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Ethnicity, birthplace, and achievement: the changing Hawaii mosaic

Paul Wright
and Robert W. Gardner

East-West Center
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PREFACE

The Office of Economic Opportunity's 1975 Census Update Survey of Hawaii not only provided valuable census-type data for the middle of the intercensal period but also made available unique information about many aspects of the state's population, information that has enabled us to do the analysis contained in this paper. We would like to thank James Dannemiller and the people of Survey Marketing and Services, Inc., who actually conducted the survey, for providing us with a computer tape of the data and for assistance in using that tape. At the Population Institute, many individuals helped in the course of the preparation of the paper, including Ruby Bussen, Victoria Ho, and Judith Tom (computer assistance), Mimi Paz (secretarial work), Clyde Kanehiro (graphics), Maureen St. Michel (word processing), Sandra Ward (editorial assistance), and Lois Bender (final production). We hope that the quality of this paper justifies the time and effort they have expended on it.

Honolulu
January 1983

ABSTRACT In Hawaii, there is considerable debate concerning immigration and in-migration, the present and likely future ethnic composition of the state, and whether the various ethnic groups are moving toward social and economic parity. Obtaining clear answers to these questions is hindered by the lack of adequate data from the U.S. Census. With the use of a 1975 U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity Census Update Survey and other local sources, however, we are able to address the above concerns and speculate on their likely implications for the future.

Our findings show that among the local-born, the most notable recent development has been the rise of the Orientals (essentially Japanese and Chinese) to equality with the *haoles* (essentially non-Portuguese and non-Puerto Rican Caucasians) on some social and economic indices and clear superiority on others. In contrast, local-born Filipinos and members of other groups remain disadvantaged on all dimensions used in this study. Mainland-born haoles initially suffer from high unemployment but are characterized by moderate income and high educational and occupational levels. Their income and homeownership levels appear to improve markedly with increasing duration of residence. Among Asian immigrants, recent arrivals are characterized by occupational and income levels far below what would be expected, given their educational levels. Longer residence appears to result in greatly improved income, but not occupational improvement. However, whereas immigrant Orientals are initially disadvantaged compared with immigrant Filipinos on many indices, the long-term Oriental immigrants hold a marked advantage over their Filipino counterparts on all indices. The paper offers cultural and historical explanations for these findings.

Differential birth and net migration rates for the various ethnic groups have resulted and will continue to result in markedly different age distributions and rates of population growth. A projection of the Hawaii population to the year 2000 demonstrates slower than expected growth for the haole population, a large increase in the proportion that is Filipino, and a large drop in the Oriental share of the population. These changing proportions suggest that the present dominance of the Orientals in the state government and local economy will come under increasing pressure.

Prior to World War II, Hawaii could be characterized as a multiracial society in which the *haoles*[1] (defined here as non-Portuguese and

1 The term *haole* literally means "foreigner" in Hawaiian. In everyday usage, it generally refers to Caucasians, except that Puerto Ricans (most of whom came soon after Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States in 1898) and Portuguese, who were originally brought over as plantation workers and are characterized by low socioeconomic status, are generally not considered to be haoles.

non-Puerto Rican Caucasians) were dominant both politically and economically. In the tumultuous years following the war, several of the local-born nonhaole groups became politically dominant and acquired a considerably greater share of economic power. The Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans (whom we will refer to collectively as "Orientals"—see below) became characterized by family incomes similar to those of haoles and well in excess of those of the other nonhaole groups,[2] came to dominate in the state government,[3] and now own most of the locally controlled business firms in the state. In contrast, the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians (collectively termed "Hawaiians" in this study), Filipinos, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, mixed non-Hawaiians, and other smaller nonhaole groups have not achieved a strong voice in the state government and are characterized by incomes well below those of the haoles and Orientals.

The existing economic and political relationships may be threatened by in-migration from the United States mainland and by immigration from abroad. Surveys of incoming passengers from the mainland indicate that some 270,000 intended residents moved to Hawaii between 1961 and 1975. (For yearly figures, see Hawaii, DPED, 1976, table 12.) Perhaps 95 percent of these were Caucasian. Immigration, which had been at relatively low levels since about 1930, suddenly revived after 1965 because of revisions in the immigration law. Between 1966 and 1975, some 60,000 legal immigrants moved to Hawaii, mostly from Asia. The potential effect of these movements to the state can be measured by the fact that there were only about 730,600 nonmilitary-

2 A state survey taken in 1973 revealed median incomes among nonmilitary families to be as follows: Chinese, $15,200; Korean, $14,400; Japanese, $14,300; Caucasian, $14,100; Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, $10,400; mixed non-Hawaiian, $9,700; Filipino, $9,600; Puerto Rican, $7,600; and Samoan, $6,900 (Hawaii, DOH, 1974, table 16). A 1964–66 survey of Oahu indicated the median Portuguese family income to be 40 percent below that of "other Caucasians" and 25 percent below the county average (Hawaii, DPED, 1968, table 13). See also our discussion of income.

3 A survey taken in 1975 of all state employees except those in the Department of Education (which operates all public schools) and the University of Hawaii revealed that 51 percent of the employees were Japanese and an additional 8 percent were Chinese or Korean. It was estimated that Japanese comprised 36 percent of the state civilian working force and that Koreans and Chinese together contributed 6 percent (Haas, 1975:1–5). A 1974 survey of employees in the Department of Education indicated that Orientals comprised 66 percent of all teachers and 79 percent of all administrators (Kaser, 1974:A3).

related residents in Hawaii in 1975 (Hawaii, DPED, 1981: table 2). (Although the total population was larger, some 865,000, about 135,000 of this number were military-related individuals; most military-related individuals move out of Hawaii within five years of arrival or birth.)

Movement to Hawaii is an important political issue,[4] and the often openly expressed racially based sentiments to limit movement into Hawaii belie the image of the state as a place where persons of all races are welcomed and treated equally. Notwithstanding the passions aroused by the issue of newcomers in the Aloha State, there is a dearth of solid information concerning their numbers, characteristics, and effects on the economy. Our purpose in this paper is to investigate the local-born and migrant populations of Hawaii, addressing the following questions:

1. What are some of the population characteristics of the different ethnic groups in Hawaii? Are some groups growing more rapidly than others?
2. How do the ethnic groups fare in educational achievement, labor force participation and employment, occupation, income, and home ownership? Among the migrants, is there evidence that longer residence in Hawaii leads to greater economic well-being?
3. What are the implications of the answers to these questions for Hawaii's future?

DATA LIMITATIONS

Unfortunately, published U.S. census data are entirely inadequate for addressing these questions. In the first place, members of the Armed Forces and their dependents, who comprised about 15 percent of the state's population in 1975, are not tabulated separately in regular census reports. Their inclusion distorts many analyses, especially of the Caucasian population. Second, because of inconsistencies in tabulating

4 The 1979–83 state administration proposed several measures to limit the number of people moving to the state. The nature of these measures is beyond the scope of this study; what are relevant are the sometimes blatant "we versus they" arguments used to support such measures and the apparent popularity of the measures among the local-born.

race, results from different censuses are not comparable.[5] Furthermore, census practices in this regard do not correspond to how "race" is generally defined in Hawaii. Last, data on characteristics are rarely cross-classified by birthplace and, with the exception of a few tables on persons living elsewhere five years prior to the census, never by number of years lived in Hawaii.

We have attempted to surmount these obstacles by using the 1975 U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) Census Update Survey, which sampled all of the state except for Kauai County, with only 35,000 inhabitants, or 4 percent of the state's population (Survey and Marketing Services, Inc., 1976).[6] The OEO survey collected data on ethnicity in a manner consistent with the general practices in Hawaii, and asked each respondent how many years he or she had lived in Hawaii.

We exclude military personnel and their dependents from our study, as few can be regarded as permanent residents and most live on military bases and are thus somewhat isolated from the general population. For purposes of analysis, "Orientals" are often classified as one group, because of cultural similarities among the "East Asians," whereas the term "Asians" includes both Orientals and Filipinos. Filipinos are usually perceived by both themselves and the Orientals to be non-Oriental, and as an ethnic group are clearly in the "have-not"

5 In 1960, for instance, except for part-Hawaiians, who were all classified as part-Hawaiians, offspring of white and nonwhite parents were classified by the race of the nonwhite parent, whereas in 1970 they were classified by the race of the father. In 1970, the category of part-Hawaiian was dropped and many who had been classified as part-Hawaiian in 1960 were reclassified as non-Hawaiian in 1970. In 1950, Puerto Ricans were enumerated as a separate nonwhite ethnic group, whereas in the 1960 and 1970 censuses they were counted as either white or black. For estimates of the extent to which census reclassifications affected indicated numbers by ethnic group in the 1960 and 1970 censuses, see Wright (1979, appendix B).

Compounding the problem is the fact that state vital statistics rely on definitions of race that correspond most closely to the 1950 census definitions and that have not changed to parallel changing census definitions.

