

**SOCIAL
ASPECTS
of the
HAWAIIAN
HOMES
PROGRAM**

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FOREWORD

The Legislative Reference Bureau's study of the Hawaiian Homes Program, prepared pursuant to House Resolution 87, Budget Session of 1962 (which appears as Appendix A of Report No. 1, 1964) consists of the following reports:

- (1) The Hawaiian Homes Program: 1920-1963 (LRB Report No. 1, 1964);
- (2) Legal Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program (LRB Report No. 1a, 1964);
- (3) Land Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program (LRB Report No. 1b, 1964);
- (4) Social Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program (LRB Report No. 1c, 1964);
- (5) The Maori Affairs Program (LRB Report No. 1d, 1964); and
- (6) Organization and Administration of the Hawaiian Homes Program (a working paper dated January, 1963).

The reports may be used individually by those interested in particular phases of the Hawaiian Homes Program or collectively by those interested in studying the program in its totality.

This report describes the social condition of the homesteaders who live on the Hawaiian home lands. It also discusses their backgrounds and some of their aspirations. Throughout the report cautions are expressed concerning the data and their interpretation; it is hoped that the reader will bear these cautions in mind as he reads this report.

We are indebted to many people and many organizations for their help in compiling this report. In particular we gratefully acknowledge the assistance and cooperation of the homesteaders who spoke with us and responded so unselfishly to our demands upon their time. The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands was again generous in supplying needed information. Our special appreciation goes to Mr. Albert Akana, Mr. Charles Meyers, Mrs. Harriet Aiu, and Mr. Samuel Lee Loy for arranging the interviews with homesteaders; to the staff of the Computing Center at the University of Hawaii for its help in data processing; and to Mrs. Marion Kelly and Dr. Alan S. Howard of the Bishop Museum for reviewing the draft of the report.

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Director

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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 blood. 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. This 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 who were avidly seeking more education and better jobs.

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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.⁴ 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.

Chapter I

THE NATURE OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS

This report is primarily concerned with the social 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 social aspects are of great importance to legislators as well as to ordinary citizens 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 Bureau 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 are discussed in this chapter. All relevant statistical data are included in chapters II and III.

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. Finally, a short discussion is included on the sampling and interviewing techniques employed in obtaining much of the data on which this report is based; a more detailed treatment may be found in the Appendix.

THE QUESTION OF RACIAL IDENTITY

Conditions existing in Hawaii have served to complicate further an already complex racial picture by reducing the usefulness of population data.

PRESENT PROCEDURE FOR DETERMINING RACIAL IDENTITY

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" cautions the reader to 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

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- (1) If the father is Caucasian, which is defined as a 100 per cent category, and the mother is anything other than Caucasian, then the children come under the same classification as the mother; and
- (2) If there is any percentage of Hawaiian blood in either parent, the children are classified as "Part-Hawaiian".²

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. 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.

THE SOCIAL ASPECT FACTORS

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

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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.³ Information concerning the homesteaders indicates that: (a) the number of skilled, managerial, and professional workers living on 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 report 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.⁴

INCOME

Closely related to occupation is the level of income which taken together with other 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 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 in-

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to 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.⁵

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 homestead children are getting seems to be significantly below the state average. Toby 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.⁶ 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".

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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 some changes in the levels of occupation and education achieved from one generation to the next, the change 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 term community participation and awareness attempts 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 Bureau's 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.

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RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HAWAII'S POPULATION

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 1. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Captain Cook estimated 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 slightly both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population. (The percentage dropped slightly between 1950 and 1960.)

Table 1

HAWAIIAN AND PART-HAWAIIAN POPULATION 1849-1960

Year	Total Population	Hawaiians		Part-Hawaiians	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
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

Source: 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).

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Table 2 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 has decreased subsequently.) The pure Hawaiians, on the other hand, suffered the sharpest percentage drop.

Table 2
RACIAL COMPOSITION OF HAWAII'S POPULATION
1920-1960

Racial Group	Per Cent of Total Population				
	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, Hawaii's People; 1960 from Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics.

