling project which was essential for irrigation, the age of the homesteaders at Hoolehua, and the suitability of the Molokai lands for pineapple raising were impelling reasons to direct commission attention to Hawaii and Kauai for agricultural homesteading purposes.

By 1945 the commission favored developing Anahola, Kauai, lands (part of which were under lease to Lihue Plantation until July 1, 1955, and part to the Hawaiian Canneries Company, Ltd., until July 1, 1955) for diversified agricultural purposes. It was hoped that the cost of irrigating the 5,000 acres running from the beach to the mountains would be low, since the lands had a river running through them. Yates wrote: "After visiting this area last year, I have wondered

why this place was not originally selected instead of the Hoolehua dust bowl.¹ However, when Anahola lands were finally leased in 1952, the leases were for houselots, not for diversified agriculture.

The Waimea, Hawaii lands (4,000 of 10,000 acres under lease to Parker Ranch until July 1, 1949) were also viewed as ideal for truck farming in 1945. Any necessary irrigation would not cost the millions Molokai would require. Although Waimea lands were leased to homesteaders in 1952, diversified agriculture did not develop on them to any great extent; rather they were leased as pasture lands in 200 acre parcels. When irrigation water finally became available on them in 1957, the Waimea homesteaders felt that "because of the probable charges for the use of the system, ... they could do without irrigation during 10 months out of the year. ..."²

In addition to lack of water, diversified agriculture on Molokai was made difficult by harsh and strong winds, infestation with pests and diseases, and, finally, marketing problems. Climatic conditions made it impossible to predict yield which in turn made it impossible to negotiate marketing contracts.

The policy of developing diversified agriculture was at least temporarily abandoned by the Hawaiian Homes Commission. This is dramatically illustrated by the fact that when the

¹Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1945, p. 7.

²Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1957, p. 9.

Molokai irrigation project, talked about and planned for fifty years, was about to become a reality, the commission exchanged lands on Molokai "classified as well suited for diversified agriculture with irrigation, for state land on Oahu, which is available for housing use." The exchange was with the Department of Land and Natural Resources.¹

Pasture Homesteads

During 1925, two Hawaiian homesteaders leased 250 acres each in Kapaakea, Molokai (2,000 acres were available to the commission in this area) as pasture lands. In 1929, the commission leased 200 acres at Waimanu, Hawaii (the entire amount that was available there) to one individual. During the late 1940's, when it had become quite clear that diversified farming without irrigation on Molokai was a sheer impossibility, the commission turned to lands in Hawaii and Kauai as potential areas for agricultural development. In 1952, 14,140 acres of pasture land along with 60 acres for houses and 114 acres for general agriculture were leased to 59 lessees on Waimea, Hawaii. This acreage constituted about 70 per cent of the lands at Kamoku, Puukapu and Nienie designated as available in the Act.

The Hawaiian homesteaders' experience with ranching proved to be as disappointing as their experience with diversified agriculture. The community pastures were reported to be overgrazed and eroded in the mid-thirties, although there had

¹Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1963, p. 17.

never been more than about 700 head of cattle on the approximately 14,000 acres of community pasture in Molokai. New grasses, appropriate to Molokai's dry climate, were introduced in 1937, while bulls were purchased to improve the quality of the stock. Improvement in both cattle and pasture was reported in 1943. There were around 700 head of cattle in the community pastures in 1945, but it was reported that the pastures were again overgrazed due to the extreme droughts, and that the herd should be reduced to 450 head. By 1953 there were 920 head.

An aspect of the range activities of the Hawaiians was that lack of refrigeration helped to make ranching an economically marginal activity. This was not true of those Waimea ranchers who, through their chattel mortgages with Parker Ranch, had no marketing problem during the life of the mortgage.

Houselots

During the first five-year experimental period, the commission was also authorized by the Act to put Hawaiians on land at Keaukaha and Panaewa, South Hilo. In its second biennial report to the territorial legislature, the commission noted that the lands to be used on Hawaii were totally unsuitable for agricultural development; consequently, the land was divided into one-acre houselots, using about 4 per cent of the Keaukaha and Panaewa lands for the benefit of Hawaiians employed in Hilo. By 1927 there were 158 houselots occupied in the South Hilo area while there were but 101 farmlots on

Molokai in the same year. What is more, the houselot program seemed more successful and more popular than the agricultural program.

The next homestead settlement, opened in 1930, was Nanakuli, on Oahu. (About 4 per cent of the 3,000 acres of available land at Nanakuli was used for houselots. (See Tables 15 and 16.) Demand for homes by residents of Oahu (a demand which was to typify the nature of the pressure for use of Hawaiian Home Lands during subsequent years) had made itself felt sufficiently so that the first new project after the five-year experimental period had passed was of the houselot type. The agricultural program had stumbled badly, but the overall homesteading experiment had nevertheless been judged "successful" enough to justify a housing subdivision on Oahu. Subsequent homestead settlements, with the exception of Waimea, Hawaii, were all houselot projects. They were: Kawaihae, Hawaii (first leased in 1936); Kewalo and Papakolea, Oahu (first leased in 1937); Waimanalo, Oahu (first leased in 1938); Anahola, Kauai (first leased in 1959); Kekaha, Kauai (first leased in 1963). Kawaihae and Waimanalo used initially only .06 and .2 per cent of lands available in their respective areas, while Kewalo and Papakolea were squatter lands given to Hawaiian Homes as an additional grant by Act of Congress.¹

The failure of diversified farming and the increased demand for houselots are two phenomena which require further

¹Approved May 16, 1934. See Report of the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the Legislature of Hawaii, 1937, P. 8.

discussion. It is quite likely that at least part of the waning enthusiasm for farming resulted from the initial heart- and backbreaking experiences with the land. More likely, however, the question has to be considered in terms of ill-timing. By the time that a farming program had been developed, the Hawaiians had little interest in this kind of life. The future lay with employment elsewhere, and not the rigorous kind of activity and perseverance that farming entailed. Moreover, a farming program, with its large allocations of land, could satisfy only a few of the many applicants for help. A community of houselots could reduce the pressure considerably, and no experience was needed in order to live in a house. Whatever the reasons for the change in emphasis, the most consistently mentioned rationalization is that this represented the response to applicant demand, particularly on Oahu.

Lands Providing Indirect Benefit to Homesteader

The major acreage of the land designated as Hawaiian Home land provides indirect benefits to the various homesteaders and the department. These lands, however, are neither directly used nor occupied by the homesteaders. Table 17 indicates the acreages, locations, and usages of this land.

The total annual income to the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands from lands leased, or used under revocable permits, is almost \$254,000. (See Table 18.) This income figure is in addition to the yearly income which the Hawaiian Homes

Commission Act grants to the department from the leasing of state sugar lands or the granting of water licenses.¹ The income from the sugar and water approximates \$225,000 yearly and is earmarked for loan or development purposes. Further income to the department mainly comes from specific appropriation by the state legislature.

Table 17

LANDS PROVIDING INDIRECT BENEFIT TO
HOMESTEADERS, BY ISLAND, LOCATION,
AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION
OCTOBER 1963

| General
Description | Hawaii | Kauai | Molokai | Maui | Oahu | Total | Per Cent
of Total
HHC Lands |
|---|--------|--------|---------|--------|-------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| Leased land
or land un-
der revocable
permit | 61,288 | 16,539 | -- | 20,104 | 3,002 | 100,933 | 54.6 |
| Subleased
under pine-
apple
agreement | -- | -- | 5,000 | -- | -- | 6,025 | 3.1 |
| Community
pastures | 3,349 | -- | 14,882 | -- | -- | 18,231 | 9.9 |
| Miscellaneous
(schools, road-
ways, churches) | 175 | 17 | 194 | 10 | 66 | 462 | .2 |
| ISLAND
TOTALS | 64,812 | 16,556 | 20,076 | 20,114 | 3,068 | 124,626 | 67.8 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

¹See Appendix A for explanation of Hawaiian Homes fund structure. The "grant" has a limitation on it which cuts off the income once the ceiling specified in the Act has been reached. (Materials considered too long for inclusion as footnotes will be included as appendices.)

Table 18

INCOME FROM LEASED LANDS
DEPARTMENT OF HAWAIIAN HOME
LANDS--BY ISLAND
NOVEMBER 1963

| Island | General Lease | Revocable Permit | Total |
|--------|---------------|------------------|------------|
| Oahu | 11,095.75 | 3,026.00 | 14,121.75 |
| Maui | 7,902.00 | -- | 7,902.00 |
| Hawaii | 157,271.22 | 2,442.00 | 159,713.22 |
| Kauai | 65,769.18 | 6,211.96 | 71,981.14 |
| | | | |
| TOTAL | 242,038.15* | 11,679.96 | 253,718.11 |

Source: Department of Hawaiian Home Lands records.

*Income from sugar leases varies slightly from year to year. During the last five years the income varied from a low of \$178,000 in 1959 to a high of \$197,000 in 1961.

Sections 204 and 212 of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act provide that lands not leased by the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands to homesteaders shall be returned to the Department of Land and Natural Resources, resume the status of public lands, and be available under a general lease. The land in this category provides for the income listed under the "general lease" category of Table 18, and currently adds more than \$242,000 annually to the Hawaiian Homes administration and development funds. The use of revocable permits, generally for what is intended to be a short-term arrangement, supplies approximately \$12,000 more.

An important and controversial problem relating to departmental lands arises as a result of the dual arrangement

by which the lands are managed and leased. The department itself is given administrative responsibility for the program. The Department of Land and Natural Resources, on the other hand, issues general leases and establishes rental rates on Hawaiian Home lands which are not currently being used for homestead or related purposes. The Hawaiian Homes Department is relatively powerless to establish what it considers to be fair rental rates for these lands. More than 100,000 acres currently providing income to Hawaiian Homes have been leased by Land and Natural Resources. While the figures must be used with great care, the department points out that considerably more annual income per acre than the Department of Land and Natural Resources has been able to obtain should be forthcoming. One major argument made in support of the Land Department's inability to obtain high income is that insecurity is caused by a legal necessity to include a withdrawal clause (1-5 years) in a general lease; hence high rates simply would drive lessees to more secure land under guaranteed tenure. These lands are used for many purposes, though most often they are pasture or agricultural lands.

Individual non-homesteader lessees range from small house-lot users to great plantations.¹ It is of interest to identify

¹The Department of Land and Natural Resources is in the process of compiling an up-to-date inventory of state lands. This is to include, among other things, all parcels of land listed by tax key, lessee, department lease provisions, and general use. I have used raw data provided by the inventory, but was unable to use the information until extensive up-dating and corrections were made. These corrections and additions were made by making a thorough record check in the Department

the principal non-homesteader users of Hawaiian Home Lands in terms of acreage, and to attempt to identify the uses to which such acreage is being put. This identification can serve two ends: (a) to eliminate any misconceptions as to who has the land and the conditions under which it is leased; and (b) to suggest the range of uses for which the lands are suitable.

The Big Island of Hawaii's 49,167 acres of leased land represent 53 per cent of all Hawaiian Home lands in that island and 60 per cent of all leased land in the state. The income from Hawaii's leased lands amount to 63 per cent of the statewide total income for leased land.

Table 19 identifies the principal users of leased Hawaiian Home land on Hawaii.

Parker Ranch, Kahua Ranch, Naalehu Ranch, Anna Ranch, and W. H. Shipman, Ltd., are the major non-homesteader lessees of Hawaiian Home lands on the island of Hawaii. These five utilize approximately 99 per cent of Hawaii's leased Hawaiian Home land. The biggest individual user is Parker Ranch, owned by Richard Smart, which leases 62 per cent of Hawaii's land in this category and provides about half of the income. Parker Ranch actually uses more than one-third of all the Hawaiian Home lands in the State which are being used under a general lease or revocable permit. Parker provides

of Land and Natural Resources. The completed inventory promises to give rich rewards for both administrators and researchers.

Table 19

HAWAII: PRINCIPAL NON-HOMESTEADER
USERS OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
NOVEMBER 1963

| Lessee | Acreage | Use | Type of Agreement | Expira-
tion Date | Annual
Rental |
|---------------|---------|---------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Richard Smart | 295 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | \$ 5,000 |
| " " | 555 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 7,000 |
| " " | 2,376 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 10,500 |
| " " | 332 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 7,582 |
| " " | 5,290 | Pasture | General Lease | 1974 | 16,000 |
| " " | 7,513 | Pasture | General Lease | 1974 | 14,000 |
| " " | 20,384 | Pasture | General Lease | 1974 | 18,000 |
| SUB-TOTAL | | | | | \$ 78,082 |
| Kahua Ranch | 9,936 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 40,500 |
| Naalehu Ranch | 10,301 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 35,039 |
| Anna Ranch | 335 | Pasture | General Lease | 1972 | 3,015 |
| W. H. Shipman | 2,000 | Pasture | Revocable Permit | -- | 2,400 |
| SUB-TOTAL | | | | | \$ 80,954 |
| HAWAII TOTAL | 59,416 | | | | \$159,713 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

the department with 31 per cent of its income from this kind of operation. All of the Parker leases have from seven to nine years still to run. In fact, all general leases to principal users of Big Island land have about the same duration.

Kauai has the greatest concentration of Hawaiian Home lands being used by non-homesteaders. Table 20 presents the Kauai picture.

Table 20

KAUAI: PRINCIPAL NON-HOMESTEADERS
USERS OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
NOVEMBER 1963

| Lessee | Acreage | Use | Type of Agreement | Expiration Date | Annual Rental |
|---------------------|---------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Lihue Plantation | 1,113 | Sugar | General Lease | 1971 | \$ 34,325 |
| " " | 409 | Cane, Pine, Pasture | Revocable Permit | -- | 4,560 |
| Gay & Robinson | 333 | | General Lease | 1965 | 601 |
| Kekaha Plantation | 14,560 | Sugar, Pasture | General Lease | 1971 | 28,789 |
| TOTAL FOR 3 LESSEES | 16,415 | | | | 68,275 |
| KAUAI TOTAL | 16,539 | | | | 71,981 |
| STATE TOTAL | 99,061 | | | | \$253,718 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

As noted in Table 18, while only 17 per cent of all land leased to non-homesteaders is located on Kauai, this land

generates about 27 per cent of the program's income from this service. As an individual unit, Kauai is overwhelmingly leased to non-homesteaders, 96 per cent of its total Hawaiian Home lands being in that category. Of the total of leased land, 99 per cent is in the hands of three principal users with 16 other users in control of 1 per cent. The three principal users--Kekaha Sugar, Lihue Plantation, Gay & Robinson--contribute 95 per cent of the annual rentals from leased land on Kauai. Kekaha Sugar alone uses 85 per cent of the Hawaiian Home lands located on the island of Kauai and 88 per cent of the land leased by non-homesteaders on that island. Kekaha pays \$28,989 yearly for its use of this land, 40 per cent of the income to Hawaiian Homes on Kauai and 11 per cent of the department's statewide income from leased lands.

Maui is the simplest island to describe in terms of non-homesteader use of Hawaiian Home lands. Only three lessees currently use the land and all are significant. Each has a general lease.

Maui is second of the major islands in the percentage of total Hawaiian Home lands leased out to non-homesteader use. The most striking thing about the figures for Maui is that Maui has over 20 per cent of the statewide total of leased Hawaiian Home land but produces only 3 per cent of the total income. The 14,088 acres leased to Ulupalakua Ranch represent one of the poorest revenue producers of all Hawaiian Home lands. That particular piece of land at Kahikinui is not usable much of the year because of its barrenness. Under these circumstances, the income probably is as high as can be achieved currently.

Table 21

MAUI: PRINCIPAL NON-HOMESTEADER
USERS OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
NOVEMBER 1963

| Lessee | Acreage | Use | Lease
Expiration
Date | Annual
Rental |
|------------------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Ulupalakua Ranch | 14,088 | Pasture | 1965 | \$ 1,267 |
| Kaonoulu Ranch | 6,004 | Pasture | 1968 | 5,900 |
| Wailuku Sugar | 12 | Sugar | 1982 | 735 |
| TOTAL | 20,104 | | | \$ 7,902 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

Table 22 indicates that 6 principal non-homesteader lessees of Hawaiian Home lands on Oahu use 87 per cent of the land out under general lease or revocable permit. At the same time they supply 84 per cent of the income from the leased lands on Oahu. The largest lessee in terms of acreage and income for the department is the Tongg Ranch which utilizes 58 per cent of Oahu's leased lands and provides 48 per cent of the department's Oahu income for such lands. Oahu, however, is not a significant area in terms of total acreage of leased land or total income from these lands. Table 23 will indicate this.

Oahu's leased lands constitute only 3 per cent of the statewide total and provide only 5.6 per cent of the income from leased land. It is, however, the best producer of revenue per acre in the entire departmental income complex.

Oahu's acreage of leased land relative to total Hawaiian Home acreage is the lowest of all the islands, the total representing only 42.9 per cent.

Table 22

OAHU: PRINCIPAL NON-HOMESTEADER
USERS OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
NOVEMBER 1963

| Lessee | Acreage | Use | Type of Agreement | Expira-
tion Date | Annual
Income |
|---------------------|---------|------------|-------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| Tongg Ranch | 1,730 | Pasture | General Lease | 1966 | \$ 6,754 |
| Walter Grace | 452 | Pasture | General Lease | 1963 | 220 |
| Dairy Product Sales | 337 | Pasture | General Lease | 1965 | 725 |
| Waianae Development | 44 | -- | Revocable Permit | -- | 810 |
| Nanakuli Paving | 10 | Industrial | Revocable Permit | -- | 2,700 |
| Henry Sung | 36 | -- | Revocable Permit | -- | 600 |
| 13 others | 393 | -- | -- | -- | 2,313 |
| TOTAL | 3,002 | -- | -- | -- | \$14,122 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

Pineapple Agreements

The pineapple agreements today involve about 153 homesteaders on Molokai Island, and concern approximately 5,000 acres of Hawaiian Home lands. The contracts provide some \$90 per month for the participating homesteaders in addition to

a year-end bonus based upon production and market value of the crop. The division of contract agreements between the two contracting corporations is as follows:

| <u>Corporation</u> | <u>No. of Contracts</u> | <u>Acreage</u> |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| California Packing Corp. | 61 | 2,024 |
| Libby, McNeill & Libby | 92 | 2,760 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 153 | 4,784 |

Source: Department of Hawaiian Home Lands records.

Table 23

NON-HOMESTEADER USE OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS
THROUGH LEASE AND REVOCABLE PERMITS
BY ISLAND
NOVEMBER 1963

| <u>Island</u> | <u>Acreage</u> | <u>Per Cent of Island Total in Leased Land</u> | <u>Per Cent of Statewide Total of Leased Land</u> | <u>Per Cent of Total Statewide Income from Leased Land</u> |
|---------------|----------------|--|---|--|
| Oahu | 3,002 | 42.9 | 3.0 | 5.6 |
| Maui | 20,104 | 68.4 | 20.4 | 3.1 |
| Molokai | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Kauai | 16,539 | 95.9 | 16.7 | 28.4 |
| Hawaii | 61,288 | 57. | 60.7 | 62.9 |
| TOTAL | 100,933 | | 100.1 | 100.0 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

Seven homesteaders with land probably suitable for pineapple raising do not participate in the agreements. Most of the land belonging to these homesteaders is not in use,

though some small portions are used for small-scale farming.

The pineapple agreements, whatever the advantage or disadvantage they might bring to the individual participants, do not require any meaningful action on the part of the homesteaders whatsoever, made more obvious by absence of many homesteaders chief or wage earners from the island. It would appear that the strongest argument on behalf of the agreements is that they provide income for individuals lucky enough to have homesteads in this area and that, indirectly, this serves as an economic benefit to the people of Molokai.¹ Furthermore, more broadly, they provide pineapple land which is a major source of statewide income. Much has been said about the injustice of the pineapple agreements, but the charge of injustice seems to be partially misdirected. A preliminary examination of the income received by homesteaders participating under these agreements does not lead to the conclusion that the pineapple companies are paying significantly less for these lands than they would pay for similar lands not under the control of the homesteaders or the department.²

Far more serious questions can be raised about the

¹During the early 1930's much of the pineapple harvest was dumped and not canned. The harvesting was necessary in order to assure future crops, though the impact of the Great Depression made it unfeasible to place the pineapples on the market when people could not afford to purchase them. Thus, while many people on Molokai and throughout the territory were having an extremely difficult time earning a bare living, the homesteaders with pineapple contracts were being paid a monthly stipend and probably were better off than many wage earners and farmers.

²Absenteeism may be significant on Molokai. A large number of lessees have requested a transfer of lease to a spouse in order to accept positions on Johnson Island, Guam or Samoa.

pineapple agreements in a different context: (a) they do not in any significant way teach new skills or feelings of self-reliance on the part of the homesteaders; and (b) they single out a limited number of homesteaders for awards. The limitation of benefits to a few is not given any support by the fact that the median age or economic well-being of this particular group is not below that of homesteaders elsewhere on Molokai or elsewhere in the state. At least from the viewpoint of this particular approach, the major question about the pineapple agreements is not the amount of the income from pineapple land but rather the manner in which it is distributed.