6 The survey volumes present the basic tabulations of the survey data. Data in this paper are from a computer tape of the survey data. They represent *estimates* of the population based on the Census Update Survey sample, which covered about 5 percent of the areas surveyed. Kauai County was excluded because a sample survey had been undertaken there a year earlier by another organization. Unfortunately, the Kauai data are not comparable to those collected in the Census Update Survey. However, the exclusion of Kauai has little effect on the state characteristics as indicated by data from the other counties.

socioeconomic category (Samuels, 1963; Hyams, 1968; Masuoka, 1931). All other non-haole local-born ethnic groups are characterized by a common low socioeconomic status and are therefore classified together as "other" unless otherwise noted. We divide the non-Hawaii-born into three groups, depending on whether they have lived in Hawaii fewer than five years, five to ten years, or more than ten years. Among those born elsewhere, the emphasis is on mainland-born haoles and on foreign-born Asians, as those groups are dominant among migrants to Hawaii.

As the Census Update Survey is a cross-sectional, point-in-time data source, we cannot use it to draw firm conclusions about what has happened over time. However, we do have data about groups who have lived in Hawaii for varying lengths of time since their arrival. This information can be used in two ways. First, for a characteristic, such as education, that does not change significantly for most people after arrival, we can compare the characteristics of the early arrivals and recent arrivals and conclude which group arrived with the background more likely to foster success. Second, for characteristics that are likely to change over time and to reflect achievements in the new environment, such as job status and income, we can interpret some patterns for different time-of-arrival groups as if they represent the experience of one cohort as it moved through time. (Insofar as the earlier immigrants were less educationally prepared to be successful, such interpretation probably underestimates the gains possible over time.) Such interpretations, although not entirely accurate, are probably justified and are the best we can do with the available data.

There is a possibility that changes made in the U.S. immigration laws in 1965 cloud our analysis. The changes affected the numbers of immigrants admitted and preference categories. The effect of the former change has been to increase greatly the number of immigrants from Asia, both to the United States as a whole and to Hawaii. The effect of the latter is harder to determine.

Until 1932, the great majority of immigrants to Hawaii were coming for work in the plantation economy, and the employers tended to select illiterate and poorly schooled individuals so that the immigrants would not expect better employment opportunities or be likely to demand better work conditions. After 1932, with the exception of one group of Filipinos recruited for plantation labor (and for purported labor union busting) in 1946, there was not much immigration

to Hawaii until the 1965 changes in the law. Then, there began to be a sizable proportion of educated professionals moving to Hawaii along with the less well-educated, but this probably happened as much because the door to immigration from Asia was now open as because of specific changes in the law. For example, because educational levels have been rising in countries of origin, it is natural to find the educational level of immigrants rising. Thus we find much higher educational achievements of recent migrants (those who had lived in Hawaii 0–10 years at the time of the survey) compared with the educational levels of earlier immigrants.

FINDINGS

Characteristics of Hawaii's population

Almost half of the civilian (nonmilitary-related) population of Hawaii in 1975 was of Asian origin (Tables 1, 2). Some 18 percent were classified as haoles and the balance were listed as "others."[7]

The two factors that affect the ethnic composition of the state's population and changes in its composition are migration and natural increase. Effects of past levels of migration and natural increase are visible in the composition of the various ethnic groups by place of birth. In Hawaii, the Japanese, Chinese, and "others" are overwhelmingly local-born, whereas approximately half of the Filipinos and Koreans are foreign-born and seven-tenths of the haoles are mainland-born. Among persons 18 years of age and over, an even greater proportion (65 percent) of Filipinos are foreign-born and only 15 percent of the haoles are Hawaii-born (data not shown).

Migration data show large numbers of people arriving from both Asia and the U.S. mainland, with the latter dominating. Hawaii Visitors Bureau data show the arrival of 110,773 intended residents from the mainland during the years 1970–74 (Hawaii, DPED, 1981: table 27). Most did not remain in Hawaii, however; the Census Update Survey shows only about 37,500 haoles in 1975 who had lived in the state

7 These proportions are somewhat different than those found in the census and other surveys, because of the different ways of defining and assigning ethnicity. The exclusion of the military-related individuals results in a lower percentage of haoles than usually recorded. A 1976 State Department of Health survey gave roughly the same proportions as those from the Census Update Survey. Among the Asians, Japanese dominated and Filipinos were the second most numerous group.

TABLE 1 Civilian population of Hawaii (excluding Kauai), by ethnicity, place of birth, and years in Hawaii: 1975

Ethnic group	Total	Foreign-born, by years in Hawaii				U.S. mainland-born, by years in Hawaii				Hawaii-born
		Total	0–4	5–10	11+	Total	0–4	5–10	11+	
Total	695,000	90,500	27,000	24,500	37,900	114,100	44,600	37,100	32,100	481,200
Haole	128,300	9,300	3,300	2,800	3,200	90,600	37,500	28,300	24,700	26,700
Total Asian	329,600	71,600	19,600	18,300	32,500	7,700	2,000	2,700	3,000	247,900
Chinese	39,100	7,400	2,400	2,100	2,700	1,100	300	400	400	30,400
Japanese	201,300	18,400	3,000	2,500	12,400	4,900	1,100	1,600	2,100	177,300
Korean	9,700	4,300	2,400	1,000	1,000	400	100	200	100	4,900
Filipino	79,400	41,300	11,800	12,700	16,400	1,200	400	500	400	35,300
Other	237,100	9,600	4,000	3,300	2,200	15,800	5,100	6,100	4,400	206,600

NOTE: Figures in this and subsequent tables exclude military personnel and dependents, as well as the civilian population of Kauai, which had about 35,000 civilian residents in 1975. Totals may not equal sums because of nonresponse to some questions, because of rounding, and because persons born in U.S. possessions are included only in the totals. "Other" category includes 8,200 Hawaiians, 123,000 part-Hawaiians, 60,900 of mixed non-Hawaiian ancestry, 24,500 Portuguese, 5,800 Samoans, 4,000 Puerto Ricans, 1,900 blacks, 7,300 others, and 1,400 whose ethnicity was not stated.

SOURCE: OEO 1975 Census Update Survey.

TABLE 2 Percentage distribution of the civilian population of Hawaii, by ethnicity and place of birth: 1975

Ethnic group	Distribution by ethnicity				Distribution by place of birth			
	Total	Hawaii-born	Mainland-born	Foreign-born	Total	Hawaii-born	Mainland-born	Foreign-born
Total	100	100	100	100	100	69	17	13
Haole	18	6	79	12	100	21	71	7
Total Asian	47	52	7	73	100	75	2	21
Chinese	6	6	1	9	100	78	3	19
Japanese	29	37	4	11	100	88	2	6
Korean	1	1	*	9	100	51	4	44
Filipino	11	7	1	44	100	45	2	52
Other	34	43	14	15	100	87	7	4

NOTE: See note in Table 1.

* Less than 0.5 percent.

fewer than five years. By way of contrast, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization data for the period of July 1, 1970, to June 30, 1975, show more than 27,000 Asians (predominantly Filipinos) specifying Hawaii as their intended place of residence (Hawaii, DPED, 1981: table 29). The Census Update Survey found about 19,500 immigrant Asians living in the state fewer than five years. Thus, even though inmigrants from the mainland annually outnumber the immigrants from Asia by more than three to one, the relative contributions to population growth through *net* migration are not so greatly different.

The other factor affecting growth and ethnic composition is natural increase. Although mortality (about six per 1,000 in the general population in 1975) does differ somewhat among the groups (Park, Gardner, and Nordyke, 1979; Gardner, 1980), almost all of the differentials in natural increase result from differentials in fertility. Haole civilian fertility is quite low; in 1975 the crude birth rate was between 10 and 12 per 1,000, depending on whether both parents or only one was haole. Japanese and Chinese fertility is similar to that of the haoles, and that of the Koreans is slightly higher (about 15) only because of the influence of the foreign-born Koreans. In contrast, the crude birth rate of "others" in 1975 was in the neighborhood of 30 per 1,000 and that of the Filipinos about 25 (Nordyke, 1977).

The combined effects of migration and natural increase point to a decline in the Oriental share of the state's population in the future, less growth of the haole population than is suggested by the flood of intended residents from the mainland, and great growth and a rising share of the total population for the Filipinos and "others."

Age structure

One other demographic characteristic of Hawaii's population that is of interest to us here is the age structure. The age structure of a population is a product of past migration and natural increase. It is important because of its effects on fertility and mortality ("old" populations tend to have low birth rates and high death rates) and because of the effects of age composition on the calculation of various averages for a group, such as the average income. A summary measure, "median age," is used here as it is generally an accurate measure of the relative youthfulness of a given population.

In Hawaii, the Chinese have the highest median age. They are followed by other Orientals, Caucasians, Filipinos, and "others" (Table 3).

TABLE 3 Median age of the civilian population of Hawaii, by ethnicity, place of birth, and years in Hawaii: 1975

Ethnic group	Total	Foreign-born, by years in Hawaii				U.S. mainland-born, by years in Hawaii				Hawaii-born
		Total	0–4	5–10	11+	Total	0–4	5–10	11+	
Total	28	39	25	31	62	30	25	29	46	25
Haole	31	39	28	36	50	33	26	32	48	23
Total Asian	34	42	26	32	64	19	11	15	25	32
Chinese	38	37	25	33	54	*	*	*	*	39
Japanese	36	52	27	34	71	*	*	*	*	35
Korean	35	35	30	33	64	*	*	*	*	40
Filipino	28	39	25	31	63	*	*	*	*	17
Other	22	22	19	20	40	18	12	15	26	21

NOTE: See note in Table 1.