Of all the groups included in Table 2, 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 HOMESTEADER SAMPLE AND INTERVIEW

The data compiled for use in this study are based primarily upon information received during interviews with a ten per cent random sample of the homesteaders. An interview schedule⁷ was prepared and 175 homesteaders were interviewed in their own homes located throughout the State. Legislative Reference Bureau personnel conducted the

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interviews, each of which required approximately one and one-half hours. The data were subsequently transferred to IBM cards for processing in order to maximize the usefulness of the data. A more complete discussion of sampling methodology appears as Appendix B of this report.

Chapter II

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 essential to sound analysis. Hopefully the data which are presented in this and the following chapter 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),¹ 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 less fortunate Hawaiians.² 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.

HOMESTEADING

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

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<u>Island</u>	<u>Project</u>	<u>Number of Homesteads</u>
Hawaii	Keaukaha	351
	Kawaihae	12
	Waimea	69
	ISLAND TOTAL	<u>432</u>
Kauai	Anahola	53
	Kekaha	13
	ISLAND TOTAL	<u>66</u>
Molokai	Hoolehua	178
	Kalamaula	56
	Kapaakea	37
	O'ne Alii	22
	ISLAND TOTAL	<u>293</u>
Oahu	Nanakuli	387
	Papakolea-Kewalo	321
	Waimanalo	253
	ISLAND TOTAL	<u>961</u>
	TOTAL	1,752

Source: Department of Hawaiian Home
Lands records.

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.³

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND TIME ON THE HOMESTEAD

The median number of years of homestead leases is 13, as computed from the data in Table 3. Most homesteaders thus have a significant number of years under the homestead program. The median age of the homesteader is approximately 44 (see Table 4). The median age for homesteader spouses is the same. Twelve per cent of the homesteaders are widows or widowers. There are slightly more males

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than females who are lessees (52 per cent to 48 per cent).

Table 3

LENGTH OF TIME ON HOMESTEAD		
Year	Homesteaders	
	No.	%
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*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 4

AGE OF HOMESTEADERS		
Age	Homesteaders	
	No.	%
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*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

AGE OF HOUSES AND DEGREE OF OCCUPANCY

Data in Tables 5 and 6 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 14 years, below the state figure of between 14-23 years for living units.⁴

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.

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Table 5

AGE OF HOMESTEADER HOUSES SEPTEMBER 1963

Age of Houses	Houses	
	No.	%
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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	175	99*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 6

NUMBER OF PERMANENT OCCUPANTS OF HOMESTEADS SEPTEMBER 1963

Number of Occupants	Homes	
	No.	%
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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	175	100

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

There is very 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.⁵ 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 6. 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 3.9⁶ for all units, though the Part-Hawaiians show a figure of 6.4.⁷

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FAMILIAL PATTERN OF HOMESTEADING

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 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.

SIZE OF FAMILY

Homesteaders tend to come from large families and, in turn, to produce large families as a review of Tables 7 and 8 indicates. The median number of brothers and sisters who are living is 5, although 21 per cent have 9 or more siblings. Present homesteaders, as Table 8 shows, have produced a median of 5 children until now.⁸ 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 HOMESTEADER'S FINANCIAL SITUATION

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

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Table 7

NUMBER OF SIBLINGS
REPORTED BY HOMESTEADERS
SEPTEMBER 1963

Number of Siblings	Homesteaders	
	No.	%
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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	175	100

Source: Legislative Reference
Bureau interviews.

Table 8

NUMBER OF CHILDREN
AMONG CURRENT HOMESTEADERS
SEPTEMBER 1963

Number of Children	Homesteaders	
	No.	%
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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	175	99*

Source: Legislative Ref-
erence Bureau
interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due
to rounding.

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.

INCOME

Despite an outward appearance of financial difficulty, the homesteaders do not always perceive themselves to be generally less well-off than others in the community. Sixty-five per cent see themselves

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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 a 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 9. 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. The figures for the homesteaders do not include unemployment compensation, welfare payments, or pineapple contract income, hence in actuality are slightly higher than Table 9 indicates. This would be particularly true for the lowest incomes. The overall picture, however, would not be very different.