The legality of the agreements is not in direct dispute here. The Maui Circuit Court has ruled that no contradiction exists between the contracts and the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.¹

Community Pasture

In an effort to assist the homesteaders with the raising of stock, the Hawaiian Homes Commission has utilized a community pasture system since 1927. The pastures provide care at nominal cost for homesteader livestock. At first view the community pasture appears to be of an entirely different nature than the pineapple contract. The difference, however, becomes somewhat of an illusion when all the facts are considered. There is no question about the economic value of community pasture to homesteaders with livestock in sufficient quantities

¹See Adolpho vs. Kealoha, Maui Circuit Court, 1961.

to warrant such an arrangement. As with the pineapple agreements, however, the community pastures do not involve the homesteader directly. In the case of the pasture, the homesteader arranges with the department to care for the livestock and provide for the slaughtering, shipment and marketing.¹ The homesteader's involvement is limited to the payment of a moderate assessment for these services. No fundamental argument against the community pasture is suggested here; on the contrary, it may eventually give rise to a broader cooperative movement that could, under ideal conditions, prove very beneficial to the homesteader community.² The fact remains, however, that the community pasture is much more representative of a departmental service than it is representative of a dimension of community cooperation and self-help. To further complicate the problem, many of the criticisms leveled against the operation of the community pastures are limited to complaints about the incomplete involvement of the department rather than the incomplete involvement of the participating homesteaders.

18,231 acres of Hawaiian homestead land in the State are being used for the department's community pasture program. 14,882 of these acres are located on Molokai, 3,349 acres on Hawaii. The total figure represents 10 per cent of all the Hawaiian Home lands in the State, and the Molokai figure

¹On Molokai the work is supervised by a full-time employee with long, practical experience. His decision of when to slaughter or sell, and to whom, is binding.

²The assumption here is that the homesteaders themselves are interested in developing a more cooperative community. The evidence from the homesteader interviews does not give strong support to this notion, however.

60 per cent of all Hawaiian Home lands on Molokai island. Thirteen per cent of the land listed in Table 10 as being of either "Direct Use or Occupancy by the Homesteader" or "Indirect Benefit to the Homesteader" is being used as community pasture land. At the present time the community pasture land is depicted by the following table:

Table 24

HAWAIIAN HOMES COMMUNITY PASTURES ON MOLOKAI AND HAWAII BY ACREAGE, TOTAL LIVESTOCK, AVERAGE NUMBER OF HEAD PER HOMESTEADER, NUMBER OF HOMESTEADERS PARTICIPATING, AND DEPARTMENTAL EMPLOYEES WORKING NOVEMBER 1963

| | Acreage | Total Live-
stock | Average
Head Per
Homesteader | Total
Homesteaders
Participating | Total
Employees |
|---------|---------|----------------------|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| Molokai | 14,882 | 850 | 14 to 1 | 60 | 1 full time
3 part time |
| Hawaii | 5,749* | 125 | 17 to 1 | 8 | 1 part time |
| TOTAL | 20,631 | 975 | | 68 | |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

*Includes 2,400 acres being used by Parker Ranch.

The table fails to illustrate or explain one of the underlying dilemmas of Hawaiian Homes activities on the island of Hawaii. Records show that 3,349 acres are being used on that island for community pasture, but examination of the situation reveals a somewhat different situation. Parker Ranch has the use of 2,400 acres of this total¹ but there

¹This 2,400 acres is not included under the Parker Ranch total of leased lands. Throughout the study it is included under community pasture totals for the island of Hawaii.

has been no permit awarded by either the department or the Department of Land and Natural Resources. No general lease exists for this land. Parker Ranch pays \$12,999 annual rental for the use of the land, all of which is deposited in the state general fund under a 1951 agreement between Parker Ranch and the Attorney General. This arrangement is explained in letters of the Attorney General addressed to the Commission dated August 14, 1952, and addressed to the Territorial Treasurer on October 21, 1953. Apparently the situation can best be explained in the following manner:

Parker Ranch had free use of the land while it was being prepared for homesteading in the Kamuela area. The old leases had expired and informal agreement of the commission to the use was made. Attorney General Silva was dissatisfied with the arrangement and demanded a nominal rental from Parker Ranch in 1952. Following 1958, when land rentals were all transferred to Hawaiian Homes accounts, the department wanted the land offered for general lease. Parker Ranch objected, and apparently made a continuation of the present arrangement a contingency for their continuing to supply water without charge to homesteaders in the Kamuela area.

This results in the department, and therefore all of the beneficiaries of the program, indirectly subsidizing the cost of the water consumed by the homesteaders in a particular area.

General Land Uses Not of Special Benefit
to Homesteaders

A portion of Hawaiian Home lands currently provides no special benefit to the homesteaders. This land is pictured

in the following table:

Table 25

LAND USE NOT OF SPECIAL BENEFIT TO HOMESTEADERS
BY USE, ISLAND, ACREAGE
OCTOBER 1963

| Use | Hawaii | Kauai | Molokai | Maui | Other | Total | Per Cent
of
HHC
Lands |
|--------------------|---------------|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Game
Reserves | 11,124 | -- | -- | -- | -- | 11,124 | 6.0 |
| Forest
Reserves | 9,634 | -- | 250 | 8,700 | 1,413 | 19,997 | 10.8 |
| Military | 188 | -- | -- | -- | 1,782* | 1,970 | 1.1 |
| Unoccupied | 4,630 | 305 | 1,977 | 140 | 394 | 7,446 | 4.0 |
| TOTAL | 25,576 | 305 | 2,227 | 8,840 | 3,589 | 40,373 | 21.9 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

*Primarily land within the United States Naval Installation at Lualualei, Oahu.

A considerable amount of criticism has been made of the asserted failure of the department to put a major portion of its land to use. However, relatively little land entrusted to the department actually is lying idle. Some 7,000 acres, 4 per cent of all departmental land, are currently unused. Of this, 4,600 acres are on Hawaii, 1,800 acres are on Molokai. Examination of these lands suggest that very little of it is in fact suitable for early development without great expense. The bulk of Oahu's unused land is so situated that only an extremely heavy financial investment would make it suitable

for development. Some 30 acres on Oahu could be developed if both water and roads were available.

The situation on Kauai in this regard is similar to that on Oahu. Of 300 unused acres, 100 are concentrated in a swamp area which affords little opportunity for development under present conditions. The remaining 200 acres have been subjected to an unsuccessful farming experiment but could be developed if water, roads and utilities were brought to the location.

Molokai may be one of the more likely spots for expanding the program. Of 1,800 unused acres, 1,500 appear to be suitable for development if an economical form of irrigation can be developed. Another unanswered problem about Molokai farming is whether any demand exists for this kind of land in this location. If there is no demand for farmlots from homesteaders, the department may be compelled to resort to the general leasing of these lands in order to increase departmental income.

Hawaii's unused 4,600 acres can be divided into a number of categories. Some 2,000 acres is extremely remote without any utilities. Almost 1,400 acres could be utilized effectively for ranching purposes if water were available at an economical rate. Another 1,200 acres is extremely rocky without utilities, but could eventually be used for houselots. The latter area is in the Keaukaha section of Hawaii.

One of the most complex problems facing the state government of Hawaii today concerns the effective utilization

of its public lands. The Hawaiian Homes problem is, in a real sense, a microcosm of the larger problem. In the final analysis, the questions revolve almost entirely on whether the lands are being used effectively and justly. To the person attempting to unravel the threads of the Hawaiian Homes cloth, one of the earliest realizations is that original misgivings regarding motives and goals very frequently resolve themselves into questions of clarity and competence. This was seen very clearly in the administrative analysis of the department where very little deliberate failure to act could be noted. The abundance of administrative problems resulted more from inertia and complacency than they did from a deliberate attempt of those inside to slow the wheels of progress. As the scene shifts from within the department to a consideration of Hawaiian Homes and other state agencies, much the same kind of conclusion seems justified.

The Governor's office and the Department of Land and Natural Resources are most frequently the target of attacks made by those who believe that an attempt has been made either to thwart the wishes of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands or to give its land away. This was true especially in the earlier years. More recently the legislature itself has begun to receive its share of criticism, particularly by the homesteaders. There are a number of criteria by which these opinions might be evaluated, one of the most significant being the use of the executive order to deprive the department of its lands.

The inadequacy of territorial records, and the failure of earlier Hawaiian Homes Commissions to identify rapidly the lands open to selection make a complete analysis of executive orders pertaining to the department impossible. At the present time, however, a compilation of executive orders still in effect, which relate to Hawaiian Home lands, can only lead to the conclusion that this device has not been of major significance for the department. The total acreage, exclusive of forest reserve parcels, which are presently occupied under executive order, can be noted from the following table:

Table 26

HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS OCCUPIED UNDER
EXECUTIVE ORDER, EXCLUSIVE OF
FOREST RESERVES
BY ISLAND
OCTOBER 1963

| <u>Island</u> | <u>Acreage</u> |
|---------------|----------------|
| Oahu | 1,849 |
| Molokai | 1,284 |
| Mauai | 100 |
| Hawaii | 11,394 |
| Kauai | 14 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 14,641 |

The usage of land under executive order varies a great deal. 1,748 of Oahu's 1,849 acres are being used by the U. S. Navy. Playgrounds, beach parks and schools have almost all of the remainder. Molokai's 1,284 acres are distributed even

less dramatically, with Kalaupapa Settlement utilizing 1,200 acres, Molokai airport 74, and Molokai intermediate school 10. On Maui, the entire 100 acres are being used by the Maui County Farm and Sanitorium. Hawaii's seemingly large total of 11,394 acres is almost entirely assigned to a public hunting and game reserve (11,124), reservoir sites (81 acres), and a U. S. landing field (182 acres).

Should the Hawaiian Home Lands Department receive a consideration for its lands which are being used by federal and state agencies? The lands were originally set aside for the benefit of a specific group. When the lands are leased to private users this group receives the benefit of the income obtained. When the land is set aside by executive order for the use of the U. S. Navy or the State Health Department or the Department of Transportation, the land produces no immediate or special benefit for the designated beneficiaries of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. If, in time, the highest and best use of a parcel of Hawaiian home lands now leased out to a sugar plantation came to be as an airport or a military base, and the parcel were put to such a use, then the income of the department would be reduced. In such an instance the benefit received by the total community would be paid for, through lost income, by a small group of its citizens. Only if lost income is estimated as equaling the cost of services rendered the Hawaiian Home Lands Department by the other departments of state government, and it is agreed the former should pay for such service, may the present

arrangement be justified.

There are two possible ways in which this situation could be rectified. The state could pay a fee in lieu of lease rental which would be credited to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Administrative Fund. An alternative solution might be for the Department of Land and Natural Resources and the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands to exchange public lands for Hawaiian Homes Commission lands where the latter's lands are still in use for general governmental purposes.

In the original Act, there were no provisions permitting or restricting exchanges. However, on February 20, 1954, section 204 of the Act was amended with the insertion of paragraph 4 which authorized the Commission, with the approval of the Governor and the Secretary of the Interior, to exchange the title to available lands at Waimanalo, island of Oahu, for similarly located lands of an equal value, for the purpose of consolidating its holdings.¹ This provision was later amended (June 18, 1954) to authorize the Commission to exchange the title to available lands for land, publicly owned, of an equal value,² thereby expanding the lands that the Commission could exchange. There have not been many land exchanges involving the department until now; all exchanges to date have tended to be in the direction of securing more urban areas for departmental houselot use.

¹68 Stat. 16, c. 10, s. 1 (1954).

²68 Stat. 262, c. 319, s. 1 (1954).

CHAPTER 3

The Socio-Cultural Environment of the Current Hawaiian Homes Program: A Description and Analysis

Introduction

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was avowedly designed to contribute to the "rehabilitation" of those members of the community with 50 per cent or more Hawaiian ancestry. While "rehabilitation" was never defined with any precision by supporters of the Hawaiian homes program, it was certainly understood by outsiders to include:

1. an increase in the proportion of Hawaiians gaining access to the professions and skilled jobs;
2. a reduction in the amount of alleged crime, juvenile delinquency and illegitimacy within the Hawaiian community;
3. an increasing awareness of modern health and sanitation measures among Hawaiians;
4. an increase in the population of pure Hawaiians, or at least those with large percentages of Hawaiian blood; and
5. an increasing economic independence for those of Hawaiian ancestry brought about through successful farming, greater job security, and the use of the program as a stepping stone to ownership of larger farms.

By facilitating the return of these people to agricultural pursuits, and especially the development of family farms, it was contended that the Act would promote a more

healthful life, an increase in the numbers of the Hawaiian "race,"¹ and a more successful adjustment to the dominant westernized society without entailing the loss of ethnic identity.² All of these ideas, and more, were included under the concept "rehabilitation." This was to be accomplished by new legislation designed to help the Hawaiians. The legislation was thought necessary by many, partly because between 1832 and the early part of the twentieth century their numbers had been decreased by a variety of causes such as contracting Western diseases and through intermarriage. During the same time period an increase in the number of Part-Hawaiians had steadily occurred. While in 1920 pure Hawaiians still constituted the largest single racial group in the Territory with the rights of citizenship,³ their political influence had decreased rapidly with the passing of the independent kingdom. The Hawaiians' future economic position was threatened by their failure to adjust to a changing society and by the growing competition from the newcomers to Hawaii

¹The practice in Hawaii has been to consider the various ethnic groups as separate races. This report will conform to common usage and use race when referring to ethnic categories.

²One of the earliest discussions of rehabilitation was made by Governor Wallace Farrington. See his "What Rehabilitation Means to the Hawaiian People," an address given to the congregation at Kawaihau Church on July 2, 1922. The speech is reproduced in Hawaiian Homes Commission, Rehabilitation in Hawaii (Bulletin, No. 2, 1922). Farrington clearly saw the program as a venture involving family farms.

³While large numbers of Japanese and Caucasians were residents in the Territory at that time, many of them had been born abroad and were ineligible for citizenship. Most of the native-born American citizens among them had not yet reached their majority. See Andrew W. Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1955) p. 89.

who were avidly seeking more education and better jobs.

The economic condition of the Hawaiians had also steadily worsened during the period 1820-1920. Once the holders and workers of land under a quasi-feudal type of tenure, the Hawaiians in the twentieth century had been virtually dispossessed of their lands. Only a limited number of them either owned or controlled land; most had moved into the growing urban centers of Honolulu and Hilo. The social maladies normally associated with urbanization were to be found in Hawaii as well. The Hawaiian's particular position was made more difficult by his lack of industrial skills, his lack of experience in highly competitive situations, and his lack of motivation to participate in routinized activities.

Against this background support grew in Hawaii and in Congress for some kind of legislation which would abate the deterioration of the Hawaiian population. It was partly in response to this need that the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 became law.

The Nature of the Socio-Cultural Environment

This chapter is primarily concerned with the social and cultural aspects of the Hawaiian Homes program. These aspects may be defined as the condition, position, relationships, values, and aspirations of the homesteaders whom the program is designed to assist. These aspects are of great importance for they are, in large degree, the measure of the success of the program. The information appearing in this study has been obtained from a variety of sources, but primarily

interviews with homesteaders have been utilized to establish who the homesteaders are, what they are doing and thinking, and how they live. There are many interrelated factors which help to answer these questions about a group of people. The nature of the most important of these factors and a few broader generalizations about the findings of these factors are discussed in this chapter. All relevant statistical data are included.

Attention is also directed toward current population data and the difficulties encountered in defining membership in racial groups, as well as the resultant cautions that need to be exercised, especially in interpreting statistics relating to Part-Hawaiians.

While a measure of the impact of westernization on the Hawaiian people is how well they compare with others in the population, the existence of a poorly defined category of "Part-Hawaiians" requires that the reader approach the figures with great care. The method in current usage in Hawaii is to assign "race" on the basis of the father in all but two cases:¹

- (1) If the father is Caucasian, which is defined as a 100 per cent category, and the mother is

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960; Detailed Characteristics, Hawaii, Final Report PC(1)-13D, p. xi. The national census is beginning to move in the direction of greater flexibility. In 1960, for example, it was possible for interviewees to classify themselves racially. Hawaii state figures, however, still tend toward the system discussed here.

anything other than Caucasian, then the children come under the same classification as the mother;

- (2) If there is any percentage of Hawaiian blood in either parent, the children are classified as "Part-Hawaiian."¹

The confusion inherent in the above classification can best be understood from a few examples:

- Case 1. Father - 100 per cent Japanese
Mother - 100 per cent Chinese
Children - Classified as Japanese
- Case 2. Father - 100 per cent Caucasian
Mother - 75 per cent Caucasian, 25 per cent Korean
Children - Classified as Korean
- Case 3. Father - 100 per cent Caucasian
Mother - 75 per cent Japanese, 25 per cent Hawaiian
Children - Classified as Part-Hawaiian

Two significant consequences stem from the application of these rules--one undoubtedly anticipated and the other possibly accidental: (1) the Caucasian category has remained formally unadulterated; and (2) the Part-Hawaiian category has increased substantially, but in such a way that it has become almost impossible to say whether this represents an increase in the number of Hawaiians.

Relationships between race and income, education and occupation are not completely reliable because of these questions which surround the racial categories as they now exist.

¹More recently the increasing heterogeneity of Hawaii has given rise to a "Cosmopolitan" category which virtually defies definition. See, for example, current Department of Health figures. Nevertheless, the Department of Health confirms that any person with any known amount of Hawaiian blood is classified as Part-Hawaiian.

Therefore, the major comparisons in this study will be directed toward two areas: (1) internally--i.e., homesteaders compared with themselves; and (2) externally--i.e., homesteaders compared with the general community in the State and, where relevant, in the nation. Many valuable studies have been made of socio-economic factors within the State. These studies will be referred to, but the reservations concerning the racial classifications should constantly be borne in mind.

Occupation, income, education and mobility are factors which describe not only condition and achievement of people, but also indicate aspirations. Community participation and awareness are useful measures of the relations of the homesteader to his communities. The homesteader's value framework is, in a sense, the backdrop against which all the social aspect factors must be viewed.

Occupation

Occupation describes the major work that a person does. It is closely related to other social phenomena. Thus, educational attainment and educational aspirations vary considerably for different occupational groupings. It is especially meaningful that certain occupations seem to be composed largely of persons who have dropped out of school relatively early in their educational careers.¹ Information concerning the homesteaders indicates that: (a) the number of skilled, managerial, and professional workers living on

¹Joseph A. Kahl, American Class Structure (New York, Rinehart and Co., 1954) p. 278.

homesteads is low relative to the nation and the State and to other Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians; and (b) there is an association between skilled, managerial and professional occupations of homesteaders and better educational performance by children living on the homesteads.

This chapter does not attempt to measure the "prestige" of occupations among the homesteaders; rather, it describes quantitatively occupations engaged in by the homesteaders. Occupation is one of the most critical factors to consider because of its relationship to age, sex, and particularly to education and income. It is one of the most reliable indexes for measuring social conditions because it has roughly the same meaning throughout the country, and the meaning has been quite stable over a period of time.¹

Income

Closely related to occupation is the level of income which taken together with other closely associated factors usually categorize a person's social position. Higher income usually is associated with a better job, higher education, better living conditions, more possessions, and greater respect in the community. Furthermore, properly managed, a higher income can generate an even more comfortable economic situation.

Great income disparities exist among occupational groups. These differences are particularly significant when comparing income of professional-managerial personnel with those of

¹ Ibid., p. 53.

unskilled labor. The occupational rankings and the income totals both suggest that the Hawaiian homesteaders are living under below-average conditions. The data indicate that while large numbers of homestead families fall into middle-income groupings, they do so largely because of the combined income of several persons rather than due to the income of the chief wage earner or the head of family. In any case homesteader family incomes are significantly below both state and national income medians.

Education

This factor can be considered in terms of a number of categories. It represents a general population characteristic as well as a value orientation. The manner in which education interrelates with other factors has been rather sweepingly described as follows by an Illinois educator:

- (1) The grade attained in school by an individual determines the type of job he secures;
- (2) the type of job he secures determines the income he receives;
- (3) the amount of income he receives determines the grade in school to be attained by his children;
- (4) which in turn, indicates the types of jobs they will get, the amount of income they will receive, and length of time their children will remain in school, and so forth.¹

The data from the homesteads do not reflect high educational achievement. Even though in interviews the homesteaders professed interest and motivation for higher educational attainment for their children, in fact the amount of education

¹ Harold C. Hand, Principal Findings of the 1947-1948 Basic Studies, Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program, Bulletin No. 2 (Springfield, Illinois, State Department of Public Instruction, 1949) p. 15.

homestead children are getting seems to be significantly below the state average. Tobey has described a circle of events which may depict the difficulties faced by a majority of children on the homesteads: (a) their parents tend to have little education, hence their children either are not encouraged to take advantage of educational opportunity when it exists or are not encouraged in the direction of the subjects which are most likely to lead to better educational opportunities; (b) they do not acquire the necessary verbal skills which will enable them to do well in school, even when they are motivated in such a direction; and (c) motivations toward educational success do not exist among friends or neighbors.¹ Point (c) is best illustrated by a homesteader student who confided in a researcher by stating: "When I study I give my friends a different kind of excuse for not being outside."