* Number of people in this group too small for meaningful calculations.

Among the foreign-born, however, the pattern is somewhat different, reflecting the periods in which the largest numbers (who were mostly young adults at the time of immigration) immigrated to Hawaii. Foreign-born Japanese are by far the oldest, followed by the other groups. Those living in Hawaii the longest periods naturally tend to be the oldest. Among the local-born, median ages are radically different, between 35 and 40 among the three Oriental populations but only 17 among the Filipinos. The high median ages of local-born Oriental groups reflect low birth rates in the past 15 years. The relatively low median age of the haoles reflects the presence of children born to in-migrants, whereas the extremely low Filipino median results from a moderately high birth rate as well as children born to immigrants. A youthful population of "others" is the result of both a high birth rate and the presence of children of interracial marriage who are classified as "mixed."

We employ this information on age structure as well as other information contained in this section as we examine other characteristics of the various groups and the implications of those characteristics for the future.

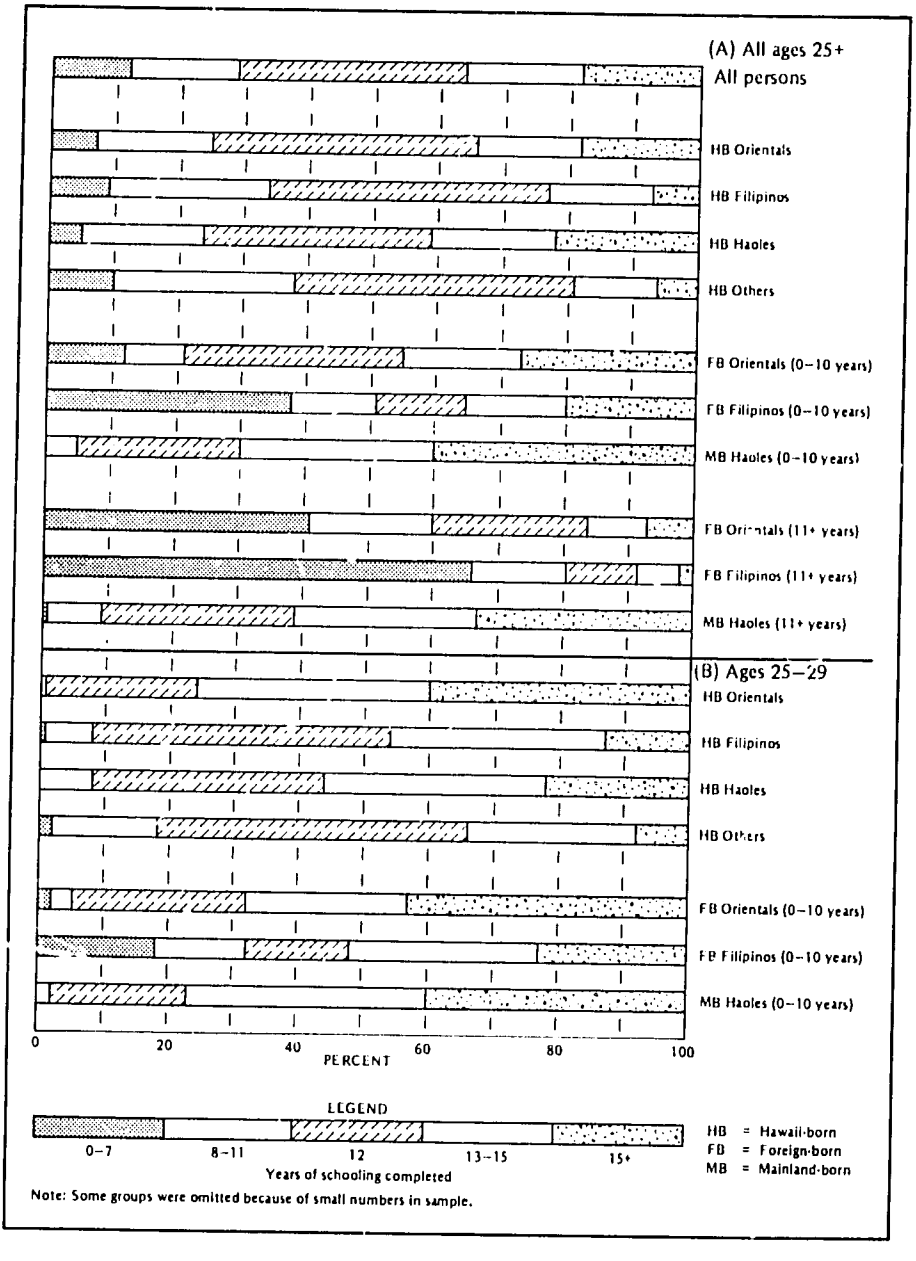
Educational attainment

Given the lack of skills needed for plantation labor, it is no surprise that most of the workers recruited from Asia for plantation work were poorly educated. The Oriental immigrants, however, were concerned about the education of their offspring and routinely made sacrifices for this purpose. As a result, the educational attainment of Hawaii-born Orientals of ages 25 and over is somewhat higher than that of the general Hawaii-born nonhaole population (Figure 1). Filipinos and "others" lag well behind. Local-born haoles are characterized by educational levels above those of the general population. In fact, the past dominance of the *kamaaina* (local-born)[8] elite is in part explainable by the partial monopoly they had on higher education before World War II,[9] and the continuing low economic status of the non-Oriental

8 *Kamaaina* in Hawaiian literally means "land child," that is, born in Hawaii. In everyday usage, the term is used to distinguish the long-established haole and other residents from the newer arrivals (*malihinis*).

9 Prior to the twentieth century, haoles generally sent their children to private schools. "English Standard" schools, which required the passing of a test in English proficiency, were established in 1924 to accommodate the growing

FIGURE 1 Educational attainment of the civilian population of Hawaii, by ethnicity, place of birth, and broad age group: 1975



Note: Some groups were omitted because of small numbers in sample.

nonhaole residents results in part from their generally low educational attainments.

Because the foreign-born Asians who have lived in Hawaii 0–4 and 5–10 years have similar educational attainments, as have mainland-born haoles, we have combined these groups into a single age category (0–10 years) for analysis. Figure 1 shows that two-fifths of the recent in-migrant haoles have completed at least four years of college, and very few have not graduated from high school. In contrast, almost two-fifths of the recent Filipino immigrants have not finished grade school, yet a fifth are college graduates. This bi-polar distribution among the Filipinos reflects the fact that many Filipinos currently moving to Hawaii are relatives of poorly educated immigrants already here, but a significant proportion of the new immigrants are professionals.

The recent Oriental immigrants are rather well educated in comparison with both the general population and the Hawaii-born Orientals. Whereas the educational attainments of the three nonimmigrant Oriental groups are somewhat similar, the immigrant Koreans and Japanese are somewhat better educated than the immigrant Chinese (data not shown).

When comparing the educational level of the Asian immigrants in Hawaii fewer than 11 years with that of the earlier arrivals, one cannot help but be impressed by the greatly improved educational levels of the recent immigrants. (Use of the concept of educational and other "improvement" above refers to higher levels of achievement for more recent arrival groups and not to changes over time for a particular group.) Even among the long-term immigrants, however, the educational advantage of the Orientals over the Filipinos is evident. Also striking are the high educational levels of the long-term mainland-born haoles. They are almost as well educated as the more recent in-migrants, even though general educational levels have improved greatly during the past few years.

In addition to data on all people over 25 years of age, Figure 1 contains information on individuals 25–29 years old to allow comparisons for the age group that is at a critical stage in the occupational career.

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number of haole children who could not attend private schools. The language requirement effectively excluded most Asians from these "public" schools. Only in the 1930s was the high school system expanded, in response to pressure from the Roosevelt Administration. Previously, most nonwhites reaching adulthood had no chance to attend high school.

Young adult local-born Orientals have a high level of educational attainment, similar to that of the recent haole in-migrants, and the educational attainment of the recent young Oriental immigrants is about as good. By contrast, a third of the young adult Filipino immigrants have not completed high school. Young adult haole in-migrants are characterized by educational levels similar to those of all adult haole in-migrants and to those of the local-born Orientals 25–29.

Among the young Hawaii-born adults, it is evident that the haoles have fallen behind the Orientals in educational attainment and do not seem to be significantly better educated than the local-born haoles in older age groups. This apparent lack of upward educational movement among the local haoles has undoubtedly facilitated the economic rise of the Orientals. The young adult local-born Filipinos lag considerably behind both the Orientals and the haoles; more than half have not progressed beyond high school. However, they are still much better educated than the local-born "others." When it is considered that the large majority of the "others" category—i.e., the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, the Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, and most in the "mixed" classification—have local roots that extend back for at least three generations, whereas most of the local-born Filipinos are offspring of poorly-educated immigrants, it is apparent that the educational levels of Filipinos are rising more rapidly than those of the non-Oriental nonhaole groups.