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.⁹ Hawaii's figure is 40 per cent.¹⁰ 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 are 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

Table 9

FAMILY INCOME
NATIONAL, HAWAII AND HAWAIIAN HOMESTEAD

TOTAL FAMILY INCOME	(a) <u>1961</u> <u>NATIONAL</u> Per Cent of Families	(b) <u>1960</u> <u>HAWAII</u> Per Cent of Families	(c) <u>1960-62</u> <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	(
4,000 to 4,999	11	12	14
3,000 to 3,999	9	10	13
2,000 to 2,999	9	6	11
1,000 to 1,999	8	3	8
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)-13C, p. 13-97.

(c) Legislative Reference Bureau 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.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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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.

DEPARTMENTAL LOANS TO HOMESTEADERS

The department loans 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, 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.¹¹ 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 1963, 19 per cent were delinquent.¹²

There has been an increasing total of delinquencies, more than doubling in number during the past year. The original argument made two years ago 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.¹³ 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.

CONSUMER CHOICES

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 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.¹⁴ Eighty-two per cent own at least one car and about 17 per cent presently own two or more. Both of these figures

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reflect closely the Oahu totals.¹⁵ 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 10 indicates the year of the models.

Table 10

HOMESTEADER AUTOMOBILES (NEWEST CAR) YEAR OF MODEL

Model Year	Homesteaders	
	Number	Per Cent
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
TOTAL	175	101*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau
interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

The median age of cars belonging to a homesteader is 9 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

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the amount, admittedly, is very small. The comparable Oahu figure is about 75 per cent of all households.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ Evidence of available medical care is given support by the data in Table 11, 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.

Table 11

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

Period	Homesteaders	
	Number	Per Cent
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: Legislative Reference Bureau
interview.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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 family ever having visited a dentist.

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UNEMPLOYMENT AND WELFARE

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.¹⁸ In all, the unemployment picture for homesteaders 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.¹⁹

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 are in the occupations which are less remunerative.

FARMING

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 personally in commercial fruit or vegetable raising;²⁰ 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 had 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.

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COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Table 12 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 12 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 growing complexity of American technology which requires an increasing 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 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 15-18) support this point.

Table 12

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

Major Occupational Group	United States				Hawaii			Homestead [#]	
	1870 ^a	1910 ^a	1950 ^a	1960 ^b	1900 ^c	1950 ^d	1960 ^e	Per Cent ^f	No.
Professional	3	4	8	11	1	10	12	1	2
Proprietors, managers and officials	30	23	16	15	10	11	10	3	5
Clerks, civil service and salespeople	4	10	19	21	3	19	21	12	21
Skilled workers	9	12	14	13	7	15	16	15	27
Semi-skilled workers	10	15	22	18	3	15	14	22	38
Unskilled workers	44	36	19	22	76	29	23	42	74
Others and not reported			2			1	4	5	8
TOTAL	100	100	101*	100	100	100	100	100	175
Number in labor force	12,924,000	37,271,000	56,239,000	66,681,000	84,047	167,588	209,370		

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.

Table 12 (continued)

^cU. 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.

^dU. S., Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950; General Characteristics, Hawaii, 1950 Population Census Report P-B52, p. 19.

^eHawaii, Department of Planning and Research, Statistical Abstract of Hawaii, 1962 (Honolulu: 1962), p. 57.

^fLegislative Reference Bureau interviews.

[#]Chief wage earners only.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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COMPARISON WITH HAWAIIANS AND PART-HAWAIIANS

Racial figures have many weaknesses, as has already been pointed out in chapter I. They 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".²¹ Table 13 summarizes some of the racial occupation figures for 1950 and includes some comparisons with the present occupations of homesteaders.

Table 13

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

Major Occupational Group	All Males 1950	All Hawaiian Males 1950	All Part- Hawaiian Males 1950	Chief Home- stead Wage Earners 1963
Professional	7	4	6	1
Proprietors, managers and officials	10	3	7	3
Clerks, civil service and salespeople	13	4	11	12
Skilled workers	21	20	24	15
Semi-skilled workers	16	21	20	22
Unskilled workers	30	45	30	42
Others and not reported	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

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

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It is important to keep in mind the time sequence of the above. Since 1950, the overall state figures have shown a drop in the unskilled category. There is every reason to believe that the Part-Hawaiians, a rapidly growing group, reflect generally the trends in the community.²² 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.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

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 14 reports the occupation of the male parent of current homesteaders along with that of the chief wage earner in homesteader families.