Social Mobility

Social mobility refers to change or movement in position or standing over a period of time; more specifically, in this study, a measure of the standing of one generation as compared with another. Both income and occupation provide comparisons between present homesteaders and their parents and their children. Some indices of mobility between the generations are evident from figures relating to occupation and education. While there are changes in the levels of occupation and education achieved from one generation to the next, the change

¹Jackson Tobey, "Orientation to Education as a Factor in the School Maladjustment to Lower-Class Children", 35 Social Forces (1957) p. 266.

is not as great as that occurring elsewhere in the State or nation. Relative to others in the State, the homesteaders today do not appear to be much better off than a generation ago. Second-generation homesteaders, however, are slightly better educated than first-generation homesteaders.

Community Participation and Awareness

The terms community participation and awareness attempt to describe the degree to which a homesteader involves himself in both the homestead community and the broader community. The items used to determine this degree are the range of associations, persons and information sources relied on by the homesteader in understanding and acting on current personal and social problems. The findings in this area are not comprehensive by any means but the findings indicate a general pattern; namely, that while homestead family wage earners participate widely in the economy of the wider community, homesteaders tend to have: (1) limited involvement in associations on the homestead and in the community, other than their churches, the PTA, and the homesteader associations; (2) limited knowledge of and contact with the legislators from their districts; and (3) limited use of written mass media.

Values

What people think is good or important is related to each of the social aspect factors discussed above. Nevertheless these convictions are so important that they require separate consideration. Many of the motivations for what

people do can be understood better in terms of their values. Such important considerations as the homesteader's views of state government, education or jobs for his children, general political process, and how to improve the homesteader program reflect the homesteader's values.

Limiting the analysis to the only available racial data, the numerical condition of the "pure" Hawaiians has not improved substantially during the last century as is shown in Table 27. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Captain Cook estimated that there were more than 400,000 native Hawaiians though more recent research has lowered this figure to approximately 300,000. By 1849 there was a total of nearly 79,000, or almost 98 per cent of Hawaii's total population. This figure dropped steadily through the ensuing years, to approximately 30,000 in 1900 (less than 20 per cent of the population), 24,000 in 1920 (less than 10 per cent) at the beginning of the Hawaiian homes program, and 12,000 in 1950 (some 2-1/2 per cent of the state's total population). The 1960 total was slightly more than 10,000. Between 1849 and 1950 the Part-Hawaiians increased steadily both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population. (The percentage dropped slightly between 1950 and 1960.)

Table 28 compares the relative position in the total population of the several major racial groups in the Islands. Only the Caucasians and Part-Hawaiians have increased their share of the total population during the period 1930-1960. (The Filipino proportion rose rapidly from 1920 to 1930 but

Table 27

HAWAIIAN AND PART-HAWAIIAN POPULATION
1849-1960

| Year | Total
Population | <u>Hawaiians</u> | | <u>Part-Hawaiians</u> | |
|------|---------------------|------------------|------|-----------------------|-------|
| | | Number | % | Number | % |
| 1849 | 80,641 | 78,854 | 97.8 | 471 | 0.6 |
| 1900 | 154,234 | 29,799 | 19.3 | 9,857 | 6.4 |
| 1910 | 191,909 | 26,041 | 13.6 | 12,506 | 6.5 |
| 1920 | 255,912 | 23,723 | 9.3 | 18,027 | 7.0 |
| 1930 | 368,336 | 22,636 | 6.1 | 28,224 | 7.7 |
| 1940 | 423,330 | 14,375 | 3.4 | 49,935 | 11.8 |
| 1950 | 499,769 | 12,245 | 2.5 | 73,845 | 14.8 |
| 1960 | 632,772 | (10,502 | 1.7) | (91,597 | 14.5) |

Andrew Lind, Hawaii's People (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1955) Table 2, p. 27. 1960 data obtained from Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics for Hawaii (Statistical Report #9, December 26, 1963).

Table 28

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HAWAII'S POPULATION
1920-1960

| Racial Group | <u>Per Cent of Total Population</u> | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 1920 | 1930 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 |
| Caucasian | 19.2 | 20.0 | 24.5 | 23.0 | 32.0 |
| Chinese | 9.2 | 7.4 | 6.8 | 6.5 | 6.0 |
| Filipino | 8.2 | 17.1 | 12.4 | 12.2 | 11.0 |
| Japanese | 42.7 | 37.9 | 37.3 | 36.9 | 32.0 |
| Part-Hawaiian | 7.0 | 7.7 | 11.8 | 14.8 | 14.5 |
| Pure Hawaiian | 9.3 | 6.1 | 3.4 | 2.5 | 1.7 |
| Other | 4.4 | 3.8 | 3.8 | 4.1 | 2.8 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: Lind; 1960 from Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics.

has decreased subsequently.) The pure Hawaiians, on the other hand, suffered the sharpest percentage drop. Of all the groups included in Table 28, the pure Hawaiians are the only ones who have decreased in absolute numbers as well as in their percentage share of the total population.

The Social Profile of the Homesteader

There has been considerable speculation about the social condition of the homesteader, how his position has improved or deteriorated over time, and how he exemplifies the success or failure of the Hawaiian homes program. However, very little definitive data have been available to substantiate the various expressions of optimism or despair. An adequate factual base is obviously an essential to sound analysis. Hopefully the data which are presented in this and the following sections will help to provide that base.

Two cautions need to be specified. The homestead population is not to be defined as a microcosm of any other identifiable group. The profile presented here, to be more explicit, is not intended as that of Hawaiians as a whole or Part-Hawaiians not living on the homesteads, nor is it intended as a description of the occupants of public housing units or any other similar group. Secondly, while the Hawaiian Homes Commission has not made any sustained effort over the years to select applicants on a basis of need (rather the basis has been degree of Hawaiian blood and date of application), still the nature of the program may be such that it attracts persons who desire a more sheltered, less competitive situation than

those normally available in the community-at-large and who are less likely to be "achievers" in the sense of earning high incomes or holding high prestige jobs, and reaching high educational levels. Furthermore, many more highly motivated potential lessees failed to apply, very likely because they felt that the land should, out of a sense of justice, be reserved for the less fortunate Hawaiians.¹ If this is so, and the lack of homestead applications from "achievers" who are eligible to apply lends some support to this hypothesis, then the comparatively low standing of homesteaders in terms of jobs, income and education should not be viewed as unanticipated. What becomes critical, then, is the nature of the changes which the homestead situation encourages and facilitates.

There are 1,752 homesteaders distributed among the Hawaiian Homes Commission projects on the various islands as follows:

| <u>Island</u> | <u>Project</u> | <u>Number of Homesteads</u> |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Hawaii | Keaukaha | 351 |
| | Kawaihae | 12 |
| | Waimea | 69 |
| | | — |
| | | 432 |
| Kauai | Anahola | 53 |
| | Kekaha | 13 |
| | | — |
| | | 66 |

¹ This point is based essentially on impressions of a number of Hawaiians who have been "achievers" in various fields.

| | | |
|---------|------------------|-------|
| Molokai | Hoolehua | 178 |
| | Kalamaula | 56 |
| | Kapaakea | 37 |
| | O'ne Alii | 22 |
| | | — |
| | | 293 |
| Oahu | Nanakuli | 387 |
| | Papakolea-Kewalo | 321 |
| | Waimanalo | 253 |
| | | — |
| | | 961 |
| | | 1,752 |

The Paukukalo area of Maui presently is being prepared for use by about 61 new homesteaders. There are more than 1,500 applications for leases on file with the department, primarily for homesteads on Oahu.¹

The median number of years of homestead leases is 13, as computed from the data in Table 29. Most homesteaders

Table 29

LENGTH OF TIME ON HOMESTEAD

| Years | Homesteaders | |
|--------------------|--------------|----------|
| | Number | Per Cent |
| Less than one year | 3 | 2 |
| 1-5 years | 31 | 18 |
| 6-10 years | 29 | 17 |
| 11-15 years | 48 | 27 |
| 16-20 years | 17 | 10 |
| More than 20 years | 47 | 27 |
| | | — |
| TOTAL | 175 | 101* |

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: interviews

¹A limited amount of information on these applicants is available in departmental records. However, the latter are not ordered except to show area applied for.

thus have had a significant number of years under the homestead program. The median age of the homesteader is approximately 44 (see Table 30). The median age for homesteader spouses is slightly higher. Twelve per cent of the homesteaders are widows or widowers. There are slightly more males than females who are lessees (52 per cent to 48 per cent).

Table 30
AGE OF HOMESTEADERS

| Age | Number | Per Cent of Homesteaders |
|----------|--------|--------------------------|
| Under 22 | 0 | 0 |
| 23-27 | 7 | 4 |
| 28-35 | 29 | 17 |
| 36-45 | 58 | 33 |
| 46-55 | 40 | 23 |
| 56-65 | 26 | 15 |
| Over 65 | 15 | 9 |
| Total | 175 | 101 |

Data in Tables 31 and 32 depicting the length and degree of occupancy of homesteader houses suggest that: (1) the age of the houses generally approximate the length of time the homesteader has been on a homestead; and (2) the houses in general have large numbers of occupants. The median age of the houses is about 14 years, below the state figure of

between 14-23 years for living units.¹

Table 31

| AGE OF HOMESTEADER HOUSES
SEPTEMBER 1963 | | |
|---|--------|-----------------------|
| Age | Number | Per Cent
of Houses |
| Less than 2 | 13 | 7 |
| 2-5 | 19 | 11 |
| 6-10 | 23 | 13 |
| 11-15 | 38 | 22 |
| 16-20 | 18 | 10 |
| 21-25 | 27 | 15 |
| Over 25 | 35 | 21 |
| Total | 175 | 99 |

Table 32

| NUMBER OF PERMANENT
OCCUPANTS OF HOMESTEADS
SEPTEMBER 1963 | | |
|--|--------|----------------------|
| Number of
Occupants | Number | Per Cent
of Homes |
| 1-2 | 29 | 17 |
| 3-4 | 27 | 15 |
| 5-6 | 44 | 25 |
| 7-8 | 38 | 22 |
| 9-10 | 22 | 13 |
| More than
10 | 14 | 8 |
| Total | 175 | 100 |

Source: interviews

Over 87 per cent of the homestead homes are of the two or three bedroom type. A very few have four bedrooms; none has more than four. Seventy-six per cent of the homes have one bathroom; 9 per cent have one and a half; 12 per cent have two or more. Only 3 per cent have no inside bathrooms.

There is little difference between homesteader and non-homesteader houses. Homesteader houses, in general, contain as many bedrooms and are quantitatively as well equipped with bathrooms as most homes in the State.²

¹See U. S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Housing: 1960; State and Small Areas, Hawaii, Final Report HC(1)-13, p. 13-8.

²Ibid., pp. 13-7 and 13-8.

A much larger percentage of one and no-bedroom units and of houses without bathrooms may be found off the homesteads.

The median number of permanent occupants on a homestead is 6 as shown in Table 32. About 12 per cent of the homesteaders, however, have 1 or more "temporary" guests living in the homesteads, adding up to almost 100 additional occupants in the sample of 175 homes. The average occupancy figure for the state is 3.9¹ for all units, though the Part-Hawaiians show a figure of 6.4.²

Almost one-half of the present homesteaders (43 per cent) represent the second generation of their family on the homestead. One out of every 7 homestead spouses is also the child of homesteaders. The majority of the second generation homesteaders had applied for and obtained their own homesteads but a substantial minority inherited their leases from parents. The median age for second-generation homesteaders is 41; for first-generation homesteaders it is 48.

The familial homestead tradition is quite strong. Almost 46 per cent of the homesteaders have brothers or sisters who are homesteaders--the 175 homesteaders who were interviewed reported a total of 127 brothers and sisters living as homesteaders or spouses of homesteaders.

Most children of homesteaders are not old enough to qualify for their own homesteads. However, there already is

¹Ibid., p. 13-9.

²Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics. Based upon 1960 census data.

some indication of continuity. Twelve per cent of the homesteaders have a total of 28 children with their own homesteads. This might indicate a rather heavy emphasis on immediate family contact in everyday life. In fact, almost 30 per cent of the homesteaders reported daily contact with at least one brother or sister living in a different home within the project.

Homesteaders tend to come from large families and, in turn, to produce large families as a review of Tables 33 and 34 indicates.

Table 33

NUMBER OF SIBLINGS REPORTED
BY HOMESTEADERS
SEPTEMBER 1963

| Number of
Siblings | Number | Per Cent
of Home-
steaders |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| 0 | 13 | 7 |
| 1-2 | 26 | 15 |
| 3-5 | 53 | 30 |
| 6-8 | 43 | 25 |
| 9-12 | 26 | 15 |
| 13 or more | 11 | 6 |
| Unknown | 3 | 2 |
| Total | 175 | 100 |

Table 34

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AMONG
CURRENT HOMESTEADERS
SEPTEMBER 1963

| Number of
Children | Number | Per Cent
of Home-
steaders |
|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| 0 | 4 | 2 |
| 1-2 | 25 | 14 |
| 3-4 | 42 | 24 |
| 5-6 | 41 | 23 |
| 7-9 | 28 | 16 |
| 10-12 | 19 | 11 |
| 13 or more | 16 | 9 |
| Total | 175 | 99 |

Source: interviews

The median number of brothers and sisters who are living is

5, though 21 per cent have 9 or more siblings. Present homesteaders, as Table 34 shows, have produced a median of 5 children until now.¹ Since 77 per cent of the homesteaders still have dependent children, and thus might still be in the child-bearing age, there is reason to expect that the ultimate median family size may be larger for the present group of homesteaders.

The Financial Situation of the Homesteaders

The financial situation of the homesteader has several dimensions. Of basic importance is family income. This, in turn, is closely related to occupation and education, which are discussed in subsequent sections of this chapter. Loans, especially departmental loans, are a second significant portion of a homesteader's financial situation. The purchase of automobiles is closely related to loans. Automobile purchase also gives some insight into the nature of the consumer choices made by homesteaders. So does the extent of installment buying and savings and of the utilization of medical and dental services. Finally, the degree of utilization of unemployment compensation insurance and of welfare payment adds an additional dimension to the description of the homesteader's financial situation.

Despite an outward appearance of financial difficulty, the homesteaders do not always perceive themselves to be

¹Current homesteader family size is not closely associated with the size of the family from which the homesteader came ($r = .03$). A special data tabulation shows a constant median number of children irrespective of the number of siblings which a homesteader has.

generally less well off than others in the community. Sixty-five per cent see themselves as being generally equal to or better off than non-Hawaiians in the State while 85 per cent see themselves equal to or better off than non-homesteader Hawaiians. During the last three years the median family income for the homesteader has been slightly above \$5,000. This compares with a Hawaii figure of above \$6,000 (1960) and a national figure of above \$5,000 (1961). No recent figures are available for non-homestead Hawaiians. To this monetary income should be added the value of rent-free land and of low-interest loan, if one is outstanding, to arrive at a total family income figure. It is clear, however, that a considerable degree of the economic stability which exists for homesteader families exists largely as a result of multiple wage earners rather than as a result of program paternalism.

The picture of homesteader family income varies widely from that of Hawaii's other families and from the nation at large, especially at the extremes, as indicated by the data in Table 35. Three times as many Hawaii families and twice as many families across the nation earn \$10,000 and above. Similarly, 54 per cent of Hawaii's families and 47 per cent of the nation's families earn over \$6,000 while only 38 per cent of the homestead families are in this category. At the lower end of the income scale 23 per cent of Hawaii's families and 31 per cent of the nation's families receive less than \$4,000; for homestead families the figure is 35 per cent.

Ironically, perhaps, the homesteader family income at the top and bottom income levels diverges more from Hawaii family income than from national family income.

Table 35
FAMILY INCOME: NATIONAL, HAWAII
AND HAWAIIAN HOMESTEAD

| TOTAL
FAMILY
INCOME | (a)
1961
<u>NATIONAL</u>
Per Cent of
Families | (b)
1960
<u>HAWAII</u>
Per Cent of
Families | (c)
1960-62
<u>HOMESTEAD</u>
Per Cent of
Families |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|
| \$10,000 or above | 16 | 22 | 7 |
| 7,000 to \$9,999 | 21 | 21 | |
| 6,000 to 6,999 | 10 | 10 | 31 |
| 5,000 to 5,999 | 12 | 11 | 14 |
| 4,000 to 4,999 | 11 | 12 | 13 |
| 3,000 to 3,999 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| 2,000 to 2,999 | 9 | 6 | 8 |
| 1,000 to 1,999 | 8 | 3 | |
| Under 1,000 | 5 | 4 | 16* |
| TOTAL | 101 | 99 | 100 |

Sources: (a) U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1963 (Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1963) p. 339.

(b) U. S., Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1960; General Social and Economic Characteristics, Hawaii, Final Report PC(1)-130, p. 13-97.

(c) interviews.

*Ten per cent of the homesteader families report no income. There is no comparable figure for the State. Welfare payments, unemployment compensation payments, and pineapple contract income are excluded from family income computations for homesteaders.

When examining family income, attention must be given to the number of workers in a particular family. Nationally, in 1962 about 33 per cent of the married women worked at least part-time.¹ Hawaii's figure is 40 per cent.² On the homesteads the figure is more than 35 per cent. Of this 35 per cent, 77 per cent are unskilled service workers. Homesteader family income is often supplemented by contributions from older children, frequently married, who are living in the homestead household. The large number of households in which neither homesteader nor spouse is working (33 per cent) is partially compensated for by the multiple wage earner factor. This undoubtedly raises serious questions about overcrowding.

One final point should be made about income as an isolated factor. While there is a relationship between low family income and poverty, this is not an absolute picture. In the case of both national and homestead figures, many of the lowest incomes exist for older people whose needs may be small, or for rural families whose lives may be simple and frugal.

The department lends money at a low rate of interest to homesteaders for home construction, home improvements, farm purchases, farm and ranch development, and general agricultural needs. The experience, in terms of loan repayment, has not always been satisfactory. On December 31, 1961,

¹U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1963 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963) p. 229.

²Hawaii, Department of Planning and Research, Statistical Abstract of Hawaii, 1962 (Honolulu: 1962) p. 58.

there were 927 loans outstanding to Hawaiian homesteaders from the departmental loan fund, or about half the homestead population. Of these loans, 538 or 58 per cent were in arrears. The delinquencies at that time amounted to \$271,957. Almost half of the borrowers were 13 or more months in arrears.¹ In July, 1962, six months after the granting of an amnesty on loan delinquencies, 11 per cent of the loans were again in a delinquent condition. As of September, 1962, 19 per cent were delinquent.²

There has been an increasing total of delinquencies, more than doubling in number during the past year. The original argument made in 1962 was that a wiping out of the stigma of "arrears" would have a beneficial effect on the department's loan fund by encouraging many homesteaders to keep their records clean and to pay bills promptly. This does not seem to have worked out. Many homesteaders appear to view their obligation to repay a loan to the department to be of a different class than other financial obligations they may undertake.

There appears to be a considerable amount of general consumer spending among the homesteader households. Fifty-four per cent have \$50 or more in monthly installment bills to meet in addition to mortgage payments.

Automobile ownership is an indication of the standard

¹Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., 1963 Consumer Analysis of Metropolitan Honolulu (Honolulu: 1963) p. 83.

²Ibid.

of living and values of the general community of homesteaders. Almost 14 per cent of the homesteaders initiated the purchase of an automobile on installment during the last 12 months. Almost 29 per cent of the homesteader families purchased an automobile during the past year, which is almost identical to the Oahu figure of slightly more than 30 per cent.¹ Eighty-two per cent own at least one car and about 17 per cent presently own two or more. Both of these figures reflect closely the Oahu totals.² An overwhelming percentage of car owners own standard sedans or station wagons. There were some compacts as well as a few luxury models, but no sports cars. Table 36 indicates the year of the models.

Table 36

HOMESTEADER AUTOMOBILES
(Newest Car)
YEAR OF MODEL

| Model Year | Number | Per Cent of Homesteaders |
|---------------|--------|--------------------------|
| 1963 | 7 | 4 |
| 1962 | 15 | 8 |
| 1960-61 | 17 | 10 |
| 1956-59 | 43 | 25 |
| 1953-55 | 29 | 17 |
| 1952 or older | 33 | 19 |
| No car | 31 | 18 |
| | — | — |
| | 175 | 101 |

Source: interviews

The median age of cars belonging to a homesteader is eight years old. Half of the cars are not yet paid for.