In seeking to explain educational differentials in Hawaii, one finds a wealth of literature pertaining to cultural values and their effects on education and educational levels. Much of this literature, however, is speculative and appears to be based more on conventional wisdom than on rigorous controlled study. In citing literature on educational levels that is germane to our findings, we must warn the reader of its speculative nature and the possibility that we have ourselves unconsciously adopted some of the biases found in the literature.

Perhaps most difficult to explain is why the educational levels of the young local-born haole adults have fallen behind those of their Oriental counterparts. A partial answer lies in the high aspirations that Oriental parents have for their children and their ability to control their children's behavior in this regard.[10] In addition, changes in the

10 For an excellent discussion of how third-generation Japanese American (*sansei*) parents control the aspirations and behavior of their children, see Johnson (1972).

United States society that have led to a weakening of the work ethic appear to have affected the local haoles more than the Orientals.[11] Lastly, there has been a disproportionate out-migration of well-educated haoles to the mainland (Wright, 1979: chap. 4). It may be that if there were no out-migration, the educational levels of the local haoles would be similar to those of the Orientals.

In explaining the rather low educational performance of the local-born Filipinos, it is pertinent to note that around 80 percent of the Filipino immigrants have come from the rural Ilocos region, where educational facilities are relatively few and may not be particularly conducive to "getting ahead" (Lasman et al., 1971). In addition, local-born Filipinos tend to be peer-group oriented (Alcantara, 1973), and teenage peers generally do not provide strong academic motivation.

All of the major groups in the "other" category are characterized by a lack of emphasis on educational attainment; thus, the poor showing among the local-born "others" is not surprising. Hawaiian teenagers in particular are peer-oriented and tend to be unresponsive to adult authority represented by the school teacher.[12] Most Portuguese immigrants came from impoverished Madeira and generally regarded one's status in life as being fixed from generation to generation. Hence, education was never stressed.[13] This is reflected in educational levels well below those of the Hawaiians and Filipinos (data not shown). Puerto Ricans who came to Hawaii have been characterized by high indices of

11 Dispassionate scholarly evidence is lacking for this assertion, but the senior author, in conducting a 1975 study of out-migration that involved persons graduating from a Hawaii high school in 1964, was impressed by the finding that all of the local-born participants who could be considered part of the "counter culture" were haoles (Wright, 1979: chap. 10).

12 Of several scholarly articles on this subject, perhaps the best is by McNasser and Hugo (1972).

13 Fuchs (1961:56–59) has written a poignant passage on the Portuguese, who before World War II worked largely in plantation supervisory positions. Appreciative of their rise from abject poverty in Portugal, trusting in the haoles to protect their intermediate status, and visualizing their place in life as being static from generation to generation, they watched complacently as the subservient Oriental plantation workers pushed their children to academic success. Their reaction when the world changed greatly after World War II and the Orientals suddenly surpassed them was to feel betrayed and to blame the Orientals rather than the haoles. Many Hawaiians, who did not as a group stress education, trusted the haole elite to award them political patronage and to keep the Orientals subordinate. They too were relative losers in the tumultuous post-war changes.

social disorganization (e.g., crime and mental breakdown), as well as placing a low value on education (Brooks, 1948). It is difficult to characterize the mixed non-Hawaiian category, but it appears that the propensity to intermarry (and hence produce mixed offspring) is inversely related to occupational status (Schmitt, 1965), and it may be that a cultural conflict between parents may reduce their control of the aspirations and behavior of their children.

In summary, among adults in Hawaii 25 years old and older, the haoles are characterized by high educational attainment, the Orientals are slightly above the overall state average, and the Filipinos and "others" fall significantly below the state average in educational attainment. The recent immigrants are much better educated than those who came before the changes in the immigration law in 1965, although large numbers of Filipino immigrants continue to have less than a grade school education. Haole in-migrants from the mainland are characterized by high educational levels.

Among the persons 25--29, rapid educational "improvement" among the local-born Orientals and the lack of a corresponding rise among the local haoles is evident. The young Orientals have the highest educational attainment of all local-born groups and are educationally about equal to the in-migrants from the mainland. Although the local Filipinos lag behind the haoles and Orientals, their educational advantage over that of the long-term Filipino immigrants is nevertheless impressive. Disturbing are the low educational levels among the young adult, local-born non-Oriental nonhaoles, a fact that has contributed to the shifting of economic and political power to the Orientals. Young adult Oriental immigrants, by virtue of their education, seem well equipped to compete for the more desired jobs, but many of the young Filipino immigrants continue to be poorly educated.

Labor-force participation and employment

In this section only ages 18–64 are considered, as most persons below the age of 18 are in school and most above the age of 64 are retired. We also treat the age groups 18–24 and 25–64 separately, as many in the former group are attending college or handicapped by inexperience in holding employment, and most females above age 25 are married and many have children. We will not concern ourselves with the labor-force participation rates of males, since they are high and similar among all groups of adults.

Although the cost of living in Hawaii is nearly 20 percent above the national average, wages for given jobs are generally somewhat below the national average. This disparity has resulted in a very high labor-force participation rate (LFPR) among both sexes in Hawaii. According to the 1970 census, Hawaii ranked first and third in the proportions of adult females and males, respectively, in the labor force. The 1970 census also revealed an unemployment rate that was third lowest in the nation. However, unemployment in Hawaii began to rise after the census and for some years was generally above the national average. This fact fueled a local debate concerning the economic merits of newcomers to the state.

Among Hawaii-born females, LFPRs are highest among the Orientals and next highest for Filipinos (Table 4). The low rates for haoles and "others" stand in sharp contrast to those of the Asians. Rates for those 18–24 are generally slightly higher than for those 25–64.

There are several reasons for the high LFPRs of the local-born Oriental females. These women tend to be well-educated, as we have seen, and trained for clerical and professional jobs, as teachers and dental assistants, for example, that have traditionally been dominated by females. A strong desire for economic well-being (as well as cultural values conducive to economic success) characterizes the Oriental population; in many cases both spouses work to achieve this goal. A low birth rate and the proximity of grandparents to look after children also facilitate the employment of married Oriental females. The issue of the availability of grandparents to provide baby-sitting and its relation to female labor force participation in Hawaii has received little attention in research.

At the other extreme are the very low LFPRs of local-born Portuguese and Puerto Rican females (34 and 27 percent, respectively, in the 25–64 age group—data not shown). These rates appear to reflect strongly ingrained attitudes that wives should be full-time homemakers and mothers. At least part of the rather low LFPRs for Hawaiian females (53 percent in the older group) may arise from a syndrome of having illegitimate children as teenagers and thereafter becoming dependent on welfare assistance. (See Ryder, 1979, for an excellent discussion of the causes and consequences of this syndrome.) Also a possible factor is the fear of many Hawaiian males that their wives may "misbehave" in a job situation (Howard, 1971). Lastly, the common Hawaiian pattern of having many children and spacing them closely undoubtedly hinders participation in the labor force; indeed,

TABLE 4 Labor-force participation rates of females and unemployment rates of males and females, by age, ethnicity, place of birth, and years in Hawaii: 1975

Group	Female labor-force participation rate		Unemployment rate			
			Ages 18–24		Ages 25–64	
	Ages 18–24	Ages 25–64	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hawaii-born	65	60	13	14	4	6
Orientals	71	68	11	7	1	3
Filipinos	63	64	11	17	2	4
Haoles	53	52	24	27	6	7
Others	57	50	14	18	6	7
Born elsewhere						
In Hawaii 0–4 years						
Foreign-born Orientals	53	53	*	8	7	10
Foreign-born Filipinos	74	58	17	20	6	11
Mainland-born haoles	72	56	15	12	5	15
In Hawaii 5–10 years						
Foreign-born Orientals	*	55	*	*	10	12
Foreign-born Filipinos	*	68	*	*	2	8
Mainland-born haoles	67	62	17	22	7	6
In Hawaii 11+ years						
Foreign-born Orientals	*	60	*	*	0	3
Foreign-born Filipinos	*	o2	*	*	0	3
Mainland-born haoles	*	57	*	*	4	7

NOTE: See note in Table 1. Labor-force participation rate is defined as all people in a given age and sex group working or seeking work divided by total number of people in that group. The unemployment rate is defined as all persons in a given age and sex group seeking work divided by total number of people in that group.

* Sample size too small (fewer than 1,000 in expanded population) for accurate estimate.

this practice affects the Filipinos also and all of the major groups included in "others" to at least some degree.

The low LFPR of local-born haole females is the most puzzling. Perhaps part of it reflects attitudes derived in an era in which most haole families were well-to-do without the necessity of wives working. Another possible factor is the tradition for well-off local-born haole wives to be active in nonremunerative service organizations.[14] However, these are only partial explanations at best, as most of the local-born haoles are not part of the old elite. Another possibility is that some of the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans (or those of Portuguese-haole or Puerto-Rican-haole ancestry) chose "Caucasian except Portuguese" identification on the Census Update Survey. The survey indicated LFPRs of only 34 and 27 percent, respectively, among Portuguese and Puerto Rican females. Whatever the reasons for the ethnic differentials among the local-born, the female labor-force participation patterns have certainly contributed to the economic rise of the Orientals as a group and to the continued economic disadvantage of those classified as "others."