Table 14

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.	%	No.	%
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
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	175	100	175	100

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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Table 14 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 statewide 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 15 depicts the occupations engaged in by the one child who has been most successful.²³

Table 15

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	<u>90</u>	<u>99*</u>

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

[#]Does not include the 85 families which do not have children in the civilian labor force.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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The data in Table 15 are representative of only a small part of the homesteader children in the labor force. While this report 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 14 on page 27, indicating almost no change between the parents and children. When it 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 Legislative Reference Bureau interviews, 29 per cent of the homesteader families reported one or more unemployment child. 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.²⁴ 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.²⁵

TRENDS IN LEVELS OF EDUCATION ACHIEVED

After the Second World War, higher education in America became accessible for far more people. Byron S. Hollinshead reported in

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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.²⁶ This latter figure represents a change from the beginning of the century when only one American youth in 60 was graduating from a university.²⁷ A more recent study of American higher education has been used in the construction of Table 16, examining American high school and college graduation figures for this century.

Table 16

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.

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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.²⁸

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, so has it increased in Hawaii. Hawaii's trends can be gleaned from Table 17.

Table 17

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.

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS ON THE HOMESTEAD

The homesteaders have accomplished much less in respect to higher education than either the state or national populations. Table 18 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 in Hawaii (and 16 per cent of the nation) have some college education. Homesteaders lie far

Table 18

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 ^e
At least some college	16	17	2
12	25	30	19
9-11	19	16	37
8	18	11	(
5-7	14	12	(33
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.

^cU. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract . . . 1963, p. 119.

^dIbid., p. 121.

^eLegislative Reference Bureau interviews.
A few homesteaders under 25 are
included.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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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:²⁹

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

EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG GENERATIONS OF HOMESTEADERS

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.³⁰ On the other hand, it is necessary to establish the educational achievement levels of 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 19 contains the various data depicting the differences among generations.

Table 20 indicates that great changes have not taken place, at least for the majority of the homesteaders.³¹ Forty-one per cent of the homesteaders received equal or fewer years 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 19

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT
HOMESTEADER FATHER, HOMESTEADER, AND HOMESTEADER SPOUSE

Attainment	Homesteader Father		Homesteader		Homesteader Spouse	
	No.	%	No.	%	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
	(17	(10				
9 years	((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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

Table 20

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
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	174	99*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

* Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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The Legislative Reference Bureau study 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 the Bureau to restrict itself to a measurement of high school and college attendance. This information is depicted in Table 21.

Table 21

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

Attainment	Siblings Achieving Specific Educa- tional Level	Homesteaders Achieving Specific Educa- tional Level
High school graduates	25	19
Some college	3	2

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

The figures in Table 21 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.

ATTITUDE OF HOMESTEADERS TOWARD EDUCATION

Table 17 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 econo-

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mic terms, believing that more education meant a better job, more security, and an easier time in life.³² 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>Affiliation</u>	<u>Homesteaders</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Catholic	47	27
Latter Day Saints	31	18
Various Protestant denominations	76	43
No church affiliation	21	12
TOTAL	175	100

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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

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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 of substantial educational stimulant.³³

Chapter III

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, in chapter II. This chapter 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, and then dismissing, 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 mentioned in chapter I, the categories used for a determination of race or ethnic group are 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.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM

Homesteaders were asked to express their degree of general satisfaction with life on the homestead in the Bureau 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 22 depicts. 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

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Table 22

HOMESTEADER ATTITUDE TOWARD HAWAIIAN HOMES PROGRAM

Attitude	Homesteaders	
	Number	Per Cent
Very satisfied	27	15
Satisfied	89	52
Satisfied with some aspects, dissatisfied with other aspects	34	19
Dissatisfied	23	13
Very dissatisfied	2	1
TOTAL	175	101*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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. 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.

DISSATISFACTION WITH DEPARTMENTAL LOAN POLICY

An association exists between the designation of "loans" as a problem area and the family income of the respondent. Table 24

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illustrates this relationship.