Installment buying may exist side by side with saving. Evidence concerning loan repayment delinquencies, installment buying, unemployment and welfare assistance suggests that money problems seem to plague a number of homesteaders. However, 55 per cent of the homesteaders have personal savings accounts, though in some instances the amount, admittedly, is very small. The comparable Oahu figure is about 75 per cent of all households.¹

Even though savings accounts are below the state average, the homesteaders seem relatively well off with respect to hospital care insurance or health plan membership. Seventy-five per cent of the homesteaders are covered by some medical plan. This places them in a better position than the average person in Hawaii.² Evidence of available medical care is given support by the data in Table 37, indicating that in 85 per cent of the cases at least one member of a homesteader family visited a doctor in the last six months.

Dental health information indicates that the homesteaders generally do not receive as much dental care as they do medical care. Thirty-three per cent of the homesteaders reported that no one had visited a dentist in more than a year. Fourteen per cent couldn't remember anyone in the

¹Ibid., p. 88.

²U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract ... 1963, p. 480.

the family ever having visited a dentist.

Table 37

MOST RECENT VISIT TO A DOCTOR BY A
MEMBER OF A HOMESTEADER FAMILY

| Period | Number | Per Cent of
Homesteaders |
|-------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| Last three months | 130 | 74 |
| 3-6 months | 20 | 11 |
| 6-9 months | 5 | 3 |
| 9-12 months | 1 | 1 |
| More than 12 | 13 | 7 |
| Can't remember | 6 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 175 | 99 |

Source: interviews

At the time of this survey more than 11 per cent of the homesteaders reported that someone in the household was receiving unemployment compensation. In most cases it involved one of the major wage earners, either the homesteader or the spouse. There were some cases of several members in a household receiving unemployment compensation. The state figure for unemployment is approximately 4.8 per cent of the civilian labor force.¹ In all, the unemployment picture for homesteaders

¹The Hawaii Labor Market, No. 216, November 1963. The same source lists an October figure of 4.3 per cent for the State.

is more serious than the comparative figures above indicate since only those still eligible for compensation are reported.

More than 10 per cent of the homesteaders (18 families) reported receiving welfare payments from the State. This figure compares with 2 per cent (or 3,158) of the families in the State that receive welfare payments. More than half of the welfare recipients on the homesteads have been receiving such payments for more than two years.¹

The Homesteader's Occupation

The available evidence indicates that the homestead occupational pattern is quite different than that found in the United States or in Hawaii or among Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians. This is not a result of the emphasis in the Act on agricultural endeavors for in fact few of the homesteaders are farmers or ranchers. There is little to indicate that the children of homesteaders in general hold substantially different jobs than those of their parents. Generally, homestead wage earners, tend to be more numerous in the occupations which are less remunerative.

The occupational listings of the chief wage earners of homesteader families give an indication of the lack of self-supporting farm operations which were envisioned by the originators of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. Only 4 per cent of all the homesteader families today are engaged

¹State figures, for November 1963, were supplied by the Department of Social Services.

personally in commercial fruit or vegetable raising;¹ an additional 3 per cent are ranchers. In fact, only 15 per cent of those who are homesteaders today initially applied for a lease with the intention of farming. Two-thirds of those who have intended to farm but are not doing so today expressed the feeling that they were prevented from achieving their goal because of defects in the Act or program itself, particularly in the quality of the lands chosen for the homestead program.

Table 38 presents comparative data on the distribution of the labor force in the United States, in Hawaii and on the homesteads among the various major occupational groups, and for the United States and Hawaii includes a picture of the changes which have occurred over time.

Viewed against statistics relating to the entire United States and to Hawaii the occupational distribution data reveal that the current homesteader wage earner profile is considerably lower than that of the other two groups. Table 38 indicates the changes which took place in the United States from 1870 to 1960 and in Hawaii from 1910 to 1960. Two of the most notable trends apparent from this table are: (1) the increase in the percentage of professional persons; and (2) a sharp decline in the percentage of unskilled workers. Both of these changes are a reflection of the

¹This percentage excludes the 153 homesteaders with pineapple contracts. For a more complete discussion of the contracts see Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

Table 38

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE AMONG OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
UNITED STATES, HAWAII AND HOMESTEAD
1870-1963
(Percentages)

| Major Occupational Group | United States | | | |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | 1870 ^a | 1910 ^a | 1950 ^a | 1960 ^b |
| Professional | 3 | 4 | 8 | 11 |
| Proprietors, managers
and officials | 30 | 23 | 16 | 15 |
| Clerks, civil service
and salespeople | 4 | 10 | 19 | 21 |
| Skilled workers | 9 | 12 | 14 | 13 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 10 | 15 | 22 | 18 |
| Unskilled workers | 44 | 36 | 19 | 22 |
| Others and not reported | | | 2 | |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 101 | 100 |
| Number in labor force | 12,924,000 | 37,271,000 | 56,239,000 | 66,681,000 |

Table 38--Continued

| Major Occupational Group | Hawaii | | | Homesteader* | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----|
| | 1900 ^c | 1950 ^d | 1960 ^e | Per Cent | No. |
| Professional | 1 | 10 | 12 | 1 | 2 |
| Proprietors, managers and officials | 10 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 5 |
| Clerks, civil service and salespeople | 3 | 19 | 21 | 12 | 21 |
| Skilled workers | 7 | 15 | 16 | 15 | 27 |
| Semi-skilled workers | 3 | 15 | 14 | 22 | 38 |
| Unskilled workers | 76 | 29 | 23 | 42 | 74 |
| Others and not reported | 0 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 8 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 175 |
| Number in labor force | 84,047 | 167,588 | 209,370 | | |

Table 38---Continued

Sources:

- a. Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York, Rinehard & Co., 1959) p. 67. Kahl considers a number of sub-categories in the unskilled workers and proprietors class. He bases his overall figures on a variety of sources and considers the 1870 figures to be "rough estimates".
- b. U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract . . . 1963, p. 231. These figures are for persons 14 years and older, and include Alaska and Hawaii.
- c. U. S., Department of Commerce and Labor, Number of Males 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Gainful Occupations, 1900, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 94 (Washington, D. C., 1911) pp. 676-677. Figures for 1910 are not available.
- d. U. S., Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950; General Characteristics, Hawaii, 1950 Population Census Report P-B52, p. 19.
- e. Hawaii, Department of Planning and Research, Statistical Abstract of Hawaii, 1962 (Honolulu, 1962) p. 57.
- f. Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Chief wage earners only.

growing complexity of American technology which requires an increasingly large number of professionally and technically trained persons. Furthermore, the gradual introduction of machinery and its consequent elimination of tasks requiring physical labor alone has more than cut in half the 1870 percentage figure for unskilled workers.

Comparative statistics do not exist by which change within the homesteader community itself can be gauged. There may have been considerable change within the occupational categories for the homesteaders during the last decade. Nevertheless, today's homesteader profile indicates that only 1 per cent of the chief wage earners are professionals, as compared with a statewide population figure of 10 per cent. Furthermore, 42 per cent are unskilled laborers, nearly double the statewide figure of 23 per cent.

In very few areas does the homesteader wage earner occupation profile mirror the current national or Hawaii picture. In fact, the contrast between homesteaders and Hawaii generally is even more striking than the comparison with the national data. Homesteader wage earners are significantly underrepresented in the professional, proprietor, and clerk-salesman categories; are about the same in the skilled and semi-skilled worker groups; and are heavily overrepresented in the unskilled categories. Since there tends to be a strong association between occupation and income, this would indicate an underrepresentation of upper-income occupations and an overrepresentation of lower-income occupations among the

homesteader wage earners. The data concerning family income of the homesteaders (pages 126-129) support this point.

Racial figures have many weaknesses, as has earlier been pointed out in this dissertation. The figures are of some interest, however, in focusing a bit more on the condition of the homesteaders as a separate group. The more recent decennial censuses have omitted all correlations between racial groups and occupations, compelling use of a 1950 account of this relationship. In a special tabulation by the U. S. Census Bureau for the Romanzo Adams Social Science Laboratory at the University of Hawaii in 1950, figures indicated that Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians held an intermediate position relative to other racial groups in the occupational rankings, with the Part-Hawaiians far better off than the Hawaiians. The report went on to say that "much the same ranking ... prevailed twenty years earlier, except for the fact that the Hawaiians enjoyed a relatively preferred position with reference to the immigrant groups."¹ Table 39 summarizes some of the racial occupation figures for 1950 and includes some comparisons with the present occupations of homesteaders. It is important to keep in mind the time sequence of Table 39. Since 1950, the overall state figures have shown a sharp drop in the unskilled category. There is every reason to believe that the Part-Hawaiians, a rapidly growing group, reflect generally the

¹University of Hawaii, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii (Report No. 24, January, 1957) p. 4.

trends in the community.¹ The homesteaders, on the basis of the occupational findings alone, do not appear to be holding a position which reflects present or likely future trends within the community.

Table 39

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE AMONG
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS--HAWAIIANS,
PART-HAWAIIANS AND HOMESTEADERS
1950 AND 1963

| Major Occupational Group | All Males 1950 | All Hawaiian Males 1950 | All Part-Hawaiian Males 1950 | Chief Homestead Wage Earners 1963 |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Professional | 7 | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| Proprietors, Managers and Officials | 10 | 3 | 7 | 3 |
| Clerks, Civil Service, etc. | 13 | 4 | 11 | 12 |
| Skilled Workers | 21 | 20 | 24 | 15 |
| Semi-skilled Workers | 16 | 21 | 20 | 22 |
| Unskilled Workers | 30 | 45 | 30 | 42 |
| Others, No Response | 3 | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: University of Hawaii, Romanzo Adams Social Science Laboratory, Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii, Report No. 24, January, 1957. Homestead figures from interviews

¹See Ibid., p. 8, which indicates that the Part-Hawaiians had maintained about the same relative position which they held in 1930.

Some fragmentary data are available for examining changes which have taken place within the homesteader families. They give an indication of the comparative situation in which the homesteaders find themselves. Table 40 reports the occupation of the male parent of current homesteaders along with that of the chief wage earner in homestead families.

Table 40

DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, MALE PARENT
OF CURRENT HOMESTEADER AND CHIEF WAGE
EARNERS IN HOMESTEADER FAMILIES

| Major Occupational Group | Male Parent
of Homesteaders | | Chief Wage
Earners in
Homesteader
Families | |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------|---|-------------|
| | No. | Per
Cent | No. | Per
Cent |
| Professional | 9 | 5 | 2 | 1 |
| Proprietors, Managers,
and Officials | 2 | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| Clerks, Civil Service,
and Salespeople | 21 | 12 | 21 | 12 |
| Skilled Workers | 21 | 12 | 27 | 15 |
| Semi-Skilled Workers | 21 | 12 | 38 | 22 |
| Unskilled Workers | 82 | 47 | 74 | 42 |
| Others and Not Reported | 19 | 11 | 8 | 5 |
| TOTAL | 175 | 100 | 175 | 100 |

Source: interviews

Table 40 must be used with caution for it does not compare similar things; i.e., frequently the chief wage earner

in the homesteader family is not the child of the parent referred to in the male parent column. Yet an environmental comparison is possible and the data certainly suggest that a generation has brought little change to the homesteader in terms of the occupation of the family's chief wage earner. The large percentage of "not reported" in the male parent column does not change the picture for the benefit of current families since about two-thirds of these were reported as having been on "pension" even though the specific occupation was unknown. This would seem to indicate that not too many had been unskilled laborers. In any case, the remarkable drop in the state-wide concentration in the unskilled workers category clearly is not mirrored in these statistics.

The final dimension to the occupational profile of the homesteaders concerns the latest generation. Table 41 depicts the occupations engaged in by the one child who has been most successful.¹

The data in Table 41 are representative of only a small part of the homesteader children in the labor force. While this study was unable to trace the current occupation of all homesteader children working, it is clear that the highest achievement of the children of today's homesteaders to date is almost a reproduction of Table 40 on page 142, indicating almost no change between the parents and children. When it

¹"Successful" in terms of most commonly used sociological prestige rankings. See W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1960), among others.

Table 41

HIGHEST OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CHILDREN
FROM CURRENT HOMESTEADER FAMILIES
SEPTEMBER 1963

| Major Occupational Group | Number | Per Cent |
|---|--------|----------|
| Professional | 2 | 2 |
| Proprietors, Managers,
and Officials | 4 | 4 |
| Clerks, Civil Service,
and Salespeople | 10 | 11 |
| Skilled Workers | 20 | 22 |
| Semi-Skilled Workers | 19 | 21 |
| Unskilled Workers | 35 | 39 |
| | — | — |
| TOTAL | 90 | 99* |

Source: interviews

*Does not include the 85 families which do not have children in the civilian labor force.

is noted that these data reflect the highest achievement among those homesteader children working, it can probably be concluded that the present generation of children is very likely doing less well than the parent homesteaders themselves.. One indication of this may be the unemployment figures. In the LRB interviews, 29 per cent of the homesteader families reported one or more unemployed children. About 8 per cent of the families reported 3 or more unemployed children. If only those families with children in the labor force are considered, the figures on unemployment would be much higher. Many of the

homesteader families do not, as yet, have children eligible for the labor force, however, and apparently the hopes of the homesteader community for upward occupational mobility for their children, if any such hopes are to reach fruition, must still rest with the future.

Education of the Homesteader

Education has never been a major consideration of the Hawaiian Homes program. An examination of the congressional hearings, newspaper editorials and speeches from the period during which Congress was considering the original Act fails to reveal any direct concern with education. Farming and economic stability, both leading to a kind of "moral-rearmament", were the points at issue. While it is true that economic stability and security might provide the Hawaiian homesteader with a greater ability to adjust to the values of a more acquisitive community, little regard was given to formal education as a means to this end. Later a movement developed which emphasized day care and nursery schools. However, the rationale behind this was to allow parents to go to work or to prevent juvenile delinquency by keeping children busy.¹ Today only isolated group efforts concerned with higher education for homesteader children exist and these are almost solely in organizations not primarily concerned with homesteading.²

¹The percentage of homesteader children in Kamehameha's student body is presently undetermined. The Kamehameha Schools do not keep separate listings of homesteader children.

²For example, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs offer a limited number of scholarships to homesteader children.

After the Second World War, higher education in America became accessible for far more people. Byron S. Hollinshead reported in 1952 that 55 per cent of American youth were graduating from high school, 20 per cent were attending college, and 10 per cent were graduating from college.¹ This latter figure represents a change from the beginning of the century when only one American youth in 60 was graduating from a university.² A more recent study of American higher education has been used in the construction of Table 42 examining American high school and college graduation figures for this century.

These data underline a clear-cut trend taking place in American higher education--an increasingly higher percentage of the nation's youth are graduating from high school, entering college, and ultimately graduating from college. Well over 60 per cent of American students are graduating from high school, more than 35 per cent of them are entering college, and more than 20 per cent are graduating from college. These figures can be expected to rise rather steadily in the foreseeable future.³

Hawaii has reflected many of the changes taking place in education throughout the United States. As the percentage of high school and college graduates has increased elsewhere,

¹Byron S. Hollinshead, Who Should Go to College (New York, Columbia University Press, 1952) p. 10.

²Dael Wolfle, America's Resources of Specialized Talent (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954) p. 24.

³Havighurst, particularly pp. 28-36.

so has it increased in Hawaii. Hawaii's trends can be gleaned from Table 43.

Table 42

LEVELS REACHED IN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM
UNITED STATES
1899-1959

| Year | Per Cent of 17-
Year Olds Who are
High School
Graduates | | Per Cent of 18-
Year-Olds Who
are College
Entrants | | Per Cent of 22-
Year-Olds Who
are College
Graduates | |
|-----------|--|---------|---|---------|--|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| 1899-1900 | 5 | 8 | | | 3 | 1 |
| 1909-1910 | 7 | 10 | | | 4 | 1 |
| 1919-1920 | 13 | 20 | | | 4 | 2 |
| 1929-1930 | 26 | 32 | | | 7 | 5 |
| 1939-1940 | 48 | 54 | 18 | 13 | 10 | 7 |
| 1946-1947 | 47 | 54 | 41* | 16 | | |
| 1949-1950 | 56 | 62 | 29 | 18 | 27* | 9 |
| 1953-1954 | 58 | 62 | 32 | 21 | 16 | 10 |
| 1955-1956 | 60 | 64 | 38 | 24 | 19 | 11 |
| 1957-1958 | | | 38 | 25 | 21 | 12 |
| 1958-1959 | | | 40 | 27 | | |

Source: Robert J. Havighurst, American Higher Education in the 1960's (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1960) p. 84. This represents only a portion of the information in Havighurst's original table. Percentages were not rounded in the original.

*Inflated because of the large number of World War II veterans.

The homesteaders have accomplished much less in respect to higher education than either the state or national populations. Table 44 shows a sharp difference in both college attendance and high school graduates for homesteaders as compared to all of Hawaii and the nation. Only 2 per cent of the homesteaders have attended college, while 17 per cent of all people

Table 43

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS
25 YEARS OLD AND OVER
1940-1960
HAWAII

| Educational Attainment | 1960 | 1950 | 1940 |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|
| None | 7 | 11 | 19 |
| 12th grade or higher | 46 | 32 | 21 |
| 4 years or more of college | 9 | 6 | 5 |
| Median years completed | 11 | 9 | 7 |

Source: Hawaii, Department of Planning and Research, Statistical Abstract, p. 28. Percentages not rounded in original.

Table 44

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT--UNITED STATES,
HAWAII AND HOMESTEAD
1960 AND 1963

| Attainment | Percentages of Residents
Over 25 Years of Age | | |
|----------------------------------|--|---------------------|------------------------|
| | 1960 | 1960 | 1963 |
| | United States ^a | Hawaii ^b | Homestead ^c |
| At least some college | 16 | 17 | 2 |
| 12 | 25 | 30 | 19 |
| 9-11 | 19 | 16 | 37 |
| 8 | 18 | 11 | (33 |
| 5-7 | 14 | 12 |) |
| Less than 5 | 8 | 15 | 8 |
| | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 100 | 101 | 99 |
| Median school
years completed | 11 ^c | 11 ^d | 9 |

Sources: ^aU. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract, . . . 1963, p. 121.

^bIbid.

^cIbid., p. 119.

^dIbid., p. 121.

^einterviews.

A few homesteaders under 25 are included.

in Hawaii (and 16 per cent of the nation) have some college education. Homesteaders lie far behind in high school graduate statistics: 19 per cent for homesteaders, 30 per cent for Hawaii, 25 per cent for the nation. The homesteaders compare well with the national proportions in the group with 5-8 years of education, and substantially exceed the Hawaii figure for that level (33 per cent of the homesteaders, 32 per cent nationally, 23 per cent for Hawaii). In the "less than 5 years" level, the homesteaders do better than Hawaii's population for they have only 8 per cent in that category as compared to 15 per cent for the State in general. Recent figures from U. S. census computations indicate a median level of attainment for selected various racial groups in Hawaii as follows:¹

| <u>Race</u> | <u>Median School Years Completed</u> |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|
| All Races | 11.1 |
| Caucasian | 12.2 |
| Chinese | 12.0 |
| Japanese | 11.2 |
| Homesteaders | 9.0 |

The lower educational achievement by homesteaders cannot be attributed to the success or failure of the program for most of the lessees came to the homesteads at a time when their school years were already past.² On the other hand, it is necessary to establish the educational achievement levels of

¹Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics. The homesteader figure is from Legislative Reference Bureau interviews. No figure is available for non-homestead Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians.

²The median age range of all applicants for homesteads in August 1962 was 33-36. See Department of Hawaiian Home Lands records.

homesteaders in order to examine the degree to which homesteader children, who can be considered a product of the system, differ from their fathers. Table 45 contains the various data depicting the differences among generations.

Table 45

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT--HOMESTEADER FATHER,
HOMESTEADER, AND HOMESTEADER SPOUSE

| | <u>Homesteader
Father</u>
No. | | <u>Homesteader</u>
No. | | <u>Homesteader
Spouse</u>
No. | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Less than 5 Years | 53 | 30 | 12 | 7 | 14 | 8 |
| 5-6 Years | 22 | 13 | 24 | 14 | 22 | 13 |
| 7-8 Years | (| (| 34 | 19 | 43 | 25 |
| 9 Years | (17 | (10 | 32 | 18 | 9 | 5 |
| 10-11 Years | 14 | 8 | 34 | 19 | 28 | 16 |
| High School Graduate | 16 | 9 | 34 | 19 | 44 | 25 |
| Some College | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| College Graduate | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Unknown | 52 | 29 | 1 | 1 | 11 | 6 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 175 | 100 | 175 | 100 | 175 | 101 |

Source: interviews

Table 46 indicates that great changes have not taken place, at least for the majority of the homesteaders.¹ Forty-one per cent of the homesteaders received equal or fewer years

¹Table 45 showed that homesteader spouses, in general, have less education than homesteaders.

of education than their fathers, while 25 per cent received moderately more (1-3 years) than their fathers. For every homesteader who received 7 or more years' education than his father did, there is a homesteader who has less than his own father.