Among female young adult migrants to Hawaii, relatively high labor-force participation rates characterize the Filipinos and the haoles, but not the Orientals. Among the older migrants, however, Filipinos tend to have the highest rates. Among the older migrant Oriental females, particularly the Japanese, there is a clear pattern of increasing labor-force participation with duration of residence. Only 38 percent of Japanese females living in Hawaii fewer than five years are in the labor force, but this figure rises to 46 percent among those in the state five to ten years and 59 percent among the long-term immigrants (data not shown). In Japan it is customary for females to leave the labor force after marriage, and it appears that this cultural norm does not change immediately after a move to Hawaii. However, economic realities in Hawaii do appear eventually to produce a participation rate not significantly different from those of the other Asian groups. The LFPRs of both Filipinos and haoles rise and then fall with increasing duration of residence; why this is the case is not clear but it may be related to life-cycle variables not considered here.

Turning our attention to unemployment rates, we find that among

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14 The predominance of familiar kamaaina names among the benefactors, fund raisers, and other workers for such civic institutions as the Honolulu Academy of Arts and Honolulu Symphony Orchestra is striking.

the general population the unemployment rate is much more severe among those between ages 18 and 24 than it is among older adults and that females are more likely than males to be unemployed. Among the Hawaii-born, the Orientals stand out by virtue of relatively low unemployment, especially among the younger females and all adults of ages 25 and over. Local-born Filipinos, except younger females, also have much lower unemployment rates than the state average. In contrast, unemployment is much higher among the local-born haoles and other non-Asians. The very high unemployment rate among the young adult haoles is especially noteworthy. Although unemployment rates in part reflect a differential willingness to take unattractive jobs, they also constitute a measure of "connectiveness" in the local economy. Prior to World War II, when most employers were haoles who favored hiring haoles, the young haoles had employment advantages over all others. With the partial shift of economic power to the Orientals, the haoles have lost this advantage. As most employers are now either Oriental or haole, and ethnicity or kinship is still a consideration in the hiring practices of many small employers, the Filipinos and "others" probably face the largest obstacles among locals entering the job market.

Among all recent migrants of ages 18–24, the unemployment rates are comparable to those of young adults in the general population. Such is not the case among the older migrants. Here the newcomers, especially the females, apparently face well-entrenched competition and suffer from the lack of local contacts. The particularly high unemployment rate among the recently arrived haole females is noteworthy because it is they who are most likely to complain of discrimination in hiring practices.[15] Whereas the unemployment rate is much lower among Filipinos and haole females living in Hawaii five to ten years than among their newly-arrived counterparts, the reverse is true among the Orientals and haole males. Why this should be the case is puzzling, as disadvantages associated with newcomer status should

15 This topic is constantly discussed but seldom written about. A newly arrived haole woman wrote to the "on-the-job" advisor in a local Honolulu newspaper to complain about job discrimination and was advised to take a more positive attitude toward finding employment. The response from other outraged in-migrant haole women who believed that they were victims of job discrimination was overwhelming. Most employment complaints made to the Hawaii State Fair Employment Agency are by haoles; the second largest number is made by blacks. (See Woo, 1975.)

decline with duration of residence. We have already noted that most "intended residents" from the mainland leave within a few years. One would expect the unemployed to be disproportionately represented among the out-migrants. One possibility is that social, not economic, considerations stimulate most of the subsequent out-migration of the haole in-migrants.[16] Another possible explanation is that many of the well-educated recent arrivals may initially accept employment well below their training and capabilities, but some of these may later become unemployed as they try to obtain employment more commensurate with their backgrounds and aspirations. The virtual absence of unemployment among the long-term Asian immigrant males, and the low rates among the females, suggests the existence of values that enable the immigrants to hold employment well, once the initial disadvantages associated with their immigrant status are surmounted. In contrast, unemployment, especially among females, remains a problem among the long-term haole in-migrants.

In summary, local Oriental women are characterized by a very high labor-force participation rate, whereas the opposite is true among local haole and "other" women. LFPRs among the female Asian immigrants and the haole in-migrants tend to be intermediate. Local-born Asians, whether Oriental or Filipino, are characterized by low unemployment; the opposite is true of local-born haoles and "others." Unemployment is high among recent arrivals of all groups, but declines among the Filipinos with increasing duration of residence and is low among all long-term Asian immigrants. In contrast, unemployment remains something of a problem among the long-term haole migrants. These rates of labor-force participation and unemployment have direct consequences for the incomes of the various groups, which we will examine below.

Occupation

In this section we are concerned with the occupational distribution only of employed persons of ages 25–64, because the occupations of young adults, especially those in college and working part-time, are often poor predictors of later occupations. Occupations are classified into broad groups, both because of sample size and because of the

16 Wright's (1979) study of out-migration from Hawaii revealed that almost all of those local-born out-migrants who later returned to Hawaii did so for social rather than economic reasons. There is a growing body of literature that suggests that most return migrants are not "economic failures."

similarities within these groups. Major attention is given to the categories "professional/technical/management," "clerical/sales," "construction," and "service." The first category generally requires a college education, clerical jobs usually require at least a high school diploma, remuneration in construction jobs is generally higher than that in other blue-collar employment, and service jobs are characterized by minimal educational requirements and low salaries.

In Hawaii, the most important and rapidly growing economic sector is tourism. Most of the jobs generated by tourism are in the low-paying service sector. The second most important economic sector, national defense, has been stable in recent years. Plantation agriculture, the most important economic sector prior to World War II, has dropped to a distant third in importance. Although sugar and pineapple production have remained fairly steady, the plantation labor force is only a small fraction of prewar levels. Overall, the economy has been growing rapidly, notwithstanding high unemployment levels throughout the early 1970s.

These trends are reflected in the fact that in 1975 more than a fifth of all employment (regardless of sex and age) was in the service sector, nearly a quarter was in trade, and one-eleventh was in construction. The share in construction was almost double the national average. By contrast, only 3 percent was in agriculture, and an additional 7 percent was in manufacturing, mostly the processing of agricultural products (Hawaii, DPED, 1976: table 142).

Occupational characteristics of adults 25–64 years of age are shown in Table 5. Among the Hawaii-born males, the Orientals and haoles have a similar occupational distribution, with a much greater concentration in the "better" occupations than the Filipinos and "others." More than half of the Koreans and Chinese males are in professional occupations (data not shown). The local-born Filipino and "other" males have high proportions in construction and somewhat higher than average proportions in service occupations. Among the Hawaii-born females, the occupational structure is most advantageous among the haoles, with the Oriental females lagging far behind. Again, the Filipinos and "others" trail far behind the haoles and Orientals. These differentials are consistent with the earlier noted variations for educational attainment.

Among those in Hawaii 0–4 years, there are sharp differences among the three groups under consideration. A majority of both

haole males and females are in professional occupations, and low proportions of both are in service jobs. It seems clear that older mainlanders moving to Hawaii have highly specialized occupational skills. In the 18–24 age group, however, 27 and 29 percent of the haole males and females, respectively, are in service occupations (data not shown). This finding seems to support the local stereotype of the young mainlanders who come to Hawaii to enjoy the sun and the surf while supporting themselves with service jobs.

High proportions of Oriental male immigrants living in Hawaii fewer than five years are to be found in the professional and service occupations, but only a few in construction. In contrast, few of the Filipino recent immigrant males hold professional or clerical employment and many are in the service and construction sectors. A plausible explanation of these patterns is that in Asia there is a tradition that the well-educated are expected to shun "dirty" work such as construction jobs. Therefore, many of the Orientals with high school education who cannot find clerical employment opt for "clean" service jobs in preference to more remunerative jobs requiring hard physical labor. Filipinos, most of whom are poorly educated and from rural backgrounds, have no such scruples about taking "dirty" jobs that pay well. According to the Census Update Survey, among Oriental and Filipino males of ages 25–64, 81 and 42 percent, respectively, who had completed 12 years of education and lived in Hawaii less than five years were employed in service occupations. Also noteworthy is that many immigrant Filipino males are continuing to come to the plantations.

Among Asian immigrant females living in Hawaii fewer than five years, two-fifths of both the Filipinos and the Orientals are in service occupations. However, the remaining Oriental females are much more likely to be engaged in clerical employment than the Filipinos. That among recent Oriental immigrants a much lower proportion of females than of males are in professional employment undoubtedly reflects the fact that most Asian brides of American servicemen are not college-educated and that immigrant Oriental males moving as professionals are often accompanied by wives who are considerably less well educated.