Table 23

MAJOR CONCERN OF HOMESTEADERS IN REGARD TO DEPARTMENTAL AID

Major Concern	Homesteaders	
	Number	Per Cent
Loans	37	21
Better lands	9	5
Various other	20	12
SUB-TOTAL	66	38
Department need not help	109	62
TOTAL	175	100

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

Table 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMPLAINTS ABOUT DEPARTMENTAL LOAN POLICY AND FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Number 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

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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

SOCIAL ASPECTS

The 37 homesteaders who complained of loan policy (they represent more than 21 per cent of all homesteaders interviews) 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 chapter II. 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

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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.

RELATION OF AGE TO WELFARE

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.

RELATION OF AGE TO EDUCATION

Education, one of the central factors considered in this report, is associated with age in the sense that there is inverse correlation between these two factors. As Table 25 illustrates, 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 homesteaders.¹ An examination of the individual age groups in Table 25 indicates that the median number of years of education for the separate categories is as follows:

<u>Age</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

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Table 25

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND HIS EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Age of Homesteader	Highest Number of Years Completed in School										Total
	Under 3	3-4	5-6	7-8	9	10	11	12	Some College	College Graduate	
Over 65	1	4	3	3	1		2	1			15
56-65		4	11	6	3			1		1	26
46-55	1		8	8	6	6	5	6			40
36-45		1	2	13	15	4	7	14	2		58
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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

$r = -.46$

This finding is borne out when the differences in educational attainment between homesteaders and their fathers are 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

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.²

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RELATION OF AGE TO INCOME

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 26 shows the relationship between age and family income. The median family incomes for some of the age categories

Table 26

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Age of Homesteader						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

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensation or welfare payments.

$r = -.33$

show a general tendency for higher family income to relate to lower homesteader age:

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<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 27 signifies. More of the younger homesteaders wanted better than ordinary laborer 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

Table 27
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
56-65	15	11
46-55	28	12
36-45	46	12
35 or under	31	5
TOTAL	129	46

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau 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.

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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.

HOUSING AND LEASE TENURE

Age and opinions help to describe the 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.

LENGTH OF TIME ON THE HOMESTEADS

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's educational values.

AGE OF HOME

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.

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LOCATION OF HOMESTEAD AND OCCUPANCY OF HOUSES

Location is not related significantly to other factors with the exception of the number of people per unit. Chapter II 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 28, reveals a striking concentration in specific locations.

Table 28

NUMBER OF PEOPLE PER HOMESTEADER HOUSE BY ISLAND AND PROJECT

Island 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	25	28	16	18	9	23	7	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau 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 un-

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willing 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 29 suggest, the large number of people per bedroom is not restricted to two-bedroom houses. The median number of people living in a two-

Table 29
NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN
TWO AND THREE BEDROOM HOUSES

Number of Occupants	Two Bedroom		Three Bedroom	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Does not add to 100 due to rounding.

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.

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RACIAL IDENTITY

Because of the substantial misgivings the Bureau has 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	Condition of house
Race of spouse	Number of unemployed children
Number of children	Highest occupational achievement of any child
Church preference	Number of people living in the house
Political party preference	Age of the house
Occupation	General satisfaction
Age of homesteader	Occupational aspirations for children
Degree of unemployment	Difficulties with the law
Father's occupation	
Family income	

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 30 depicts the degree of association between these two variables. Since there is no significant association between family income and race, the heavy

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Table 30

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	Newspaper Only	Newspapers and Popular Magazines	Newspapers and Opinion or Technical Magazines	
1/2-3/4	7	13	25	13	58
3/4	6	11	23	9	49
Full	17	27	21	3	68
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	30	51	69	25	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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.

CHURCH MEMBERSHIP

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

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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 educational level.³ Family incomes do not vary significantly among the various religious groups, achievement of children is about the same, 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 31.

Table 31

RELIGION AND READING HABITS (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)

Religious Affiliation	Nothing	Newspaper Only	Newspapers and Popular Magazines	Newspapers and Opinion or Technical Magazines	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: Legislative Reference Bureau 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.

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HOMESTEAD ASSOCIATIONS

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 32 and 33.