Table 46

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOMESTEADER
RELATIVE TO MALE PARENT
SEPTEMBER 1963

| Attainment | Homesteader | |
|---|-------------|----------|
| | Number | Per Cent |
| Less education than father | 20 | 11 |
| Same education as father | 53 | 30 |
| 1-3 more years of education
than father | 43 | 25 |
| 4-6 more years of education
than father | 38 | 22 |
| 7 or more years of education
than father | 20 | 11 |
| | — | — |
| TOTAL | 174 | 99 |

Source: interviews

In this dissertation I have attempted to compare and contrast the homesteaders with their own brothers and sisters in an effort to ascertain whether homesteaders have fared as well as their own siblings in terms of education. The vagueness which homesteaders had about sibling

achievement led me to restrict myself to a measurement of high school and college attendance. This information is depicted in Table 47.

Table 47

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF BROTHERS
AND SISTERS OF HOMESTEADERS
SEPTEMBER 1963
(percentages)

| Attainment | Siblings
Achieving Specific Educational Level | Homesteaders
Achieving Specific Educational Level |
|-----------------------|--|--|
| High School Graduates | 25 | 19 |
| Some College | 3 | 2 |

Source: interviews

The figures in Table 47 are based on the information which originally was supplied by the homesteaders. Approximately 1,000 brothers and sisters were reported by the 175 homesteaders, or about 6 per homesteader. Twenty-five per cent of these graduated from high school and 3 per cent attended college, both figures higher than the homesteader figures.

Table 43 provides a useful background for examining Hawaii's trends and for comparing the data which directly concern the homesteaders. In the latter regard it might be useful to begin by noting the verbal commitment which present homesteaders make to education. Ninety-three per cent of the homesteaders interviewed emphasized the importance of

education and the need to remain in school. Eighty-seven per cent of the homesteaders saw this need in straight economic terms, believing that more education meant a better job, more security, and an easier time in life.¹ Almost all of the homesteaders expressed varying degrees of concern with poor classroom performance and 67 per cent thought that college training should be secured if a student is particularly bright. In the latter case, however, only a small proportion expressed a willingness to "do everything possible" to send a particularly deserving child to college. The importance of education in the homesteader's mind was partially reaffirmed by the selection of a professional career by 44 per cent of the homesteaders as a desirable career for males and by 47 per cent for females.

Community Participation and Awareness

The homesteaders appear to have a fairly strong religious attachment. Almost 88 per cent stated that they attended church; 58 per cent stated that they attended church one or more times weekly. Their religious affiliation is as follows:

| | <u>Homesteaders</u> | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|----------|
| | Number | Per Cent |
| Catholic | 47 | 27 |
| Latter Day Saints | 31 | 18 |
| Various Protestant | | |
| Denominations | 76 | 43 |
| No Church Affiliation | 21 | 12 |
| | — | — |
| | 175 | 100 |

Source: interviews

¹Less than 5 per cent of the homesteaders saw any intrinsic value in education leading to more pride in self or a better understanding of the world about them.

Church affiliation is the most common association for the homesteaders. Thirty-two per cent of the homesteaders belong to a local homesteader association, while 15 per cent attend the association meetings as often as once a month. The P.T.A. draws 18 per cent of the homesteaders with some regularity. Homesteader children showed a low degree of association membership, concentrating what little they had in the boy scouts and church-centered children's activities.

Forty-four per cent of the homesteaders are identified with a political party. Along with the apparently high rate of party identification goes a high rate of voting participation--92 per cent voted in the last presidential election--and a high rate of participation in party work--almost 20 per cent worked for a political party during the last election. A few homesteaders were candidates themselves.

The general attitude that the homesteaders have about political matters is a combination of many factors. Data supplied by the homesteaders indicate that:

- (1) About 68 per cent of the homesteaders believe it is of some value to make one's wishes known to a state legislator;
- (2) About 16 per cent have written letters or talked with state legislators; but
- (3) Less than 50 per cent of the homesteaders were able to name a member of the state legislature representing their district.

About 54 per cent of the homesteaders were able to identify

the head of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, while 38 per cent of all the homesteaders had no opinion or idea as to whether he was doing a good or bad job.

The homesteaders are not isolated in any geographical sense. Many of the rural area homesteaders work in the cities of the several islands. Despite the relative youth of the homestead population, more than 17 per cent of the homesteaders are without any daily newspaper whatsoever. Only 14 per cent of all the homesteader families interviewed read any magazine which could qualify as an information source or as a substantial educational stimulant.¹

The Interdependence of Social Factors

Many of the characteristics of the homestead community have been presented in quantitative form, together with data on similar population characteristics in Hawaii and throughout the United States. This section focuses on the homestead community and the manner in which some of these characteristics and factors relate to each other.

The simplest method of examining the data would be to consider the problem in its racial dimension alone. This approach would attribute the existing maladies represented on the homesteads to racial stereotypes. This approach is both logically and sociologically unsound. It is logically unsound because, as we have previously mentioned, the categories used for a determination of race or ethnic group are

¹i.e., political opinion magazines, technical magazines, news magazines, etc.

not satisfactory measurements. The approach is unsound for the same reasons any generalization about racial groups tends to be unsatisfactory--i.e., while the cultural influence which a racial group has upon its members may be great indeed, a far more defensible explanation of human behavior can be made via a consideration of the wider complex of social phenomena. Race provides a one-dimensional approach to a complex question which demands much more sophistication.

Homesteaders were asked to express their degree of general satisfaction with life on the homestead in the interview. Later they were requested to point out specific areas where the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands should be of more help to the homesteaders. Relatively few homesteaders expressed any general dissatisfaction as Table 48 depicts.

Table 48

HOMESTEADER ATTITUDE TOWARD
HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM

| | No. | Per Cent |
|---------------------------------|-------|----------|
| Very satisfied | 27 | 15 |
| Satisfied | 89 | 52 |
| Both satisfied and dissatisfied | 34 | 19 |
| Dissatisfied | 23 | 13 |
| Very dissatisfied | 2 | 1 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 175 | 101 |

Source: interviews

The homesteaders overwhelmingly mentioned "economic" security as a major reason for their satisfaction. The difficulty in obtaining departmental loans was most frequently mentioned as a reason for dissatisfaction.

There is very little association between the homesteader's view of his satisfaction and other factors such as the location of the homestead, the racial background of the homesteader, family income, and age of homesteader. More surprising, perhaps, is that even such compelling forces as unemployment, the number of people living in the household and the age of the house are not significantly associated with the expressed degree of satisfaction.

While only 14 per cent of the homesteaders would acknowledge that they were dissatisfied, almost 40 per cent felt that the department should help more in specific categories, mostly in the form of more and better loans.

Table 49

MAJOR CONCERN OF HOMESTEADERS IN
REGARD TO DEPARTMENTAL AID

| | Yes | |
|--------------------------|-----|----------|
| | No. | Per Cent |
| Loans | 37 | 21 |
| Better lands | 9 | 5 |
| Various other | 20 | 12 |
| (Subtotal) | 66 | 38 |
| Department need not help | 109 | 62 |
| TOTAL | 175 | 100 |

Source: interviews

A large variety of areas were covered by the "various other" category, but not a single homesteader mentioned education or community activities in response to this question. Once again, there was no significant association between these replies and the homesteader's age, the location of his homestead and either unemployment or welfare. A discussion of other factors which were associated with these responses follows.

An association exists between the designation of "loans" as a problem area and the family income of the respondent. Table 50 illustrates this relationship.

Table 50

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMPLAINTS
ABOUT DEPARTMENTAL LOAN POLICY AND FAMILY INCOME

| Family Income | No. of
Complaints
about Loans |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| \$10,000 or above | 3 |
| 8,000 to 9,999 | 4 |
| 6,000 to 7,999 | 7 |
| 5,000 to 5,999 | 7 |
| 4,000 to 4,999 | 4 |
| 3,000 to 3,999 | 3 |
| 2,000 to 2,999 | 3 |
| 1,000 to 1,999 | 1 |
| 1 to 999 | 1 |
| No income | 4* |
| No complaints about loans | 138 |
| TOTAL | 175 |

*May include some homesteaders with income from welfare payments or unemployment compensation.

Source: interviews

The 37 homesteaders who complained of loan policy (they represent more than 21 per cent of all homesteaders interviewed) are not a particularly depressed group in terms of family income. Their median income is in the \$5,000-\$5,999 range, the same as the median for all homesteaders. Almost 20 per cent of the complaints were voiced by families with incomes of \$8,000 or more, a group which comprises only 14 per cent of homesteader families. Far more complaints were voiced by those from the three highest income groups (16) than for the three lowest groups (6). The great interest by the upper income groups in securing loans is undoubtedly one reason why the department is now attempting to arrange alternative means for providing loans to homesteaders, including bank financing, which the department would guarantee in total or in part.

Seventeen of the 37 loan complaints were made by homesteaders who already had debts outstanding to the department. More than half of them are in debt in excess of \$2,000. Four owe the department more than \$5,000. Loan complaints also tend to be more frequent from homesteaders who own older homes.

One interesting point which emphasizes the pervasiveness of loan complaints is the association between this phenomenon and the kinds of letters which homesteaders write to legislators. When homesteaders who felt strongly about particular problems were queried as to whether they informed their legislators of their troubles, only those

with loan complaints replied in the affirmative. The homesteaders with specific dissatisfaction regarding land conditions and farming possibilities would not write to their legislators about such problems. For some reasons, these are not the types of questions homesteaders raise with their legislators. There is no such reluctance relative to loan complaints; 11 of 37 took their loan problems to their legislators.

The Age Factor

The median homesteader age is 44, as noted in Table 30. There is almost an equal distribution of male and female lessees. Age does not have any particular association with expressions of homesteader discontent or the existence of particular problems; neither is age related to homesteader opinions of departmental personnel, administration of the program or educational values. The hypothesis that younger homesteaders are better informed about legislators was confirmed, though they were not better informed about departmental officers. Younger homesteaders do not vote in greater proportions than older homesteaders. They are not more active in political parties, nor are they more active in homesteader organizations. At least one popular belief--that Molokai homesteaders with pineapple agreements are generally older than their compatriots elsewhere--is not borne out statistically. Neither is age associated with particular homestead areas. Finally, age is not associated with church affiliation and attendance. Younger homesteaders apparently are as

closely identified with their churches as older homesteaders, and seem more attached to the church than any other non-family institution.

Age is associated with a number of important variables, many of which may indicate a slow but improving absolute position for the younger homesteaders. This is particularly evident in the consideration of welfare recipients where there is a strong association between older age and the welfare aid, much as in the entire State. This could mean that the number of homestead welfare recipients can be expected to diminish gradually, or it might mean that a high percentage of current homesteaders eventually can expect to join the ranks of the welfare recipients.

Education, one of the central factors considered in this chapter, is associated with age in the sense that there is an inverse correlation between these two factors. As Table 51 indicates, the younger homesteaders, in general, have more education than their seniors. This is perhaps the clearest evidence that change is occurring in the homestead communities, particularly since younger homesteaders are somewhat more likely to be second-generation.¹ An examination of the individual age groups in Table 51 indicates that the median number of years of education for the separate categories is as follows:

¹The median educational attainment for second-generation homesteaders is 9-10 years; for first-generation homesteaders it is 7-8 years.

| <u>Age of Homesteader</u> | <u>Median Years of Education</u> |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 56 years old or older | 6 years |
| 36-55 years old | 9 years |
| Under 36 | 10-11 years |

This finding is borne out when the difference in educational attainment between homesteaders and their fathers is examined. The older the homesteader, the less the difference between him and his father in terms of number of years of schooling.

| <u>Age of Homesteader</u> | <u>Median Number of Years of Education More than Father</u> |
|---------------------------|---|
| 46 years old and above | Same as father |
| 36-45 years old | 1-3 years more |
| Under 36 years old | 4-6 years more |

Table 51

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND HIS
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

| Age of Homesteader | <u>Highest Number of Years Completed in School</u> | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|--------------------|--|-----|-----|-----|----|----|----|----|--------------|---------------|-------|
| | Under 3 | 3-4 | 5-6 | 7-8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | Some College | College Grad. | |
| Over 65 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 1 | | 2 | 1 | | | 15 |
| 56-65 | | 4 | 11 | 6 | 3 | | | 1 | | 1 | 26 |
| 46-65 | 1 | | 8 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 5 | 6 | | | 40 |
| 36-45 | | 1 | 2 | 13 | 15 | 4 | 7 | 14 | 2 | | 53 |
| 28-35 | 1 | | | 5 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 8 | | | 29 |
| 27 or below | | | | | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | | 7 |
| | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 3 | 9 | 24 | 35 | 32 | 15 | 19 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 175 |

Source: interviews

r = -.46

It is not possible to conclude from these data that the homestead program has been responsible for this change in educational achievement as it may simply be a reflection of higher standards throughout the State for all younger people. Nevertheless, second-generation homesteaders do have better educations than first-generation homesteaders and do have a higher readership level.¹

The relationship between age and family income is roughly similar to that between age and education, suggesting an association between education and family income which will be explored later in this chapter. Table 52 shows the relationship between the figures for age and family income.

Table 52

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND FAMILY INCOME

| Family Income | Age | | | | | | Total |
|-------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|
| | Over
65 | 56-65 | 46-55 | 36-45 | 28-35 | 27 or
Below | |
| \$10,000 or above | | 2 | 8 | 2 | 1 | | 13 |
| 8,000-9,999 | | 1 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 12 |
| 6,000-7,999 | | 5 | 8 | 19 | 8 | 2 | 42 |
| 5,000-5,999 | | 3 | 8 | 10 | 3 | 1 | 25 |
| 4,000-4,999 | | 2 | 6 | 7 | 6 | 1 | 22 |
| 3,000-3,999 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 5 | | 19 |
| 2,000-2,999 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 4 | | 14 |
| 1,000-1,999 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | | | 5 |
| 1- 999 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | 1 | 6 |
| No income | 6 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 1 | | 17 |
| TOTAL* | 15 | 26 | 40 | 58 | 29 | 7 | 175 |

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensation or welfare payments.

r = .33

¹For example, second-generation homesteaders are under-represented among families receiving no reading matter or newspaper only. They are overrepresented among families receiving technical or opinion magazines.

The median family incomes for some of the age categories show a general tendency for higher family incomes to relate to lower homesteader age:

| <u>Age</u> | <u>Median Family Income</u> |
|------------|-----------------------------|
| Over 65 | 999 |
| 56-65 | 4,249 |
| 36-55 | 5,803 |
| Under 36 | 5,124 |

The failure of the lower age groups to show dramatic differences in income capacity would not be a cause for concern, particularly if large numbers were employed in skilled or professional positions in which income tends to rise with the accumulation of experience. The large concentration of younger homesteaders in the unskilled ranks, in which income tends to diminish as the worker's physical capabilities lessen, however, limits the applicability of such an interpretation of the data.

One relationship, however, indicates that significant changes are possible and that forces internal to the homestead community might operate to bring such changes about. Younger homesteaders have higher aspirations for their children than do their seniors, as the data in Table 53 signifies. More of the younger homesteaders wanted better than ordinary labor jobs for their children and they were more certain of their choices than were most of the older homesteaders. The change is unmistakable. The trend away from those willing to settle for unskilled labor or from those with no opinion is clearly

related to age. A considerable degree of the apathy among the older people undoubtedly is a result of failure to see their sons move up in the occupational ladder. The data indicate the fact that older homesteaders have not been more successful than younger ones in getting higher occupational achievements for their children.

Table 53

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND OCCUPATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR SONS*

| Age of
Homesteader | Any Occupation
Other than
Ordinary Laborer | Ordinary Laborer
or No Opinion |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Over 65 | 9 | 6 |
| 55-65 | 15 | 11 |
| 46-55 | 28 | 12 |
| 36-45 | 46 | 12 |
| 35 or under | 31 | 5 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 129 | 46 |

Source: interviews

*Homesteaders were asked what they would like their sons to become if they had a choice, or what a good position for a man would be.

Housing and Lease Tenure

Age and opinions help to describe an individual's make-up and outlook. Similarly, where an individual lives, how long he has lived there, the age of his house, and extent of occupancy of his home are all factors which significantly structure his life.

One of the most compelling arguments made in support of the original Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was that the provisions of the Act would enable the lessees to gain economic security and a more competitive position in the society. In fact, as with the age of the homesteader, there is almost no evidence that time on the homestead is closely related to any of the important variables considered in this report including occupation of homesteaders or their spouses or occupational aspirations for children. This is important, particularly in view of the fact that younger homesteaders do indicate higher aspirations for their children. Apparently time on the homestead, and the economic security which it is intended to bring to the homesteader, does not by itself bring about major changes in the homesteader educational values.

The median age of the houses lived in by homesteaders is about 14 years. There is no significant difference in the median age of houses among the major areas, though Anahola, Kauai's more recent settlement, places that area in a "newer" category. The imminent movement of many of Keaukaha's homesteaders has resulted in a moratorium on new home construction in the Hilo area, but the median age of houses in this area is not significantly different.

Location is not related significantly to other factors with the exception of the number of people per unit. I have already indicated the median number of occupants of households in all Hawaiian homes areas, and the median throughout

the State. The examination of individual Hawaiian homes areas, contained in Table 54, reveals a striking concentration in specific locations.

Table 54

NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER HOMESTEADER HOUSE
BY ISLAND AND PROJECT

| | Number of Persons | | | | | | | | | | Total |
|-----------------|-------------------|---|----|----|----|----|----|---|----|-----|-------|
| | 10 or
More | 9 | 8 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0-1 | |
| <u>Oahu</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Nanakuli | 10 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 38 |
| Papakolea | 8 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 29 |
| Waimanalo | 9 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 26 |
| <u>Hawaii</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hilo (Keaukaha) | 2 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 3 | 47 |
| Waimea | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| <u>Molokai</u> | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Hoolehua | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 11 |
| Non-Hoolehua | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 14 |
| <u>Kauai</u> | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| TOTAL | 33 | 3 | 13 | 75 | 28 | 16 | 18 | 9 | 23 | 7 | 175 |

Source: interviews

The median number of people per house is 7 for Oahu, 5 for Hawaii, and 4 for Molokai. These figures undoubtedly reflect the great interest which homesteaders have in living on Oahu as well as the high cost of land and housing on Oahu. They may also reflect a common complaint and fear about Molokai--that many people are unwilling to remain on that island for a lifetime of homesteading.

The larger number of people in some houses is apparently

unrelated to such factors as occupation and family income. Those Oahu families with higher combined incomes show no evidence of having less people living in the house. Furthermore, as the data in Table 54 suggest, the large number of people per bedroom is not restricted to two-bedroom houses.

Table 55

NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN TWO AND
THREE BEDROOM HOUSES

| Number of
Occupants | Two Bedroom | | Three Bedroom | |
|------------------------|-------------|----------|---------------|----------|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| 10 or more | 5 | 10 | 22 | 22 |
| 9 | 4 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 5 | 10 | 18 | 18 |
| 7 | 3 | 6 | 21 | 21 |
| 6 | 7 | 13 | 8 | 8 |
| 5 | 9 | 17 | 8 | 8 |
| Below 5 | 19 | 37 | 17 | 17 |
| | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 52 | 101 | 101 | 101 |

Source: interviews

The median number of people living in a two-bedroom unit is 5; the median for a three-bedroom unit is 7. Twenty-eight per cent of the two-bedroom units are occupied by 8 or more people, while almost 30 per cent of the three-bedroom units have 9 or more people.

Because of the substantial misgivings I have about the utility of current racial statistics, such measurements in this study are put to extremely limited use. An appropriate and reasonable use of this category, however, permits an examination of data which restricts itself to homestead consideration alone. The homesteaders must, under the law, be at least 50 per cent Hawaiian extraction in order to qualify as lessees. By their own estimation, all are at least 50 per cent Hawaiian extraction. But the range in degrees of extractions is very great, theoretically between 50 and 100 per cent. The range for the spouses is greater, from 0 per cent to 100 per cent Hawaiian.

Despite the great variations in Hawaiian blood content, and the considerable body of public myth about the relationship between blood content and other social factors, the percentage of Hawaiian blood which is characteristic of individual homesteaders appears in almost no way to be related to other social factors. So extensive is the belief that this might be a relevant association that additional computations were made between race and selected characteristics and in all, save two, no relationship was evident. Factors unrelated to the degree of Hawaiian blood, whether homesteader or spouse, included the following:

- Location of homestead
- Race of spouse
- Number of children
- Church preference
- Political party preference
- Occupation
- Age of homesteader

Degree of unemployment
 Father's occupation
 Family income
 Condition of houses
 Number of unemployed children
 Highest occupational achievement of any child
 Number of people living in the house
 Age of the house
 General satisfaction
 Occupational aspirations for children
 Difficulties with the law

Yet two factors do suggest an association with race and both are related to education. There appears to be a slightly higher educational level for those homesteaders with less than full Hawaiian blood. The second relevant factor is that of reading habits where a rather clear association exists between non-readers and greater proportion of Hawaiian blood. Table 56 depicts the degree of association between these two variables.