Among those in Hawaii five to ten years, the most striking feature is the degree to which the occupational characteristics of all groups under consideration resemble those of their counterparts of fewer than five years' residence. There are some differences, however. Among the

TABLE 5 Occupational distribution of employed members of the years in Hawaii: 1975

Group	Male			
	Professional/technical/managerial	Clerical/sales	Service	Construction
All persons	36	11	10	19
Hawaii-born				
Oriental	39	15	6	18
Filipino	18	11	11	27
Haole	37	13	6	20
Others	22	7	12	26
In Hawaii 0–4 years				
Foreign-born Orientals	48	11	33	5
Foreign-born Filipinos	9	6	25	30
Mainland-born haoles	55	13	6	11
In Hawaii 5–10 years				
Foreign-born Orientals	41	15	26	7
Foreign-born Filipinos	11	5	20	33
Mainland-born haoles	60	10	6	11
In Hawaii 11+ years				
Foreign-born Orientals	39	11	22	16
Foreign-born Filipinos	9	4	17	22
Mainland-born haoles	62	10	8	7

NOTE: See note in Table 1. Sums may not equal 100 percent because of rounding.

a Includes processing, machine trades, bench work, and miscellaneous occupations.

b Construction included in "other" category because fewer than 0.5 percent of all employed

c About two-thirds of this total are seamstresses.

Oriental and, to a lesser extent, the Filipino females, there is evidence of a strong movement out of service and into clerical employment with increasing duration of residence. A small shift away from the service occupations is also apparent among both Oriental and Filipino males. Surprisingly, the proportion of Orientals in Hawaii five to ten years and working in professional occupations is lower than among those in Hawaii for fewer than five years, for both sexes. We noted

civilian labor force, ages 25–64, by sex, ethnicity, place of birth, and

			Female					
Farming/ fishing	Other[a]	Total	Professional/ technical/ managerial	Clerical/ sales	Service	Farming/ fishing	Other[b]	Total
4	20	100	30	42	17	1	10	100
3	19	100	30	42	17	1	10	100
6	28	100	22	45	19	4	9	99
3	21	100	45	36	13	0	6	100
5	29	101	28	39	24	1	9	101
0	3	100	17	25	42	0	17	101
14	16	100	15	9	39	7	30[c]	100
3	11	100	53	28	12	0	3	96
2	10	101	10	45	27	0	18	100
13	18	100	14	20	[illegible]	10	23	99
3	11	101	49	36	2	0	3	100
2	11	101	18	33	30	1	20	102
20	28	100	9	22	46	8	16	101
1	12	100	54	38	7	0	1	100

females are in construction.

earlier that the educational levels of Asians in Hawaii 0–4 and 5–10 years are similar. It appears that immigrants who initially do not find professional employment do not later do so either, perhaps because professional licensing requirements and other obstacles prove to be insurmountable.

It should be kept in mind that migrants in Hawaii more than ten years tend to be less well educated than the more recent arrivals. Thus,

that more than three-fifths and five-ninths of the employed long-term haole males and females, respectively, are in professional occupations is indicative of great success. (Or it may be that the nonprofessionals are more likely to leave the state.) Many of the poorly educated immigrant Asian females appear to have been stranded in the service occupations, but movement out of the service occupations with time seems to be the case among the males. (As this is a cross-sectional analysis, we cannot definitely state what types of jobs were held by the migrants in the past.) No fewer than a fifth of the long-term Filipino male immigrants are in agriculture. The fact that similar proportions of Oriental immigrants in the 5–10 year and 11+ year duration groups are in professional employment shows that a much higher proportion of the well educated in the latter group hold professional jobs. Either the long-term immigrants arrived when entry requirements for professional jobs were less stringent for newcomers than they are today, or upward mobility of the well-educated immigrants eventually takes place. Probably both factors are operative.

In summary, the Orientals and haoles tend to have the highest occupational levels, the Filipinos and "others" trailing considerably behind. But it is the in-migrant haoles who have the most advantageous occupational structure. Notwithstanding their complaints of discrimination against them in the local job market, haole in-migrants are doing very well indeed. High proportions of Oriental immigrants are in both the professional and service occupations. High proportions of Filipino immigrants are in both service and agricultural jobs.

The tourist industry is highly dependent on the immigrants. The availability of immigrants willing to take low-paying service jobs has certainly fueled the economic growth of the state. Given the reluctance of the Hawaii-born to work on plantations, the continued arrival of Filipinos has also been an economic blessing in the agricultural sector. Whether the economic role of the haole newcomers is positive or not is more problematic, as unemployment in the state is a continual problem and the structure of the economy favors the growth of service rather than professional jobs. Given the high educational levels and job aspirations of young local-born Oriental adults, it is evident that it is they who are in strongest occupational competition with the in-migrants from the mainland.

Income

The most easily quantified measure of "success" is income. In this section we examine the median income of families and of employed males and females between ages 25 and 64 (Table 6). Among the Hawaii-born Orientals, the median incomes of families headed by Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans are $20,700, $19,700, and $19,600, respectively. Far behind are families headed by local haoles, and family incomes among the local-born Filipinos and "others" lag even farther behind. By ethnic group, the median family incomes for the Hawaii-born "others" are as follows: Hawaiian, $14,600; mixed non-Hawaiian,

TABLE 6 Median income of families and employed individuals by ethnicity, place of birth, and years in Hawaii: 1975

Group	Families[a]	Employed persons, ages 25–64	
		Male	Female
All persons	$16,500	$12,800	$6,600
Hawaii-born			
Oriental	19,900	13,500	7,600
Filipino	14,100	11,100	6,200
Haole	16,000	14,300	6,200
Other	13,800	12,000	6,100
In Hawaii 0–4 years			
Foreign-born Oriental	7,900	7,600	4,300
Foreign-born Filipino	13,100	6,400	4,200
Mainland-born haole	16,300	14,600	8,000
In Hawaii 5–10 years			
Foreign-born Oriental	13,700	11,200	6,200
Foreign-born Filipino	16,000	9,300	4,600
Mainland-born haole	19,100	16,000	7,800
In Hawaii 11+ years			
Foreign-born Oriental	11,800	13,900	5,900
Foreign-born Filipino	11,700	9,900	4,900
Mainland-born haole	21,000	17,100	7,800

NOTE: See note in Table 1.

a Families headed by individuals of the specified characteristics.

$12,800; Portuguese, $12,700; Samoan, $9,900; black, $9,800; Puerto Rican, $9,600; and all others, $12,400. These differences reflect the combined effects of education, occupation, female labor force participation, unemployment rates, and other factors discussed below.

It is surprising that among families headed by persons in Hawaii fewer than five years, the Filipino immigrants appear to be doing almost as well as the local Filipinos and much better than the recent immigrant Oriental families, especially as much higher proportions of the Orientals are in professional occupations. This finding is a function of a higher family size for Filipinos, with more workers per family (see below).

Notwithstanding their concentration in professional employment, recently arrived haoles who head families have a median income that is slightly below the state median and close to the median of families headed by Hawaii-born haoles. The median family incomes of Oriental newcomers are far below those of local families with similar occupational and educational characteristics.

Among families headed by persons in Hawaii five to ten years, "improvement" in all groups, especially the Orientals, is evident. Families headed by Filipino immigrants in Hawaii five to ten years appear to be more affluent than those headed by local Filipinos, and families headed by haoles are, on the average, almost as well-to-do financially as those headed by local Orientals.

The apparent drop in the family incomes of the Asian immigrants in Hawaii 11 and more years results not only from their lower educational levels but also from their greater age—most of the Oriental and many of the Filipino family heads being retired. The median income of families headed by long-term haole migrants is the highest of any of the groups discussed.

In explaining income differentials, it is important to note that the median family income of a given group is heavily influenced by the average number of working family members. Among the Asian groups, the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans on the one hand, and the Filipinos on the other represent roughly opposite patterns. Among families headed by immigrants in Hawaii fewer than five years, there is an average of 2.13 employed persons per Filipino family, compared with 1.02 per Japanese family (data not shown). This average increases to 2.40 among families headed by Filipinos in Hawaii five to ten years. In

contrast, the average number of employed persons per local-born Japanese family is 1.94 but it is only 1.57 per local-born Filipino family. Many of the Hawaii-born Japanese families contain children attending college and working part-time. Were these children to live away from home while attending college (a much more common pattern among Caucasians on the mainland), the family incomes of the Hawaii-born Japanese would be somewhat lower, as the children's earnings would not be counted as family income. In addition, many elderly Japanese parents live with their children. Were they to live away and be counted as separate families, the median income of Japanese families would be lower. In the case of the immigrant Filipinos, there are many extended families containing several working adults who live in the same house. (See Lasmon et al., 1971, for a detailed description of the common living arrangements of Filipino immigrants.) This pattern increases family incomes even though individual incomes may be very low. In contrast, the average household headed by Hawaii-born Filipinos is nuclear and, since most Hawaii-born Filipinos are young, unlikely to contain gainfully employed children. Irrespective of migration status, haole families contain an average of fewer than 1.5 employed members per household.

One other feature of the local Oriental population that contributes to family income is the late average age at marriage. The singulate mean age at marriage[17] among the Hawaii-born Orientals is 28 and 26 among the males and females, respectively (data not shown). It is two years older than the average for Oriental immigrants and three to five years older than for all other groups considered here. This characteristically late marriage among the Hawaii-born Orientals of both sexes is conducive to economic success, because late marriage reduces the number of potential children, facilitates (and results from) the gaining of higher education and labor force experience, and increases the potential economic resources that can be brought to a marriage.

The above analysis illustrates that family incomes are as much a function of family structure and cultural values as they are of individual incomes. In fact, the relationships between the various groups under consideration are substantially altered when the incomes of employed individuals between the ages 25 and 64 are considered.