Table 32

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	<u>66</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>151</u>
TOTAL	77	98	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

Table 33

HOMESTEAD ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP AND GENERAL SATISFACTION

Degree of Involvement	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Both*	Dissatisfied
High	3	12	4	6
Low	7	8	2	2
TOTAL	<u>10</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Satisfied with some aspects, dissatisfied with other aspects.

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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

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

Table B in Appendix A indicates the close association that exists between occupation and education throughout the United States. This 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 in national statistics between education and occupation is not mirrored when considering homesteaders, perhaps because there is not enough of an educational

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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.

RELATION TO INCOME

As anticipated, a high association exists between homesteader education and family income. Table 34 shows this association.

Table 34

HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND FAMILY INCOME

Income Level	Highest Number of Years Completed in School								Total
	4 or Under	5-6	7-8	9	10	11	12	Some College	
\$10,000 and above			1	2	2	3	4	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	2	4	7		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*	2	9	1	2	1	1	1		16
TOTAL	12	24	35	32	15	19	34	4	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensation and welfare payments.

$r = .45$

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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
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.

EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT FOR CHILDREN

A consideration of the level of education with other factors in the household is 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 35 and 36 indicate these influences.

Table 35

HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND READING HABITS (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)

Educational Attainment	Nothing	Newspaper Only	Newspapers and Popular Magazines	Newspapers and Opinion or Technical Magazines	Total
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

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

r = .40

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Table 36

HOMESTEADER EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND CHILDREN'S USE OF PUBLIC LIBRARY

Educational Attainment	<u>Do Children Use the 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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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.

COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

This report has already examined in chapter II 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 37, indicating a slight movement in the direction of higher education for homesteaders today than their parents had.

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Table 37

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*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Fifty-three homesteaders could not recall
parent's education.

$r = .27$

Individual medians are as follows:

Homesteader's Educational Attainment	Parent's Educational Attainment
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.

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COLLEGE EDUCATION FOR CHILD

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 38. The data

Table 38

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

Homesteader's Educational Attainment	Reaction to Possibility of College for a Gifted Child				Total
	Would Do Nothing	Ambivalent	Conditional Assent	Make a Major or All-Out Effort	
Some college			1	3	4
12			6	28	34
11		2	2	15	19
10		1	3	11	15
9	1	2	7	22	32
7-8	5	1	5	24	35
5-6	3	4	7	10	24
4 or under	2	1	3	6	12
TOTAL	11	11	34	119	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

suggests 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.

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EDUCATION OF SPOUSES

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.

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.

OCCUPATION

This report emphasizes 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 39. The negative correlation figure indicates that the number of jobs held in the last five years decreases as age increases,

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though the sample indicates a reversal once the age of 65 is reached.

Table 39

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		28
TOTAL	7	29	58	40	26	15	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

$r = -.25$

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.⁴ 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 40 shows that an association does exist (though not significant) between higher occupational achievement for children and the education of the homesteader.

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Table 40

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOMESTEADER AND HIGHEST OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF ANY CHILD

Homesteader's Educational Attainment	Highest Occupational Achievement of Any Child					Total
	Unskilled	Semi-Skilled	Clerical - Civil Service	Skilled	Professional, Managerial, Entrepreneurial	
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	—	—	—	—	2
TOTAL	42	19	10	22	6	99*

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Ninety-six homesteaders do not yet have a child in labor force.

r = .25

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

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UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Chapter II indicates that 11 per cent of the homestead families presently have one or more members receiving unemployment compensation and that 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 are 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 RECIPIENTS

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 41. 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 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. The number of cases in the Keaukaha area is disproportionately high.

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

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Table 41

RECEIPT OF WELFARE AND FAMILY INCOME

Family Income	Number of Recipients
\$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*
TOTAL	18

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau
interviews.

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

FAMILY INCOME

The comparative figures presented in chapter II 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

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Table 42

OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF CHILDREN AND WELFARE FAMILIES

Highest Occupational Achievement for Any Child	Number of Welfare Cases
Professional, managerial, entrepreneurial	1
Skilled	1
Clerical - civil service	1
Semi-skilled	1
Unskilled	10
Not reported	4
TOTAL	18

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau
interviews.