Table 56

PROPORTION OF HAWAIIAN EXTRACTION
 AND READING HABITS

As Measured by Kind of Newspapers
 and Magazines Read in the House--

| Homesteader
Percentage of
Hawaiian Blood | Percentage Reading | | | | Total |
|--|--------------------|------------------------|--|---|-----------|
| | Nothing | News-
paper
Only | Newspapers
and
Popular
Magazine | Newspapers
and Opinion
or Technical
Magazine | |
| 1/2-3/4 | 7 | 13 | 25 | 13 | 58 |
| 3/4 | 6 | 11 | 23 | 9 | 49 |
| Full | <u>17</u> | <u>27</u> | <u>21</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>68</u> |
| TOTAL | 30 | 51 | 69 | 25 | 175 |

Source: interviews

Since there is no significant association between family income and race, the heavy concentration of full Hawaiians in the categories which read less does not appear to be related to economic circumstances.

Social Participation

The homesteaders in general fail to indicate any close attachment to organizations and associations other than the church. Formal membership in the homestead associations is moderately high, but attendance at meetings is desultory.

As previously noted, Protestantism in general is the religious mode, while Catholics enjoy a numerical superiority among the identified groups. There is, however, virtually no difference in the social characteristics of the members of the several church groups. Higher church attendance, larger number of siblings and larger number of children--factors which might normally be descriptive of Catholic families--are not so associated on the homesteads. There is no separately identifiable set of values espoused relative to occupation, education or politics by the members of one church, though Mormons have a higher percentage of high school graduates and a slightly higher median of educational level.¹ Family incomes do not vary significantly among the various religious groups, achievement of children is about the same,

¹ Educational median for Mormons is 10 years; for Catholics and Protestants it is 7-8 years; for the homesteaders without a church preference it is 5-6 years. Ten of 31 Mormons graduated from high school; 13 of 75 Protestants, 7 of 47 Catholics, and 4 of 21 with no affiliation graduated from high school.

and no particular religion seems to dominate any of the project areas. An association does exist between identification with religion and reading habits as noted in Table 57.

Table 57

RELIGION AND READING HABITS

As Measured by Kind of Newspapers
and Magazines Read in the House--

| Religious
Affiliation | Nothing | News-
paper
Only | Newspapers
and Popular
Magazine | Newspapers
and Opinion
or Technical
Magazine | Total |
|-----------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|-------|
| Latter Day
Saints | 3 | 3 | 18 | 7 | 31 |
| Protestants | 17 | 29 | 20 | 10 | 76 |
| Catholics | 6 | 12 | 22 | 7 | 47 |
| No Religious
Affiliation | 4 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 21 |
| | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 30 | 51 | 69 | 25 | 175 |

Source: interviews

Protestants have a disproportionate number of respondents in the categories with lower degrees of reading. They appear particularly overrepresented in that category which is completely devoid of any reading matter whatsoever.

Homestead associations vary in size, activities and type, but at least one such organization seems to exist in every homestead area. They appear to be more vigorous in some areas, particularly Keaukaha, but membership in such an association is not significantly related to particular types

of complaints, unemployment rates, family income, or age of homesteaders. Furthermore, members of these associations have no better reading habits and no more knowledge of the department or the state legislature than non-members.

Some relationship does exist between association membership and other factors, though none seems to be of great consequence. Some of these relationships are depicted in Tables 58 and 59. The simple suggestion made by these few cases is that the higher the degree of identification with a homestead association, the more likely an identification with a political party. Since the leaders of the homestead associations are likely to be more identified with the organization to begin with and hence would display a high degree of involvement with the association, the leaders are also likely to be more politically oriented. Here the sample suggests that a high degree of involvement is more likely to be associated with a declining degree of satisfaction and vice versa.

Association members, however, do not appear to have better departmental records than other homesteaders as measured by loan repayment records. Of 27 homestead association members, 7 were behind on loan repayment, a little higher percentage than homesteaders generally.

Political parties are the other voluntary associations to which homesteaders belong and which are considered in this study. While there is a preference for a particular political party, there appears to be very little positive relationship

Table 58

DEGREE OF INVOLVEMENT IN HOMESTEAD
ASSOCIATIONS AND MEMBERSHIP
IN POLITICAL PARTIES

| Degree of
Involvement in
Association | Political Party Membership | | Total |
|--|----------------------------|----|-------|
| | Yes | No | |
| High | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Low | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| No Involvement | 66 | 85 | 151 |
| | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 77 | 98 | 175 |

Source: interviews

Table 59

HOMESTEAD ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP
AND GENERAL SATISFACTION

| Degree of
Involvement | Very
Satisfied | Satisfied | Both | Dissatisfied |
|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------|------|--------------|
| High | 3 | 12 | 4 | 6 |
| Low | 7 | 8 | 2 | 2 |

Source: interviews

between political party membership and social factors. No party has any strong association with homesteaders of a particular age, location, income, occupation or education. More interesting, perhaps, is that no association exists between those homesteaders identifying themselves with a particular political party and: (a) degree of voting participation; (b) degree of voluntary party activity; (c) opinions on the

value of speaking with legislators; or (d) knowledge of the names of legislators from their district.

Education

A close association exists between occupation and education throughout the United States. This next section will consider the relationship of education to various other factors existing on the homesteads, including occupation. As a variable, education appears to have a stronger relationship to other factors than most other independent variables considered in this report. Relatively few factors are really unrelated to education, though location of homestead and political party identification are not. Rather surprisingly, the association on national statistics between education and occupation is not mirrored when considering homesteaders, perhaps because there is not enough of an education differential to have a major impact on the entire occupational sample. The positions filled by homesteaders are so closely clustered in terms of educational prerequisites that personal initiative is more likely to be the cause of differences than is formal education.

As anticipated, a high association exists between homesteader education and family income. Table 60 shows this association. Some selected median family incomes for particular educational ranges are:

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Family Income Median</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 0-6 years | \$1,832 |
| 7-9 years | 4,748 |

| <u>Education</u> | <u>Family Income Median</u> |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 10-11 years | \$5,748 |
| 12 or more | 6,749 |

The inference that can be drawn from these figures is very clear--even when men are performing work in the same occupational grouping--those with better education tend to earn more income.

Table 60
HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
AND FAMILY INCOME

| Income Level | <u>Highest Number of Years Completed in School</u> | | | | | | | | Total |
|--------------------|--|------------|------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------|
| | <u>4 or Under</u> | <u>5-6</u> | <u>7-8</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>10</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>Some College</u> | |
| \$10,000 and above | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 13 |
| 8,000-9,999 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 12 |
| 6,000-7,999 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 3 | 4 | 12 | | 42 |
| 5,000-5,999 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | | 25 |
| 4,000-4,999 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 22 |
| 3,000-3,999 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | | | 19 |
| 2,000-2,999 | 1 | | 8 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 14 |
| 1,000-1,999 | | 3 | 2 | | | | | | 5 |
| 1-999 | 3 | 2 | | | | | 1 | | 6 |
| No Income* | <u>2</u> | <u>9</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>1</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>—</u> | <u>16</u> |
| TOTAL | 12 | 24 | 35 | 32 | 15 | 19 | 34 | 4 | 175 |

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensation and welfare payments.

r = .45

Source: interviews

A consideration of the level of education with other factors in the household is very revealing. Homesteaders with better education provide a far better environment for children in terms of availability of reading materials at home and the encouragement of use of the public library. Tables 61 and 62 indicate these influences. The figures do not bear out any overwhelming commitment to library use by homestead families, but it is clear that better educated homesteaders have children who make better use of public libraries.

This chapter has already examined some changes in educational level which have taken place in the homesteads. The picture is that of a slightly better educated younger than older homesteader. A study which compares the educational level of today's homesteaders with their own male parents appears in Table 63, indicating a slight movement in the direction of higher education for homesteaders today than their parents had.

Individual medians are as follows:

| <u>Homesteader's Educational</u>
<u>Attainment</u> | <u>Parent's Educational</u>
<u>Attainment</u> |
|---|--|
| 0-6 years | 4 or less years |
| 7-9 years | 5 years |
| 10-11 years | 7 years |
| 12 or more years | 7 years |

The homesteader has 2 to 5 or more years of education than his male parent. The difference in years is greater for homesteaders who have achieved higher levels of education.

Table 61

HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
AND READING HABITS

As Measured by Kind Of Newspapers
and Magazines Read in the House--

| Educational
Attainment | <u>Newspaper and Popular Magazine</u> | | | | Total |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|--|-------|
| | Nothing | Only | Newspaper
and Popular
Magazine | Newspaper
and Opinion
or Technical
Magazine | |
| Some College | | 1 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 12 | 2 | 5 | 18 | 9 | 34 |
| 11 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 19 |
| 10 | | 4 | 8 | 3 | 15 |
| 9 | 6 | 14 | 11 | 1 | 32 |
| 7-8 | 9 | 12 | 11 | 3 | 35 |
| 5-6 | 6 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 24 |
| 4 or under | 5 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 12 |
| | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 30 | 51 | 69 | 25 | 175 |

R = .40

Source: interviews

Table 62

HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND
CHILDREN'S USE OF PUBLIC LIBRARY

| Educational
Attainment | <u>Do Children Use the Public Library?</u> | | Total |
|---------------------------|--|----|-------|
| | Yes | No | |
| Some College | 4 | 0 | 4 |
| 12 | 26 | 8 | 34 |
| 11 | 13 | 6 | 19 |
| 10 | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| 9 | 22 | 10 | 32 |
| 7-8 | 21 | 14 | 35 |
| 5-6 | 7 | 17 | 24 |
| 4 or under | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 109 | 66 | 175 |

Source: interviews

Table 63

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOMESTEADER
COMPARED WITH MALE PARENT

| Homesteader's
Educational
Attainment | Male Parent's Educational Attainment | | | | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------------------|-----|-----|-------|----|-----------------|-------|
| | 4 or
Under | 5-6 | 7-9 | 10-11 | 12 | Some
College | |
| Some College | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 |
| 12 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 26 |
| 11 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| 10 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 13 |
| 9 | 8 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 21 |
| 7-8 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| 5-6 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 14 |
| 4 or under | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 8 |
| | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 52 | 22 | 17 | 14 | 16 | 1 | 122* |

*53 homesteaders could not recall parent's education.

$r = .27$

Source: interviews

Homesteaders were asked what their reactions would be if they were informed that one of their children was particularly capable and might benefit from a college education. The reactions, classified by homesteader's educational level, appear in Table 64. The data suggest a pretty general willingness to try something, at best an imprecise measure for predicting success. It also indicates that while low education tends to be more associated with negativism and ambivalence than higher education, the homesteaders, in general, seem alert enough to recognize the importance of college education.

There is nothing dramatically different between the

education of the homesteader and his (or her) spouse. Again higher family income was associated with higher spouse education. There was a strong correlation ($r = .43$) between the level of homesteader education and the level of spouse education.

Table 64

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOMESTEADER AND
REACTION TO POSSIBILITY OF COLLEGE
FOR A GIFTED CHILD

| Homesteader
Educational
Attainment | Would Do
Nothing | Ambivalent | Condi-
tional
Assent | Make a ma-
jor or All
Out Effort | Total |
|--|---------------------|------------|----------------------------|--|-------|
| Some College | | | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 12 | | | 4 | 27 | 34 |
| 11 | | 2 | 2 | 15 | 19 |
| 10 | | | 3 | 11 | 15 |
| 9 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 22 | 32 |
| 7-8 | 5 | | 6 | 24 | 35 |
| 5-6 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 24 |
| 4 or under | 2 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 12 |
| | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 11 | 11 | 34 | 119 | 175 |

Source: interviews

Economic Well-Being

This section considers the relationship of family income, occupation, unemployment, welfare, and health insurance--all measures of the economic well-being of the homesteader--to various other factors on the homesteads.

This chapter has emphasized the importance of examining the occupation of the chief wage earner in the household. In most cases this represented the male parent and frequently

was not the lessee. Unlike the national scene, the occupational variable on the homesteads does not emerge as a critical measure in helping to distinguish between various homestead families. Unlike educational data, it does not provide a clear guide to family income, nor is it associated with particular occupational aspirations for sons and daughters. As already indicated, it is not even significantly associated with education, nor does it bear a close relationship to political preference, household reading habits, or the values which the homesteaders place upon certain job characteristics. A rather surprising association exists between occupation and the kinds of problems which homesteaders expect help with. White-collar and skilled workers speak of loan problems while semi-skilled and unskilled workers are more likely to speak of hopes for better land. In all cases, however, the overwhelming number of complaints relate to loan availability.

The occupation of the spouse seems relatively unimportant in this context. There is no apparent association between working spouses and family income, extent of juvenile delinquency, or occupational aspirations for children. Job stability of the chief wage earner was also examined. There was an association between this factor and age, as shown in Table 65. The negative correlation figure indicates that the number of jobs held in the last five years decreases as age increases, though the sample indicates a reversal once the age of 65 is reached.

Table 65
JOB STABILITY AND AGE
OF CHIEF WAGE EARNER

| Number of
Jobs in
Last Five
Years | Age of Chief Wage Earner | | | | | | Total |
|--|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------------|-------|
| | 27 or
Below | 28-35 | 36-45 | 46-55 | 56-65 | Over
65 | |
| 4 or more | 0 | 3 | 5 | 3 | | | 11 |
| 3 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 15 |
| 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 18 |
| 1 | 2 | 13 | 39 | 25 | 17 | 7 | 103 |
| 0 or no
response | 0 | 4 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 28 |
| | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 7 | 29 | 58 | 40 | 26 | 15 | 175 |

$r = -.25$

Source: interviews

One of the more important indices by which change on the homestead can be measured is the occupational ranking of children. There does not yet appear to be a high association between the occupation of the chief wage earner and the highest occupational achievement of a child.¹ One likely explanation of this is that the better occupations may be associated with younger, better educated homesteaders who have not yet produced children for the working force. The data on the latter point are not conclusive, however. Table 66 shows that an association does exist (though not significant)

¹ $r = .24$

between higher occupational achievement for children and the education of the homesteader:

Table 66

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOMESTEADER AND
HIGHEST OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
OF ANY CHILD

| Homesteader
Educational
Attainment | Highest Occupational Achievement of any Child | | | | | Total |
|--|---|------------------|----------|---------|---|----------|
| | Unskilled | Semi-
Skilled | Clerical | Skilled | Profes-
sional,
Managerial,
Entrepre-
neurial | |
| At least
some college | | | 1 | | 1 | 2 |
| 12 | 5 | 3 | | 5 | | 13 |
| 11 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| 10 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 |
| 9 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 16 |
| 7-8 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 4 | | 21 |
| 5-6 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 20 |
| 3-4 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| Below 3 | 2 | | | | | <u>2</u> |
| TOTAL | 42 | 19 | 10 | 22 | 6 | 99* |

*96 homesteaders do not yet have a child in labor force.

$r = .25$

Source: interviews

Median figures are as follows:

| <u>Highest Occupational
Achievement of any Child</u> | <u>Homesteader's
Median Education</u> |
|--|---|
| Professional, managerial,
entrepreneurial | 9-10 |
| Skilled | 9 |
| Clerical - civil service | 8 |
| Semi-skilled | 8 |
| Unskilled | 7 |

Eleven per cent of the homestead families presently have one or more members receiving unemployment compensation and 7 per cent have chief wage earners unemployed. None of these families is receiving welfare. The receipt of unemployment compensation is not related to the occupation or education of either homesteader or spouse and, strangely, seems not to be related to overall family income. Neither location of the homestead nor race is related to receipt of unemployment compensation. Households receiving unemployment compensation do not show any special preference for a political party, which differs from homesteaders in general. Rather interestingly, in terms of self-perception, families in this category failed to see themselves as being worse off than other Hawaiians by a 16-2 score. In view of the fact that 15 of the 18 families having unemployment also had health insurance coverage, it might be concluded that the possession of the coverage is associated with feelings of security. Fifteen families reported unemployed children. In all but one of these families, either the father or the mother was receiving unemployment

compensation.

Welfare families are of a much different nature. In this case a significant number of relevant associations exist. The relationship between welfare families and family income is depicted in Table 67.

Table 67

RECEIPT OF WELFARE AND
FAMILY INCOME

| <u>Family Income</u> | <u>Number of
Recipients</u> |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| \$10,000 or above | 0 |
| 8,000-\$9,999 | 2 |
| 6,000- 7,999 | 1 |
| 5,000- 5,999 | 2 |
| 4,000- 4,999 | 1 |
| 3,000- 3,999 | 3 |
| 2,000- 2,999 | 0 |
| 1,000- 1,999 | 1 |
| 1- 999 | 3 |
| No income | 5* |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 18 |

*May include some homesteaders with income from welfare payments or unemployment compensation.

Source: interviews

The larger group of welfare families is clearly at the lower income levels but 2 of the 18 families reported income between

\$8,000-\$10,000. No welfare family had a working spouse. Four welfare families reported the purchase of an automobile or major appliance during the past year. Welfare families are not as well protected with medical insurance as unemployment compensation families with only 7 of 18 having insurance.

There were 10 welfare cases on Oahu and 8 on Hawaii. No cases were reported in the sample from other areas. The Oahu total of welfare cases is roughly proportional to the total number of homesteaders on Oahu.

A rather important association appears to exist between welfare and the highest occupational achievement of any child presently a member of the labor force.

Table 68

OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CHILDREN
AND WELFARE FAMILIES

| Highest Occupational
Achievement for any Child | Number of
Welfare Cases |
|---|----------------------------|
| Professional, Managerial,
Entrepreneurial | 1 |
| Skilled | 1 |
| Clerical | 1 |
| Semi-skilled | 1 |
| Unskilled | 10 |
| Not Reported | 4 |
| | <hr/> |
| TOTAL | 18 |

The comparative figures presented earlier regarding

family income indicate that the homesteaders are well below the state median in this measurement of well-being. Family income is not significantly related to any of the following factors:

- General satisfaction
- Age of house
- Number of people living in house
- Interest in sending children to college
- Occupational aspirations for son or daughter
- Affiliation with a particular church or political party
- Knowledge of legislators
- Voting participation
- Location of homestead
- Race of homesteader or spouse

The median family income range for both first and second-generation homesteaders is the same. At the lowest of the income levels, however, (family incomes under \$3,000) the second-generation homesteaders are underrepresented in proportion to their total population. At these income levels there are 13 second-generation and 29 first-generation homesteaders (the overall total is 75 to 100). Family income is closely associated with the education of the homesteader (see Table 60) and the readership habits of the family. This relationship is depicted in Table 69.

Health insurance is related to a number of other factors but not the age or occupation of homesteader or spouse. Apparently job tenure is more important than type of job, as Table 70 shows. Table 71 shows that while health insurance is common, it is most strongly associated with higher family income levels.

Table 69

FAMILY INCOME AND READING HABITS

As measured by kind of newspapers
and magazines read in the house--

| Family
Income | Nothing | News-
paper
Only | Newspaper
Plus Popu-
lar
Magazine | Newspaper
Plus Opin-
ion or
Technical
Magazine | Total |
|--------------------|---------|------------------------|--|--|-------|
| \$10,000 and above | 1 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 13 |
| 8,000-\$9,999 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 12 |
| 6,000- 7,999 | 3 | 10 | 24 | 5 | 42 |
| 5,000- 5,999 | 4 | 7 | 10 | 4 | 25 |
| 4,000- 4,999 | 2 | 11 | 5 | 4 | 22 |
| 3,000-3,999 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 19 |
| 2,000-2,999 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 14 |
| 1,000-1,999 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 1-999 | 3 | 3 | | | 5 |
| No Income | 6 | 4 | 6 | | 16* |
| | — | — | — | — | — |
| TOTAL | 30 | 51 | 69 | 25 | 175 |

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensa-
tion and welfare payments.