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17 For a description of the technique for deriving the singulate mean age at marriage, see Hajnal (1953).

Employed Hawaii-born Oriental females earn much more, on the average, than the Hawaii-born females in other groups. Among the Hawaii-born males, the haoles rank first, followed closely by the Orientals (although the Koreans, with a median of $14,700, rank slightly ahead of the haoles); the Filipinos and "others" lag well behind.

Among those born elsewhere, the most notable features are the extremely low incomes of immigrants of both sexes, and the (apparent) marked improvement in the income of males over time (apparent because we do not know past incomes for individuals). In fact, the median income of the long-term Oriental immigrant males is comparable to that of their local-born counterparts, and the long-term haole male migrants have a median income that is 25 percent greater than the state average. Also apparent is an increasing differential in favor of the immigrant Orientals, *vis-à-vis* their Filipino counterparts, with increasing duration of residence in Hawaii.

Data on income within specific occupation-education groups (not shown) demonstrate that the income levels of the recent immigrants are much lower than either educational or occupational levels justify. For example, the median incomes of professionally employed Asian immigrant males and females living in Hawaii fewer than five years were 60 and 52 percent, respectively, of the state medians for all males and females. Among the employed Asian in-migrants with a college degree, the medians were 54 percent of the state medians for males and females. It appears that the living standards of the local residents are being indirectly subsidized by the minimal salaries of the recent immigrants. In contrast, median incomes of both the male and female recent haole in-migrants are comparable to the state medians when occupation and income are controlled. However, whereas there is marked improvement over time in the case of the males (possibly in part an artifact of selective out-migration), the same is not true of the females. Data for the females show a small rise in the five-to-ten-year group but then a decline almost to the levels of the zero-to-four-year group when education and occupation are controlled.

Differences between the haole in-migrants and Asian immigrants again reflect the much greater obstacles faced by the immigrants. Not only are the haole newcomers fluent in English and knowledgeable about procedures for finding a suitable job, but also many of the large firms (which generally pay higher salaries than the smaller ones) are mainland-based, and the in-migrants in some cases are at an advantage

over local nonwhites in obtaining employment in them. For instance, pidgin English, commonly spoken by local-born nonwhites, is unlikely to make a favorable impression on a prospective employer who has recently arrived from the mainland. A strong local norm against "showing off" may also be a hindrance in a job interview if the prospective employer values self-assertiveness. Undoubtedly, a large number of the male haole in-migrants were transferred to Hawaii by their companies of employment.

In summary, the median family and unrelated incomes show the local Orientals and long-term in-migrant haoles to rank the highest. Notable are the very low incomes of families headed by recent immigrant Orientals and the much higher incomes of the recent immigrant Filipino families. When only employed persons of ages 25–64 are considered, however, a rather different picture emerges. Here, the in-migrant haoles in Hawaii for many years are shown to rank economically well above even the local Orientals. The success enjoyed by long-term immigrant Oriental males is reflected in a high median income. By contrast, the low median incomes of recent Filipino immigrants and their slower improvement over time is also apparent. Low relative median incomes among the Hawaii-born Filipinos and "others" reflect a wide socioeconomic gulf between them and the more affluent haoles and local Orientals.

Home ownership

Home ownership is discussed here because housing costs in Hawaii are perhaps double the national average and well above those of any other state except possibly Alaska. In 1979, the average single-family house and condominium on Oahu sold for $145,800 and $93,500, respectively, and costs were probably comparable on the Outer Islands (Gomes, 1980). To be able to purchase one's home represents both financial success and protection against further runaway housing costs.

Among the civilian heads of households in the Census Update Survey, 58 percent owned or were buying their homes, including 4 percent in condominium arrangements. Because of the high costs of single-family housing, much of the housing stock being built today is in multistory condominium projects. Notwithstanding the huge inflation in housing costs, the proportion of families in owned housing has increased since 1970, a reflection of the willingness to make huge financial sacrifices to obtain home ownership and with it a measure of

financial security. The rate of home ownership varies greatly by ethnic group and the number of years lived in Hawaii (Figure 2).

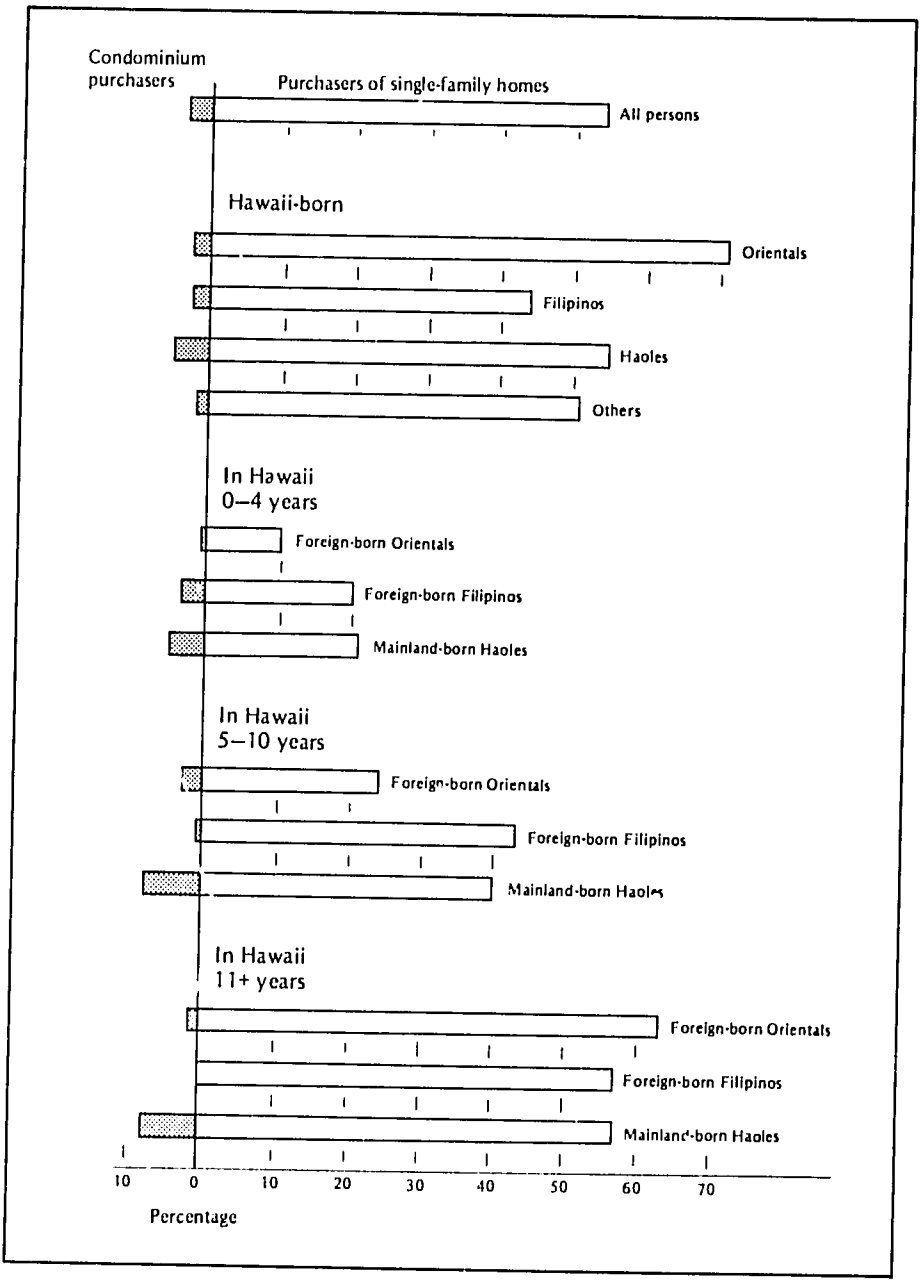
Whereas 77, 73, and 70 percent of housing units occupied by Hawaii-born Chinese, Korean, and Japanese heads of households, respectively, are owned or being purchased, the corresponding proportions for housing units occupied by Hawaii-born haoles, Filipinos, and "others" are 60, 47, and 53 percent, respectively. Again, it appears that the local-born Orientals have surpassed the local-born haoles in socioeconomic status, leaving the other groups far behind. The relatively poor showing of the Hawaii-born Filipinos and "others" in regard to home ownership is disturbing, for home ownership is becoming an increasingly difficult goal to reach in Hawaii.

Among those in Hawaii fewer than five years, home ownership rates are roughly a third of those of the Hawaii-born. It is noteworthy that the ownership rate among Filipinos is more than double that of the Orientals and comparable to that of the newly arrived haoles. The extended family pattern common among Filipino immigrants enables Filipino families with several employed adults to pool their resources and buy housing much more rapidly than the nucleated newcomer Oriental and haole families that often contain only one working adult.

The greatly increased home ownership rate of those in Hawaii five to ten years reflects the accumulation of capital and perhaps the lower housing costs in the late 1960s. The relatively high rate of condominium ownership among the haoles confirms the popular impression that many of the condominium projects appeal primarily to migrants from the mainland. Reasons why condominium owners are disproportionately migrants from the mainland include the following: some of the migrants are retired, others are childless by choice and do not want to be burdened with the upkeep of yard space; many of the condominiums are located near the ocean, which is an attraction for those wishing to enjoy the "sun and surf"; condominium units are usually cheaper than single-family housing; and most local families view condominium living as contrary to the "island lifestyle."