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 34, page 54) and the readership habits of the family. This relationship is depicted in Table 43. Median figures are:

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

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Table 43

FAMILY INCOME AND READING HABITS (As Measured by Kind of Newspapers and Magazines Read in the House)

Family Income	Nothing	Newspaper Only	Newspapers Plus Popular Magazines	Newspapers Plus Opinion or Technical Magazines	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			6
No income	6	4	6		16*
TOTAL	30	51	69	25	175

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

*Includes some families receiving unemployment compensation and welfare payments.

r = .38

HEALTH INSURANCE

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 44 shows. Table 45 shows that while health insurance is common, it is most strongly associated with higher family income levels.

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Table 44

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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

Table 45

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: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

This is given further evidence in data where families receiving welfare are shown separately:

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

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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 46 shows this.

Table 46

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

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau interviews.

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

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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 report, 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. It will serve little purpose to debate these alternative conclusions. Either conclusion leads to the necessity of achieving a new consensus on the goals and methodology of the Hawaiian Homes program in the hope that activities and approaches and, if necessary, concepts may be so modified as to permit fulfillment of the program's humanitarian objectives.

Mrs. Jean Fujimoto prepared the manuscript for printing.

FOOTNOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. The 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.
2. One 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.
3. While 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.
4. A number of valuable sources exist which discuss the systems of land tenure of the early period. See, for example, Jon J. Chinen, The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958).

CHAPTER I

1. U. 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.
2. More 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.
3. Joseph A. Kahl, American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1959), p. 278.
4. Ibid., p. 53.
5. Harold C. Hand, Principal Findings of the 1947-1948 Basic Studies of the Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program ("Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program," Bulletin No. 2, Circ.Ser.A, No. 51; Springfield: Illinois, Department of Public Instruction, 1949), p. 15.
6. Jackson Toby, "Orientation to Education as a Factor in the School Maladjustment of Lower-Class Children," Social Forces, XXXV (March, 1957), 266.
7. Available on request from the Legislative Reference Bureau.
1. See Allan A. Spitz, Organization and Administration of the Hawaiian Homes Program (University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1963), pp. 31-56, for a more complete discussion of the selection process.
2. This point is based essentially on impressions of a number of Hawaiians who have been "achievers" in various fields.
3. A limited amount of information on these applicants is available in Spitz, Organization and Administration, and in departmental records. However, the latter are not ordered except to show area applied for.
4. See 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.
5. Ibid., pp. 13-7, 13-8.
6. Ibid., p. 13-9.
7. Hawaii, Department of Planning and Economic Development, Racial Statistics for Hawaii, 1960 (Statistical Report 9, December 26, 1963). Based upon 1960 U. S. Census data.
8. Current 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.
9. U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1963 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 229.
10. Hawaii, Department of Planning and Research, Statistical Abstract of Hawaii, 1962 (Honolulu: 1962), p. 58.
11. Spitz, Organization and Administration, p. 49.
12. Eighty-three homesteaders in the sample had loans. Sixteen of these, or 19 per cent, were at least one payment delinquent.
13. Spitz, Organization and Administration, pp. 49-50.
14. Hawaii Newspaper Agency, Inc., 1963 Consumer Analysis of Metropolitan Honolulu (Honolulu: 1963), p. 83.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p. 88.
17. U. S., Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract . . . 1963, p. 480.
18. The Hawaii Labor Market, No. 216, November 1963. The same source lists an October figure of 4.3 per cent for the State.
19. State figures, for November 1963, were supplied by the Department of Social Services.

20. This percentage excludes the 153 homesteaders with pineapple contracts. For a more complete discussion of the contracts, see Herman S. Doi, Legal Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program (University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1964, Rept.No.1a) and Allan A. Spitz, Land Aspects of the Hawaiian Homes Program (University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1964, Rept.No.1b).
21. University of Hawaii, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii (Report, No. 24, January, 1957), p. 4.
22. See Ibid., p. 8, which indicates that the Part-Hawaiians had maintained about the same relative position which they held in 1930.
23. "Successful" in terms of most commonly used sociological prestige rankings. See Joseph A. Kahl, American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1959) and W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America (New York: Harper & Bros., 1960), among others.
24. The percentage of homesteader children in Kamehameha's student body is presently undetermined. The Kamehameha Schools do not keep separate listings of homesteader children.
25. For example, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs offer a limited number of scholarships to homesteader children.
26. Byron S. Hollinshead, Who Should Go to College? (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 10.
27. Dael Wolfle, America's Resources of Specialized Talent (New York: Harper, 1954), p. 24.
28. Robert J. Havighurst, American Higher Education in the 1960's (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), pp. 28-36.
29. Hawaii, 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.
30. The median age range of all applicants for homesteads in August 1962 was 33-36. See Spitz, Organization and Administration, p. 35.
31. Table 19 showed that homesteader spouses, in general, have less education than homesteaders.
32. Less 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.
33. I.e., political opinion magazines, technical magazines, news magazines, etc.