Source: interviews

Median figures are:

| <u>Readership</u> | <u>Median Family Income</u> |
|---|-----------------------------|
| No newspapers or magazines | \$3,373 a year |
| Newspaper only | 4,453 a year |
| Newspaper plus popular magazine | 6,248 a year |
| Newspaper plus opinion or
technical magazine | 6,399 a year |

Table 70

JOB TENURE FOR CHIEF WAGE EARNER
AND HEALTH INSURANCE

| Years on Job | Health Insurance | |
|--------------|------------------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| Over 20 | 28 | 2 |
| 16-20 | 19 | 2 |
| 11-15 | 17 | 1 |
| 8-10 | 14 | 2 |
| 5-7 | 14 | 4 |
| 3-4 | 9 | 4 |
| 1-2 | 4 | 6 |
| Less than 1 | 8 | 9 |
| No Report | 19 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 132 | 43 |

Source: interviews

Table 71

HEALTH INSURANCE AND FAMILY INCOME

| Family Income | Health Insurance | |
|-------------------|------------------|----|
| | Yes | No |
| \$10,000 or above | 10 | 2 |
| 8,000-\$9,999 | 12 | 0 |
| 6,000- 7,999 | 35 | 7 |
| 5,000- 5,999 | 20 | 5 |
| 4,000- 4,999 | 19 | 3 |
| 3,000- 3,999 | 13 | 6 |
| 2,000- 2,999 | 9 | 5 |
| 1,000- 1,999 | 1 | 4 |
| 1- 999 | 3 | 3 |
| No income | 9 | 8 |
| No report | 1 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 132 | 43 |

Source: interviews

This is given further evidence in data where families receiving

welfare are shown separately:

| <u>Family</u> | <u>Health Insurance</u> | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>Total</u> |
| Welfare recipients | 7 | 11 | 18 |
| Non-welfare recipients | 125 | 32 | 157 |
| TOTAL | 132 | 43 | 175 |

Despite the high number of families covered by health insurance, dental health does not appear to be so well protected, though families with health insurance receive more dental care than those without coverage. Table 72 shows this:

Table 72

HEALTH INSURANCE AND LAST MEMBER
OF FAMILY TO VISIT DENTIST

| Health
Insurance
Coverage | Last Visit to Dentist
by Anyone in Family | | | Total |
|---------------------------------|--|-----------------|---------------------------|-------|
| | Last 12
Months | Year or
More | Can't
Remember
Ever | |
| Covered | 94 | 24 | 14 | 132 |
| Not Covered | 17 | 15 | 11 | 43 |
| TOTAL | 111 | 39 | 25 | 175 |

The Significance of the Analysis
for Future Planning

The homesteader's relative social and economic standing in the community of Hawaii is not particularly high when compared to that of his fellow citizens. He tends to hold the less skilled jobs, earn less income, possess less education and maintain limited horizons with respect to the Hawaiian

homes program and the broader community in which he lives. It may be argued, however, that the Hawaiian homes program is intended to rehabilitate those of Hawaiian ancestry and that there is little reason to spend one's time, money and energy rehabilitating the eligible Hawaiian who already is doing well in a chosen field. This is a reasonable observation, but one needs to recall that applicants have not been selected on the basis of their need to be rehabilitated nor has the Commission sponsored what might be described as rehabilitation-oriented activities in the urban areas where most of the homesteaders reside. It is possible, however, that the homestead program by its very nature has attracted families most in need of rehabilitation assistance.

If, in spite of the lack of rehabilitation-oriented activities and of a need-oriented applicant selection process, the Hawaiian homes program has, in fact, attracted and successfully assisted eligible Hawaiians who have had fewer opportunities than their fellows, then the program would need to be commended. The data included in this chapter, however, do not indicate a high degree of success. There is little to indicate that homesteaders are better off than their parents or that the children of current homesteaders, as yet, are achieving much higher occupational or income levels than current homesteaders. There is some evidence to indicate that siblings of homesteaders who do not live on the homesteads have fared a little better than their homestead brethren. The one bright light appears to be that younger homesteaders have generally

progressed further in school, earned higher incomes, and hold higher level jobs than the older homesteaders. However, one must view even these data cautiously for the achievements may be primarily attributable to the overall rise in levels throughout the State for younger people.

If the homestead environment has not facilitated individual improvement and rehabilitation, and the evidence even very cautiously interpreted indicates that it has not, then an observer faces two difficult alternative conclusions: (1) the homestead environment, generally speaking, has had no significant impact on the lives of the homesteaders; or (2) the environment has had a limited effect.

CHAPTER 4

The Transplantation of American Democratic Institutions

Introduction

A most revealing aspect of the relationship between the United States and Hawaii has in part been the attempts at transplantation of American democracy to the Hawaiian Islands. A superficial examination of the interaction taking place between the United States and Hawaii leads to an overemphasis upon the vigor and dynamism of Hawaii's democracy. A long period prior to 1945, however, in which American influence was substantial, did not produce overwhelming success for American democracy in Hawaii. The failure of homesteading in Hawaii is one example of this. During the twentieth century, the failure of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act provides the focus for the study of homesteading, and democratic, failure.

The Failure of HHC and Homesteading

Sweeping social and economic upheavals transformed Hawaii during the nineteenth century. The first of these upheavals was the replacement of the ancient Hawaiian religion by Christianity, and by economic changes through which a subsistence economy based on fishing, taro raising and home industries was supplanted by a plantation economy based on sugar cane and pineapple. In Chapter I it was indicated that

the quasi-feudal system of land tenure characteristic of old Hawaii was gradually replaced by a system of private land ownership. This emerging system of private land ownership did not, however, produce a community of small landowners tilling their own soil; on the contrary, it was associated with a continuation of a pattern of extensive land holdings by a small number of families and, increasingly, plantations. A major change occurring in Hawaii as a product of the plantation system was that the Islands' population was steadily replaced by large groups of immigrants from China, Japan, the Philippines and elsewhere. These newcomers soon dwarfed in size the declining population of native Hawaiians.

A marked decline in the numbers and condition of the native Hawaiians took place throughout the nineteenth century. By the twentieth century it appeared to many that Hawaiians were in fact doomed to extinction.

As the early years of the twentieth century passed, organized data about the condition of the Hawaiians became readily available. Social statistics indicate that the condition of the Hawaiians had deteriorated seriously by 1920. The general crime rate for people of Hawaiian ancestry was significantly higher than that of other groups. A high rate of juvenile delinquency--an ominous sign for the future--was noted.¹

¹See Romanzo C. Adams, The Peoples of Hawaii (Honolulu, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1933) pp. 35-41. Adams' data indicate that non-juvenile Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian males

Hawaiians also faced the gradual loss of their majority position within the electorate to the Oriental segment of the population.¹

Partly as a result of the decline of the native population, a combination of forces supported a bill aimed at the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was enacted by the United States Congress in 1921,² and has, since that time, constituted an important element in the social and political structure of Hawaii. Under that Act nearly 200,000 acres of Hawaii's public lands were set aside for a homesteading experiment designed to assist that portion of the Hawaiian "race"³ which was

had an above-average number of convictions in Territorial courts for manslaughter and fraud, and a significantly higher number of convictions for burglary, robbery, embezzlement, forgery, drunkenness and "sex crimes." Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians had the highest number of juvenile delinquency convictions per 100,000 children 10-17 years of age of all races except the numerically small Korean group.

¹Large numbers of Japanese and Caucasians were residents in the Territory at that time, though many of them had been born abroad and were ineligible for citizenship. Most of the native-born American citizens among them had not yet reached their majority. The trend, however, was clearly in the direction of a substantial increase in the percentage of the citizenry which was of Oriental, particularly Japanese, ancestry. See Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 89.

²Act of July 9, 1921, 42 Stat. 108, chap. 42, as amended, cited as "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920".

³The practice in Hawaii has been to consider the various ethnic groups and combinations as separate races. This dissertation conforms to local usage and uses race when referring to ethnic categories.

believed to be most in need of "rehabilitation."¹

Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation have examined the implementation of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act from two vantage points: (1) the utilization of the lands provided by the Congress for the rehabilitation of the Hawaiians; and (2) the socio-economic condition of the homesteaders.

The program initiated through the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act currently provides benefits for the families of approximately 1,800 homesteaders, or a total of about 11,000 individuals. It is not possible to determine what percentage of the total eligible Hawaiian population that this constitutes, nor how many of those eligible by reason of blood actually need assistance. It is clear, however, that the number of people living on homesteads has never represented more than a small percentage of the Hawaiian community, and that it has never provided help for many of the Hawaiians in need of help.

Nor has the program aided the number of eligible and interested Hawaiians to the degree envisaged by the program's founders. Chapter 2 indicates that results have been disappointing regarding the resettlement of homesteaders on family farms and the general manner in which the lands have been utilized for the direct purposes of Hawaiian rehabilitation.

¹The meaning of the term "rehabilitation" is discussed in chapter 3 and in U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Territories, Hearing on Rehabilitation; U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Territories, Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920.

Although beneficiaries of the Hawaiian Homes program continue to be termed "homesteaders", less than 10 per cent of the program's available lands have been utilized for the development of farms and ranches in the traditional pattern. As of September, 1963, there were only 30 farmers and 55 ranchers out of the total of nearly 1,800 Hawaiians holding current leases on Hawaiian home lands. The remaining beneficiaries hold leases on houselots, an indication that the overwhelming emphasis of the program has come to be the development of urban and suburban housing, rather than agricultural homesteads. Accentuating this conclusion is the finding that the current demand for Hawaiian home lands is for houselots, rather than farms, and that the intensity of demand is for land on urbanized Oahu, rather than the Neighbor Islands, where agricultural pursuits can be more easily undertaken because of the greater availability of farming lands. More specifically, some 79 per cent of all current applicants for Hawaiian home benefits are seeking land on Oahu, with 50 per cent of all the applicants seeking land at one specific location, Waimanalo.¹

A summary presentation of the present and planned use of Hawaiian home lands appears in the table below.

¹Waimanalo is located on the eastern end of Oahu, about twenty minutes by car from Honolulu. Only 1 per cent of the applicants are seeking land in the ranching homestead area at Waimea, Hawaii; some 12 applicants in all. The remainder have applied for houselots on Maui (11 per cent), Molokai (3 per cent), Kauai (2 per cent), and elsewhere on the island of Hawaii (4 per cent).

Table 73

PRESENT AND PLANNED HAWAIIAN
HOME LAND HOMESTEADS
1963

| | <u>Houselots</u> | | <u>Farms</u> | | <u>Ranches</u> | |
|---|------------------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------|--------|
| | Number | Acres | Number | Acres | Number | Acres |
| In Present Use | 1,591 | 1,661 | 30 | 1,421 | 55 | 15,909 |
| Additions Planned
for the Near
Future | 650 | 196 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| Projected Totals | 13,400 | 3,682 | 446 | 8,200 | 97 | 60,000 |

Source: State Land Inventory as corrected.

Considering the use of Hawaiian homes lands from the perspective of those using the lands, it may be noted that of the 185,000 acres available to the program, Hawaiian beneficiaries are currently leasing less than 11 per cent of the total. More than 55 per cent of the total, over 100,000 acres, is leased to non-homesteaders. The remainder is either not in use, is set aside as forest reserve, or being used by other governmental agencies.

A marked change in the orientation of the Hawaiian Homes program has thus come about. The initial emphasis upon agricultural pursuits has been replaced by an emphasis upon non-agricultural, urban housing developments. The trend continues to point toward non-agricultural developments, as the above table indicates. Given today's high cost of developing a 300-acre family ranch--from \$17,000

to \$20,000--or a 30-acre family farm--from \$8,000 to \$12,000--in contrast to the lower development cost for a house lot--from \$2,000 to \$4,000--the emphasis on non-agricultural developments is easier to defend if monetary criteria alone should be a major determinant of policy.

The uses which have been made of the lands set aside to the Hawaiian Homes Commission have, to some extent, determined the kind of life which homesteaders now live. Let us now examine the specific conditions facing the homesteaders. It is possible to provide a socio-economic profile of the homestead population. A detailed profile has been presented in Chapter III; thus a brief summary of the chief findings will suffice here.

As compared to other residents of the State of Hawaii and the mainland United States, it has been found that:

- (1) The homesteaders, considered as a whole, are earning substantially below average incomes;
- (2) The homesteaders and their children have a much lower level of educational attainment; non-homesteaders have done much better than homesteaders in raising their educational attainment;
- (3) Homesteaders live under more crowded conditions in their homes;
- (4) Homesteaders come from and produce larger than average-size families;
- (5) Homesteaders, generally speaking, are below average in the number of professional, managerial, civil service, clerical and sales occupations represented, and well above average in the number of semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Furthermore, movement into the educationally more demanding occupational classes is considerably less apparent for the homesteaders;

- (6) A larger percentage of the homesteaders are presently unemployed, receiving unemployment compensation or welfare assistance; and
- (7) Homesteaders have sharply restricted membership in community organizations and severely limited reading habits.

In evaluating the Hawaiian Homes program, the most damaging inferences which can be drawn from the above data are that there is no clear evidence of progress in such critical areas as the educational and occupational development of the present homesteaders. That is to say, the present homesteaders have not advanced appreciably beyond the levels attained by their parents with respect to education and occupation. Even more disturbing is the indication that the benefits offered by the homesteading program do not appear to have enabled the children of the homesteaders to make any significant progress in these areas.

In judging the contribution of the homesteading program, it should be noted that it was brought into being in 1921 in part because of the expressed fear that the Hawaiian people were in danger of extinction. Since 1920, the number of pure Hawaiians has decreased by half, while the size of the Part-Hawaiian population has more than quintupled. Actually, the increase in the number of Part-Hawaiians and the decrease in the number of pure Hawaiians is inevitable over time unless pure Hawaiians are limited to marrying only pure Hawaiians.

It is clear now that the Hawaiians are hardly becoming extinct. Indeed, it now appears that the Hawaiian Homes program, as presently constituted, serves to deter the progress

or rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people in the sense that the present program segregates homesteaders from the larger community. Such segregation reinforces the existing outlook and habits of the homesteading population, patterns which contribute to the sub-normal levels of the homesteads.

In short, the homesteading program, as it is now operating, constitutes a barrier to the rehabilitation of the Hawaiian people except that of increasing population--and even this achievement, if such it be, cannot be credited to the program. These considerations require us to consider some of the explanations for the failure of the Hawaiian Homes Commission program.

Barriers to the Transplantation
of Homesteading and the Success
of the Hawaiian Homes Commission
Act--Hawaii's Ruling Elite

In searching for the cause of the failure of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and the transplantation of homesteading generally we must consider the character of Hawaii's ruling elite. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Hawaiian Islands were ruled by a Hawaiian king under conditions of quasi-feudalism. A series of changes throughout the century prepared the islands for annexation by the United States in 1898. Prior to annexation, however, the ancient Hawaiian leadership gradually had been replaced by the Caucasian descendants of American missionaries. At the time of annexation, a small group of these Americans was in almost complete control of the political and economic sectors of the

community.¹

The basic source of wealth for this elite lay with the sugar plantations and the use of Hawaii's limited arable land. As we have already noted, sugar had become the dominant force in Hawaii's economy by 1898, and those people dependent upon sugar for their political and economic privileges had a crucial interest in the manner in which land was used throughout the Territory.

External developments always have been important factors in the well-being of Hawaii's sugar industry. Almost from its inception sugar has faced considerable difficulty on the free market, frequently due to the lack of an assured market. Privileges afforded it by the United States government in particular, and later the government of the State of Hawaii, have kept it competitive and prosperous. Tariff protection has been the most common means of support, though this has been supplemented in more recent years by quota controls. The first and most important early step was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 with the United States which provided for the reciprocal free admission into Hawaii and the United States of a number of commodities.² Sugar was the most important item included.

The privileges accorded by the first treaty were a beginning only. They were never to be withdrawn. Table 74

¹The most astute examination of Hawaii in the nineteenth century from a social science point of view is by Lawrence H. Fuchs, Hawaii Pono: A Social History (New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961).

²Convention for Commercial Reciprocity with Kingdom of Hawaii, 19 Stat. 625.

Table 74

HAWAIIAN SUGAR YIELDS SELECTED
DATES, 1837-1950

| <u>Year</u> | <u>Number
of Tons</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| 1837 | 2 |
| 1840 | 180 |
| 1850 | 375 |
| 1861 | 1,281 |
| 1863 | 2,646 |
| 1865 | 7,659 |
| 1875 | 12,540 |
| 1885 | 85,695 |
| 1895 | 147,627 |
| 1905 | 426,428 |
| 1915 | 646,445 |
| 1920 | 556,871 |
| 1930 | 924,463 |
| 1940 | 976,677 |
| 1950 | 960,961 |

Sources (1) 1837-1930: David L. Crawford, Hawaii's Crop Parade (Honolulu, Advertiser Publishing Company, 1937) p. 255.

(2) 1940 and 1950: Lind, Hawaii's People, p. 65.

depicts the association between the treaty and Hawaiian sugar

exports. Twelve thousand export tons of sugar in 1875 increased to 85,000 tons a decade later.¹

1890 was a critical year for Hawaii's sugar industry. Rather startling expansion after 1875 had engendered great enthusiasm and hope. The passage of the McKinley Tariff Act in 1890, however, provided for duty-free admission of sugar into the United States. The McKinley Act, in addition, provided for a special bounty per pound to home producers, a further disadvantage to Hawaiian producers.² The loss of the special position granted Hawaiian sugar by the Reciprocity Treaty put Hawaiian planters at a disadvantage when compared with producers in more favorable natural environments and located closer to the mainland market. Cuba represented the major competition.

The continuing problems facing sugar led many members of Hawaii's sugar elite to favor annexation. But annexation itself brought new problems to the sugar industry. Certain conditions inherent in the new association with the United States necessitated a reconsideration or alteration of policies which had been followed when Hawaiians were still the formal rulers of the islands. The two most obvious areas for which change was formally mandatory were immigration and suffrage. American immigration into Hawaii policy demanded that unlimited

¹William A. Russ, "Hawaiian Labor and Immigration Problems Before Annexation," 15 Journal of Modern History (1943) p. 207.

²Coulter, Land Utilization in the Hawaiian Islands, p. 66.

immigration from certain areas in the world could not continue. Nor could the conditions of contract labor, characteristic of the arrangements under which Hawaii's Oriental plantation labor was recruited, be permitted to exist in an American territory.

The Organic Act, establishing the government of the Territory of Hawaii, demanded a system of universal manhood suffrage for citizens of the United States. The heterogeneity of Hawaii's population, of course, indicated that an increasing amount of political power would necessarily be exercised by the non-Caucasian population. But in 1905 the main concern of the elite was with the Hawaiians rather than the still young citizens of Oriental ancestry. Appeals by the elite to restrict the voting rights of the Hawaiians were rejected by Congress, however, and the ruling Caucasian elite was compelled to deal indirectly with the threat which large numbers of Hawaiians represented to the position of power which the elite held.

A number of forces converged in 1920 which urgently required consideration and resolution by Hawaii's political leaders. These forces were:

- (1) the generally agreed upon need for positive action to help the Hawaiians, whose position in the community was continuing to deteriorate;
- (2) the necessity of responding in some way to the insistent demand for homestead lands by the vociferous proponents of the traditional American idea of homesteading; and
- (3) the urgent need to protect the future of Hawaii's profitable sugar industry from extensive losses which might be occasioned by applying homestead laws to cultivated sugar lands.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was enacted, in part, to deal with these contending forces. The experience with the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, as with all previous homesteading experimentation in Hawaii, was a dismal one. Nineteenth century attempts to encourage homesteading met at best with only moderate success. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act has been an even greater failure, and has failed to prevent the continuation of precipitous decline of the Hawaiians. In reconsidering the nineteenth century we can see that only a moderate number of people genuinely interested in living on family farm units applied for land under the several laws intended to encourage this kind of activity. More importantly, for those mainly concerned with the physical preservation of the Hawaiian people through the establishment of family farms, the Hawaiians as a group showed no particular inclinations or desires along these lines. The evidence is overwhelming from all the experiments which preceded the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and the development of its program that even when lessees purported to have an interest in farming their homesteads on an individual basis, it was only a relatively short time before many had given up the land to the plantations or had abandoned it.

Yet the early evidence of the difficulties facing homesteading in the Hawaiian Islands was ignored when the opportunity developed for new homesteading at the end of World War I. Leases on vast public land tracts of sugar cane land under cultivation by major plantations were to expire between 1917

and 1920. The price of sugar began a steady spiral upward as wartime shortages of European beet sugar sources worked to the benefits of the Hawaiian industry. The sharp increase in the value of sugar was juxtaposed in point of time with growing insecurity of land tenure resulting from the approaching termination of leases of public lands. The insecurity of tenure was aggravated at all times by the constant pressure of the American democratic ideology of homesteading as a primary method to increase the stability of individual and family life while simultaneously leading to the settling of undeveloped lands. This pressure was a continuing one, emphasized by recurring admonitions from the Congress of the United States concerning the use of Hawaii's public lands and written into law in various forms. One of the best examples of the latter was the requirement in the Organic Act that specific areas of public lands be opened for general homesteading upon the petition of 25 or more legally qualified potential homesteaders. A costly experiment at Waiakea, Hawaii, provided an example of the great financial losses to the elite which might result from this kind of activity, and served as a critical example to the elite of the threat which homesteading represented to their continued domination of Hawaii's political and economic structure. The transition from highly developed plantation land to individual homesteads would necessarily lead to serious losses in cane production even if the new lessee chose to continue the raising of sugar cane. The period during which lots were surveyed and awarded and roads built meant a considerable

discontinuity in the current crop.