Among the immigrants in Hawaii 11 years or more, home ownership among the Orientals is higher than for the Filipinos, in part because most Oriental immigrant families in Hawaii for many years have achieved middle-class financial status. Indeed, the ownership rate exceeds that of all local-born groups with the exception of the Orientals. Notwithstanding the relative wealth of long-term haole

FIGURE 2 Percentage of population owning or purchasing home, by ethnicity, place of birth, and years in Hawaii: 1975



in-migrants, their ownership rate is well below that of the local Orientals.

The relevant question here is why the local Orientals have been so successful in purchasing their housing. Their financial success is only a partial answer, because the equally successful haoles have much lower rates of home ownership. Another reason is that because of the low birth rate among Orientals, many parents are able to help their children to purchase a home. A common pattern in the Oriental population is for a newly married couple to move in with one set of parents, eventually take over ownership of the family house, and either build a smaller adjoining unit for the parents or find one for them nearby. Furthermore, local Orientals through kinship or friendship contacts can sometimes locate "bargains" on the housing market. The relative success of the recent Filipino immigrants in purchasing homes is largely a function of the pooling of resources by a number of related adults. But Hawaii-born children do not appear to be able to manipulate their resources in a manner that enables most of them to purchase their own housing.

SUMMARY AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

That the local-born Oriental population has achieved a remarkable success and now appears to have a higher overall socioeconomic status than even the formerly dominant local-born haoles is evidenced by the performances on all measures used here: educational attainment, labor force participation and employment, occupational distribution, median income, and home ownership. Attributes that have contributed to this success include a low birth rate, a great amount of parental control over the aspirations and educational performance of their children, a tremendous amount of cooperation between generations within families (e.g., the grandparents care for the youngsters so that the daughter can be gainfully employed, and the children contribute generously to the financial and social well-being of the parents), a strongly ingrained work ethic, and the transformation from being "outsiders" to being very much the "in" group in local society.

Although the local-born haoles are "doing well" as a group, they are slipping behind the local Orientals. They do not generally observe the intergenerational cooperation so typical of the Orientals, tend to marry at an earlier age, and do not appear to have maintained the work ethic to the same degree as the Orientals. In addition, outmigration is highest among the better-educated haoles.

The changes that resulted in the overthrow of the haole oligopoly after World War II have not greatly benefited the Filipinos, Hawaiians, or other nonhaole and non-Oriental groups. Evidence for this is clear in their standings on the earlier mentioned measures.

Several trends threaten the newly achieved status of the local Orientals. One is the low Oriental birth rate, which, although beneficial at the family level, means that the proportion of Orientals in the Hawaii population will decline in the future. The low birth rate was an advantage when the adult Orientals were sufficiently numerous to control the state government and simultaneously lavish more time and money per child than the higher fertility ethnic groups. With the older generation dying out and relatively fewer children reaching maturity, however, and with the influx of other ethnic groups from elsewhere, the Oriental share of the electorate is declining. Because the state and local governments are important sources of employment and patronage, tending to intervene more in economic affairs than is the general case on the mainland, loss of government control can have definite negative effects on the Orientals.

The local groups growing most rapidly by natural increase are the "have-nots," many of whom have grievances against "Japanese political control and the Orientals running everything."[18] There is a substantial immigration from Asia. Many of the new arrivals are Oriental, but more than half are Filipino, a group who in the past have gained negligible political power in proportion to their numbers, enjoying little cultural kinship with the Orientals, and have specific economic grievances. Furthermore, there is a large yearly volume of in-migrants from the mainland, although most do not settle permanently in Hawaii and their political impact is diluted because many are Republican in a state dominated by the Democratic Party.

Whereas the immigrants, especially Filipinos, pose no immediate threat to the economic status of the local Orientals and in fact benefit them by taking low-paying service jobs in the tourist economy in disproportionate numbers, the haole newcomers are shown by the indices used to be highly educated and occupationally trained. Those who stay for a long period are even more financially successful, on the

18 As part of a survey on migration attitudes, Wright asked local residents to discuss what they believed to be the major problems facing Hawaii. Hawaiians and Portuguese were most often emphatic in complaining about "Japanese" or "Oriental" domination. See Wright (1979: chap. 13) for the results of the survey on perceptions of problems facing Hawaii in the future.

average, than the local Orientals. Another consideration is the possibility of affirmative action, which has so far not affected Hawaii to an appreciable degree because the various have-not groups are classified as a single group with the more successful Asians and thus appear, in the aggregate, to be of average status. (This possibility has probably receded, at least temporarily, under the present Administration in Washington.)

What are the prospects for the future? Projection into the future is risky at best because the underlying factors related to contemporary population changes are not constant. Nonetheless, a projection is presented here to show what the ethnic distribution may be in the year 2000. In making this projection we have assumed that: (1) there is a yearly net increase of 5,000 haoles from the population exchanges with the mainland and abroad and this yearly number will not change; (2) 80 percent of the Asian immigrants stay permanently in Hawaii and the yearly volume of Asian immigrants will remain at the same level as during the 1970s; (3) the yearly loss of 0.5 percent to the mainland among the local Orientals, Filipinos, and Hawaiians (reported by Wright, 1979:118, for the period between the mid-1950s and the mid-1970s) will remain unchanged; and (4) the rate of natural increase in 1975 for each ethnic group will remain unchanged. Under these assumptions, the nonmilitary-related population of Hawaii will increase from 730,600 in 1975 to 1,222,000 in the year 2000. If the military component remains stable, the total population will be about 1,350,000. The proportion of Orientals will decline from 35.9 to 25.6 percent, whereas the proportion of haoles will increase from 18.6 to 23.7 percent, that of the Filipinos will increase from 13.8 to 19.4 percent, and the proportions of Hawaiians and "others" will remain essentially unchanged.

Assuming that the net volume of haole migration is directly proportional to the number of haoles already here and keeping all other assumptions constant produces a nonmilitary-related population of 1,301,000 in the year 2000. Percentages of this total by ethnic group will be as follows: Caucasian, 28.3; Oriental, 23.8; Filipino, 18.5; Hawaiian, 18.1; and "others," 11.3.

Although these figures belie the common notion that the haoles are going to "take over" the state in the near future, they do suggest that the present dominance of local Orientals in the state government probably cannot last. Presumably fewer Orientals will be hired by the state

government in the future. More encouraging, from the standpoint of the local Orientals, is that the haole population (which is mostly of mainland origin) will not increase nearly as rapidly as the passenger surveys suggest.

At least a partial redistribution of the benefits gained by the local Orientals to the remaining have-nots is essential, if considerable intergroup conflict in the future is to be avoided. This adjustment is made more difficult because of the in-migration of well-trained haoles who demand employment commensurate with their qualifications. Also making the task more difficult is that, whereas the local Orientals prior to World War II already had social attitudes conducive to economic success in the competitive American society, the same is not true of the local-born have-nots in Hawaii.[19] Problems of obtaining socioeconomic equity are reflected in the Hawaii schools. Schools dominated by Orientals and in-migrant haoles consistently rank highest on standardized tests, whereas those dominated by have-nots perform poorly, and those dominated by ethnic Hawaiians score lowest. A casual reading of the local newspaper reveals that almost all college scholarships are awarded to Orientals, or to haoles from private schools.[20] Judging from the number of scholarships given to and musical awards won by immigrant Oriental children, it appears that the children of recent Oriental immigrants will fare very well indeed. In contrast, the immigrant Filipino children do not appear to be faring well in the Hawaii schools. Although it is common for the have-not parents to blame the poor performance of their children on culturally insensitive Oriental teachers who "favor their own," a more basic problem appears to be

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19 Cultural attributes among Hawaiians that are inimical to financial success are the subject of a study by Howard (1974). A discussion of the cultural attributes of local Filipinos that stress "getting along" as opposed to "getting ahead" is contained in Alcantara (1973). Samasoni (1979) has written a perceptive study of Samoan cultural norms that result in severe adjustment problems in Hawaii. Problems that have plagued the Puerto Ricans since their arrival in 1901 are dealt with in Brooks (1948).

20 Hawaii contains the most extensive system of non-Catholic private school education to be found in any state. The capacity of these schools is only a fraction of the demand, which reflects widespread disillusionment with the public school system. Since World War II, the Orientals have increasingly joined the haoles in enrolling their children in private schools. Educators periodically warn that a continuation of present trends could eventually result in the public schools becoming the "dumping ground" for those without the financial means to escape them.

that the values of the have-nots are not congruent with good academic performance, which in turn is strongly correlated with future prospects.

Adjustments associated with a more equal distribution of political and economic power will be difficult, and will undoubtedly be interpreted by many local Orientals as unfair, especially as they had to endure decades of repression and to work extremely hard to achieve their present status. Perhaps making this task easier is a spirit of tolerance and fair play that is much more characteristic of ethnic relations in Hawaii than on the mainland. The image of Hawaii as a paradise of goodwill and intergroup cooperation will in any case be severely tested in the years ahead.

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