CHAPTER III

1. The median educational attainment for second-generation homesteaders is 9-10 years; for first-generation homesteaders it is 7-8 years.
2. For example, second-generation homesteaders are underrepresented among families receiving no reading matter or newspaper only. They are overrepresented among families receiving technical or opinion magazines.
3. 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.

APPENDIX A

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 job 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. The implications for those with little education, and the State which has assumed some responsibility for such persons, are reasonably clear.

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	Skilled Workers	Semi- Skilled Workers	Unskilled Workers
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
College (4 years or more):						
October 1952	60	15	17	3	2	5
March 1962	64	16	14	2	1	3
Total Employed:						
October 1952	9	11	19	15	21	25
March 1962	13	12	22	13	18	23

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.

¹See "Employment Projections to 1975," Monthly Labor Review (March 1963), pp. 240-248.

APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

This study 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 B 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 C indicates, approximate proportional representation by community-type was achieved.

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

Island Project	Number of Homesteaders	Percentage	Number in Survey	Percentage in Survey
<u>Hawaii</u>				
Keaukaha	355	20.3	47	26.9
Waimea	69	4.0	6	3.4
Kawaihae	13	.7	0	--
	<hr/> 437	<hr/> 25.0	<hr/> 53	<hr/> 30.3
<u>Kauai</u>				
Anahola	53	3.0	4	2.3
Kekaha	12	.7	0	--
	<hr/> 65	<hr/> 3.7	<hr/> 4	<hr/> 2.3
<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
	<hr/> 291	<hr/> 16.7	<hr/> 25	<hr/> 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
	<hr/> 953	<hr/> 54.6	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 53.1
TOTAL	1,746	100.0	175	100.0

Table C
REPRESENTATION OF HAWAIIAN HOMESTEADERS BY RURAL-URBAN
CLASSIFICATION^a AND REPRESENTATION IN SAMPLE SURVEY

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

^aBased 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 Bureau interviewing term 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.

A Bureau team consisting of Professor George Won of the Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii; Miss Karen Uemoto and Mr. William Frame, assistants in the Legislative Reference Bureau; and the author conducted a pilot study on Molokai as well as the regular Molokai interviews. Mrs. Dorothy Moore of the Bureau staff replaced Professor Won on Hawaii. The author conducted the Kauai interviews himself.

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 Oahu interviews were conducted by Mrs. Moore, Miss Uemoto, Mr. Frame, and the author.

The coding of the completed questionnaire was done in two stages: (a) the author, in consultation with Professor Won, devised a code to fit all open-ended questions, and (b) responses to questions were coded by the author, Miss Uemoto, and Mr. Richard Macrorie and Mr. Max Garcia, legislative interns. All questions of interpretation were decided by the author.

APPENDIX C

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The 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 statistic for the purpose of 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 a 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.

It must be emphasized that the pattern of "significance" found in the results serve as a general guide in interpreting the findings of the study. To this extent common sense is used as a guide in determining the significance levels though in general the 5 per cent level was accepted. In those cases where clearly no relationship could be established, the results were summarized.

Interpretation of the findings in the form presented in this study 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 27 (page 45)

AGE OF HOMESTEADER AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS FOR THEIR SONS

Age of Homesteader	Any Occupation Other Than Ordinary Labor	Ordinary Laborer or No Opinion
Over 65	9	6
56-65	15	11
46-55	28	12
36-45	46	12
35 or under	31	5
TOTAL	129	46

Source: Legislative Reference Bureau 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 was primarily employed as an aid in making some observations and generalizations about the Hawaiian homesteader.