The exigencies of the First World War permitted a slight delay in coming to grips with Hawaii's homestead problem. Sugar was necessary for the war effort, but considerable force still remained in Hawaii for an expansion of homestead opportunities. One suggestion was that the homestead laws should be suspended temporarily or that, at the very least, sugar lands should not be included among potential homestead lands for the war period and a few years thereafter. The problem was resolved for the war years, but the Wilson Administration made it quite clear that it had no intention of removing the sugar lands from the list of lands to be available for homesteading at a later date. Secretary of the Interior Lane's Honolulu address of June 22, 1918, made this clear:

There has been a difference of opinion, ... as to the possibility of applying the homestead law to sugar lands, but that experiment must be made. ... And whatever opportunity remains with the limited amount of public land that you have should be availed of to make the experiment which the law requires. ...¹

Since late in the nineteenth century homesteading has been in almost direct conflict with the prevailing political and economic system so typical of Hawaii. Homesteading might have been successful in this community in which a plantation type of agriculture exists, but only if the political and economic elite of the community had been willing actively to work for its success. The specific problems encountered by

¹Part of Secretary Lane's speech. Quoted in Kuykendall and Gill, Hawaii in the World War, p. 403.

the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act are often related to the follow-through by the government once family homesteads had been created. Achievement of success with family farm type homesteads requires considerably more than the good will and strong back of the homesteader. One writer has recently commented that family farm success is dependent upon at least the following basic forms of support:¹

- (1) a continual improvement in agricultural credit policies in order to permit competent operators of non-efficient farms an opportunity to expand and thus put a complete line of equipment to use; the goal in this case would be to raise the earnings for labor and management by farm families to a level comparable to non-farm families with similar capacities;
- (2) a constant effort to establish equitable contracts between farm families, government and markets in order to bring farm output into line with demand; and
- (3) a continual effort to provide an opportunity for new families to gain farms.

The record in Hawaii is less than satisfactory as measured by any of these criteria. Homesteading, when it has been attempted, rarely had a dimension beyond that of the initial offering of a parcel of land. Credit, reclamation and marketing were areas that went largely unexplored. Where the possibilities of a broader understanding of the difficulties of homesteading are acknowledged in part by law, as in the Hawaiian Homes Act experience, the selection of lands and tenants has been such that the possibilities for success in agriculture

¹John M. Brewster, "The Relevance of the Jeffersonian Dream Today," p. 133, in Howard W. Ottoson (ed.) Land Use Policy and Problems in the United States (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

were slim indeed.

Both the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and its subsequent failure to accomplish its publicly stated aims to help the Hawaiians represented major victories for Hawaii's political and economic elite. The passage of the Act was important, for it satisfied the traditional American pressures for a homestead law and the specific demands of the Hawaiian community for help. In accomplishing these purposes, close ties were established between the elite and the Hawaiian community which existed until the post-Second World War democratic revolution in Hawaii. Furthermore, so long as a homestead law is part of the law of Hawaii, and is accepted and supported by those it is asserted to help, little pressure exists for a more workable homesteading experiment. A really successful Hawaiian Homes program, however, would have represented a major threat to the sugar elite, for it would have encompassed both a demand for the use of those sugar lands legally belonging to the Hawaiian Homes program, but under lease to the sugar plantations, and to an increased demand for a homestead program devoid of the ethnic restrictions built into the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

These several considerations help to put the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act into broader perspective, for they indicate the many dimensions of political manipulation associated with the genesis and subsequent use of the Act's provisions. The Act must be considered as one dimension of the struggle for the use of Hawaii's arable land. It indicates

the manner in which Hawaii's landed elite used 200,000 acres of public land, set aside for the specific use of an under-privileged ethnic group, almost completely for its own purposes.

A Consideration of Other Areas

The very nature of the land use made Hawaii's approach to homesteading very different from the approach used on the mainland of the United States. Hawaii had no great supply of virgin land waiting to be put to use. Small scale, family farm type of homesteading seems particularly adaptable where there is a noticeable lack of capital and where a wilderness exists that will yield only to hard, slow manual labor. Hawaii did go through a period when the development of public lands was something to be encouraged, but at no time in her modern history has there been a situation in which a vast acreage of arable lands was lying in need of development for agricultural purposes. Once the seed of sugar cane had been planted, the growth of the industry was rather rapid, at least in terms of the acreage used. Homesteading, not really introduced as a major consideration or policy until the late 1800's, came after much of the arable public lands had already been leased to sugar interests. For this reason, no rational argument was possible that homesteading would lead to the use of the lands, for they were already in use, or that homesteading would necessarily result in higher revenues for Hawaii's treasury as a result of land sales and higher taxes. At least where taxation was concerned, family farm homesteading, with its built-in inefficiencies relative to plantation-type agriculture,

may well have led to decreased general revenues.

Despite the obvious disadvantages of timing which the homestead experiment faced in Hawaii, the democratic arguments in support of such an undertaking did not really have to depend upon the economic feasibility of the undertaking. The higher tax revenues would be welcome, but the argument was not directly relevant to democracy. The use of the public lands question was important, and could not be dismissed simply because the lands were in use by someone. More important to democratic thinking was who the land was being used by, and for what purposes.

I have already indicated that the kinds of support which a homesteading program needed in order to succeed in Hawaii were not forthcoming. Rather, the program was used to reduce criticism of the elite, reduce pressures from the Hawaiian community and gain a stronger grasp on the public lands by the elite. In this sense, Hawaiian experience with democratic homesteading is similar to the experiences which other non-democratic political cultures have had with elements of democratic ideology; i.e., concessions are made in form but not in substance. Yet these experiences vary considerably, indicating to the exporter of democracy that all non-democratic regimes are not the same and cannot be expected to react in the same way, and that the possibilities of democratization and the paths which different types of regimes might follow to such a goal will not be identical.

A better understanding of this problem of transplantation of democracy is provided by an examination of Japanese experience during the last century. It is not unreasonable to say, for

at least the latter part of the nineteenth century, that a substantial change took place in the level of the Japanese economy without a striking shift in the political values or the system of decision making.¹ More lamentable to the democratizers in post-World War II Japan was the agonizingly slow pace of change during the Occupation's attempts to remake the Japanese political culture in America's image. The discouraging aspects of the latter experience are primarily related to the fact that many so-called "ideal" conditions for democratic growth existed: a highly literate population, anxious to rid itself of the discredited leaders who had led the nation into war and destruction, with an organized, surprisingly democratically oriented military government to oversee the introduction of American democracy.² Yet, whenever the fate of the democracy was left in the hands

¹See Sir George B. Sansom, Japan: A Short Cultural History (New York, Appleton-Century Co., 1943); E. Herbert Norman, Japan's Emergence as a Modern State (New York, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940); Sansom, The Western World and Japan (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1950); and Hugh Borton, Japan's Modern Century (New York, Ronald Press Co., 1955). Each of these studies indicates the significant developments in modern Japan's economy, though each suggests that few of the basic traditional cultural and political views were altered. Other useful studies include: Wolf Ladejinsky, "Agrarian Revolution in Japan," 38 Foreign Affairs (1959) pp. 95-109, and "Agrarian Reform in Asia," 42 Foreign Affairs (1964) pp. 445-460.

²It is not reasonable, I believe, to scoff at the democratic orientations of military government in Japan. The organization and personnel of the Occupation were distinctively American in all respects. The program to be followed fully intended to bar from power the ultranationalistic and authoritarian members of the community, to gain a meaningful amount of economic democracy, and to establish an educational system to promote democratic reforms. See especially Kazuo Kawai, Japan's American Interlude (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960)

of the old oligarchy, as is particularly true of the Occupation's attempts at reform of Japan's highly centralized economy, little political change resulted.¹ On the surface, however, many democratic window dressings were introduced which resulted in a substantial increase in the size of the electorate, and for a time at least, in the number of those participating through exercise of the franchise. Whether Japan will develop a viable democracy is still problematical, but it is clear from the experiences both in Japan and Hawaii that the mere extension of the franchise will not guarantee equality or even freedom, ominous warnings perhaps that the struggle of American Negroes has many dimensions beyond the ballot box.

The difficulties faced by transplanners of democracy are not limited to Japan and Hawaii. Other areas where Western influence has been considerable--Pakistan, Burma, the Philippines and Ghana are cases in point--have been considerably less than successful in developing American or British style democracies. The choices of democratic trap-pings have in almost every case been made as a result of a decision of the ruling group itself, or a temporary military master in the case of Japan. No fundamental identification with the processes or goals of a democratic political system produced the decision to select a democratic system. In Japan there was little immediate choice. In Hawaii the democracy was opposed openly until it became more tactful to oppose it

¹See Thomas A. Bisson, Zaibatsu Dissolution in Japan (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954).

indirectly. In none of the countries or areas considered was the electorate itself deliberately prepared for democracy, though in Hawaii the system of public education established in the nineteenth century served as a foundation for the eventual growth of a democratic political culture. The elite in Hawaii, however, did not itself introduce the system of public education and, in fact, opposed its extension to the system of higher education.

Japan, Hawaii and the other countries considered in this chapter all point to some fundamental generalizations about the transplantation of American democracy. Hawaii would appear to afford particularly good conditions in which American institutions could quickly take root. On examination, however, this proves to be only partly true. The long association with America and the role which missionary descendants played in the political and economic hierarchy were significant, but the elite that controlled the hierarchy had little commitment to democracy. They had, as it were, been cut off from the democratic revolution in America or, if late arrivals to Hawaii, possibly had sought refuge from the democratic growth occurring on the mainland. Oligarchic by ascription, achievement or choice, democratic ideology was accepted by them primarily as a tactic by which they could secure their own positions of control over the lands. True, Max Weber points out that a political elite may be compelled to accept values of the general population under certain conditions,¹ but until

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (London, G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1930).

after 1945 Hawaii's political culture had certainly not developed any popular ground swell for democratic growth. Hawaii's political "cultural lag" remained until new forces coalesced and made themselves felt after the Second World War when political democracy came to Hawaii. Today, twenty years after the end of the war, and ten years after the growth of the Democratic Party into the major political force in Hawaii, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act remains essentially an unchanged failure and sugar remains one of the most powerful economic forces in the islands, in part because of the existence of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and in part because of the failure of the Act.

Conclusions

To the student of comparative government and political philosophy the failure of homesteading in Hawaii provides an especially advantageous focus for studying important aspects of the democratic system.

In traditional American political thought, democratic development has typically been understood in Jeffersonian terms--i. e., agrarian fundamentalism. This ideology holds that a political system in which the family farm is central and in which urban concentrations of political power are minimized affords the soundest foundations for democracy. This view is lucidly stated by Thomas Jefferson:

... While we have land to labour then, let us never wish to see our citizens occupied at a workbench, or twirling a distaff. Carpenters, masons, smiths, are wanting in husbandry; but, for the general operations

of manufacture, let our workshops remain in Europe. It is better to carry provisions and materials to workmen there, than bring them to the provisions and materials, and with them their manners and principles. The loss by the transportation of commodities across the Atlantic will be made up in happiness and permanence of government. The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body. It is the manners and spirit of a people which preserve a republic in vigor. A degeneracy in these is a canker which soon eats to the heart of its laws and constitution.¹

The development of democracy in Hawaii has not, however, rested on the agrarian base in which Jefferson put such faith. Homesteading, for reasons which we have already indicated, was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, a substantial democratic development has taken place in Hawaii. The fact that Hawaii's regime is today essentially democratic suggests the necessity of securing an alternative understanding of democratic development. In short, at least two types of democracies are possible.²

The failure of homesteading in Hawaii precluded the development of democracy along lines characteristic on the American mainland. Still, a number of new possibilities and opportunities for democratic growth manifested themselves. Specifically, the failure of homesteading and the lack of land available for the development of family farms compelled

¹The Works of Thomas Jefferson, collected and edited by Paul L. Ford (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904) Vol. IV, p. 86.

²Implicit in this study is a consideration of some of the variables relevant to the growth of American agrarian democracy, particularly the importance of family farms and the growth of political responsibility among the citizenry. Seymour Martin Lipset considers democratic growth from a broad range of other variables. See especially his Political Man, pp. 45-178.

Hawaii's vigorous and frugal Oriental immigrants to seek new paths to political, social and economic equality. It can be said that democracy did not emerge in the Hawaiian Islands until the period following the Second World War. For some fifty years prior to that time the Republican Party had been the only significant political force in the Islands. Its rule can be described as essentially oligarchic--i.e., in the control of a limited number of planters and Honolulu businessmen. The major reasons for the demise of this oligarchy were the rapidly developing unionization of the Island's plantation workers, the increased demands made by the returning Nisei war veterans for a more meaningful participation in the political system, and the general failure of the Republican Party to accommodate itself to the new forces. The democratic revolution did not occur overnight. Initial Democratic Party victories at the polls were hard to translate into major changes in the community, in part because of the split in the union movement between the ILWU and the other unions. Nevertheless, the new forces were not to be denied. They culminated in statehood and a strong Democratic Party as strongly in control of the political fortunes of the Islands as the Republicans had been during the previous era.

A consideration of the questions concerning the quality of the two democratic systems depends upon some speculation and discussion about the nature of Hawaii's present democracy. There can be no question but that today Hawaii's regime is essentially democratic, and yet fundamental political questions

remain unresolved. The unstable days of labor union violence and Communist "witch hunts" may be over in Hawaii, but serious questions remain as to whether or not the new political system provides any greater participation by the rank and file elector or any greater security for the system as a whole. This can be illustrated by a consideration of two fundamental questions: (1) land; and (2) the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. The land question was, for the nineteenth century, the focus around which the political struggle took place. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was one chapter in the continuation of the land struggle into the twentieth century. The Second Legislature of the State of Hawaii, meeting in 1963 and 1964 with heavy Democratic Party majorities in each house, pledged to the enactment of major changes in Hawaii's land legislation, failed to produce land reform. Land reform remains a critical question to be dealt with by Hawaii's regime. An open-minded observer has good reason to question whether the current regime is doing a more adequate job in achieving a solution to this and other problems than did any previous regime.

These considerations are intended to direct attention to some of the general questions raised by but not answered in this dissertation, questions that will require further research into the differences between democratic systems of government. Some of these questions can be summarized briefly: Are there any particular strengths in a democratic system based on the Jeffersonian ideal of individual family farms as compared with a democracy based upon urban union organization

and other conflicting pressure groups? For example, which of the two methods of development is more likely to lead to a higher degree of citizenship awareness and enlightened citizen participation in the political process? Which is more resistant to change? For that matter, which of the two systems is more likely to produce the tranquility which is so much a part of the Jeffersonian dream?

APPENDIX A

FUND STRUCTURE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HAWAIIAN HOME LANDS JUNE 1964

| Name and Type of Fund | Purposes for Which Moneys May be Used | Sources of Revenue* | Limitations |
|--|--|--|--|
| Hawaiian Home Loan Fund (revolving) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Loans to homesteaders for residential, agricultural, and pastoral purposes. Payment of appraised value of tracts and improvements upon surrender by homesteaders. Loans to operating fund. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 30% of total receipts from leasing of cultivated cane lands and granting of water licenses by State. Repayment of principal and advances by lessees. (Interest on such loans not deposited in this fund.) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> \$5,000,000 ceiling on aggregate amount of fund; included in ceiling are principal of all outstanding loans and transfers from this fund to other funds which need not be reimbursed. \$15,000 loan ceiling for agricultural or pastoral land; \$10,000 ceiling for residential loan. Loans bear interest at rate of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$% per annum and have a maximum term of 30 years. |
| Hawaiian Home Development Fund (special) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Construction and planning of sanitary facilities, roads, and other non-revenue producing improvements. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25% of total amount covered into loan fund annually. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Use requires prior written approval of Governor. |

APPENDIX A--Continued

| Name and
Type of Fund | Purposes for Which Moneys
May be Used | Sources of Revenue* | Limitations |
|---|--|--|--|
| Hawaiian Home-
Development Fund
(special) | | 2. Amount of revenue due
administration fund
which is in excess of
approved budget is
transferred to this
fund. | |
| Hawaiian Home-
Operating Fund
(revolving) | 1. Construction or re-
pair of revenue-
producing improvements | 1. Interest from loans to
homesteaders made from
loan fund. | 1. All transfers from
loan fund to be re-
paid in not exceeding
10 annual payments. |
| | 2. Payment of interest
on and principal of
bonds issued for such
improvements. | 2. Charges and fees. | 2. Aggregate amount of
all transfers at any
one time not to ex-
ceed \$500,000. |
| | 3. Operation and mainte-
nance of such im-
provements. | 3. All moneys from any
other source except
from the administra-
tion fund. | |
| | 4. Purchase of utilities,
goods, and services to
be resold or rented to
homesteaders. | 4. May be supplemented by
other funds appropri-
ated for or available
to accomplish purposes
of fund. | |
| | | 5. May be supplemented by
transfers made from loan
fund on a loan basis. | |

APPENDIX A--Continued

| Name and
Type of Fund | Purposes for Which Moneys
May be Used | Sources of Revenue* | Limitations |
|--|---|---|---|
| Hawaiian Home-
Administration
Account
(special) | Salaries and general ad-
ministrative expenses
of commission. | Entire receipts derived
from leasing lands be-
longing to department. | <p>1. Cannot be used for structures or per-
manent improvements.</p> <p>2. Use of this fund must be approved by Legis-
lature and Governor as part of regular bud-
get; except that if no action is taken by the Legislature the amount submitted to the Leg-
islature or \$200,000, whichever is less, shall be available.</p> <p>3. Amount in excess of approved budget is transferred to de-
velopment fund.</p> |

Source: Hawaiian Homes Commission Act 1920, as amended.

*Legislature can supplement funds with appropriations.

APPENDIX B

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

It is useful to consider the relationship between two of the social factors discussed in this report--occupation and education. It is clear in American life today that preferred occupations are reserved more and more for those with satisfactory educational qualifications. The bureaucratization and professionalization of America's jobs leave less and less room for the untrained son, or the strong back. A society which once demanded high school graduates has begun to place emphasis on college graduates. The future for the fellow who fails to finish high school is becoming more and more difficult. Table A, in which distribution for varying levels of education is examined, serves to emphasize the close relationship between jobs and education.

Technological developments and higher educational levels during the 50 year period 1910-1960 in the United States had a major impact upon the occupational distribution of the American work force. The overall trend has been away from manual work, and towards higher proportions of professional-technical and general white-collar types of occupations.

The data in Table A are significant, particularly when employment projections are made into the next decade. One of the clearest patterns emerging from these projections is that occupational groups with low educational attainment requirements will offer proportionally fewer job opportunities in the future. The most rapid increase in the number of job

opportunities is likely to be in those job categories which require the highest educational credentials,¹ almost always a college diploma.

¹See "Employment Projections to 1975," Monthly Labor Review (March 1963) pp. 240-248.

Table A

OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
OCTOBER 1952 AND MARCH 1962 EMPLOYED
PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER

| Years of School Completed
and Date | Per Cent Distribution by Occupation Group | | | | | |
|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | Professional
and Technical
Workers | Proprietors,
Managers, and
Officials | Clerks
and
Sales
Workers | Skilled
Workers | Semi-
Skilled
Workers | Unskilled
Workers |
| <u>Both Sexes</u> | | | | | | |
| Total employed: | | | | | | |
| October 1952 | 9 | 11 | 19 | 15 | 21 | 25.3 |
| March 1962 | 13 | 12 | 22 | 13 | 18 | 23.3 |
| Elementary (less than
8 years): | | | | | | |
| October 1952 | * | 5 | 4 | 13 | 28 | 50 |
| March 1962 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 14 | 27 | 48 |
| 8 years (elementary to 3
years High School): | | | | | | |
| October 1952 | 2 | 9 | 13 | 20 | 29 | 28 |
| March 1962 | 2 | 10 | 14 | 17 | 26 | 30 |
| High School (completed): | | | | | | |
| October 1952 | 5 | 13 | 35 | 15 | 16 | 12 |
| March 1962 | 7 | 12 | 35 | 14 | 15 | 18 |
| College (1 to 3 years): | | | | | | |
| October 1952 | 22 | 17 | 33 | 10 | 8 | 11 |
| March 1962 | 22 | 19 | 33 | 8 | 7 | 12 |

Table A--Continued

OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
OCTOBER 1952 AND MARCH 1962 EMPLOYED
PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER

| Years of School Completed
and Date | Per Cent Distribution by Occupation Group | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| | Professional
and Technical
Workers | Proprietors,
Managers, and
Officials | Clerks
and
Sales
Workers | Semi-
Skilled
Workers | Unskilled
Workers |
| College (4 years or more): | | | | | |
| October 1952 | 60 | 15 | 17 | 3 | 5 |
| March 1962 | 64 | 16 | 14 | 2 | 3 |

Both Sexes

Source: Denis F. Johnston, "Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1962,"
Monthly Labor Review (May 1963) p. 508. This is a much shortened form of
Johnston's original table. Percentages not rounded in original.

*Less than one-half

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