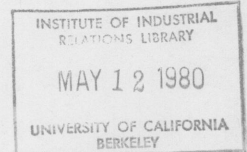


Occupations

Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory,  
University of Hawaii,  
(Report No. 24) January, 1957.  
Honolulu,



by Andrew W. Lind

Mounting the Occupational Ladder in Hawaii

One of the fascinating aspects of life in any frontier area is the manner in which the different peoples attracted there manage to solve the problem of securing a living. The initial adjustment, particularly in a region such as Hawaii, is relatively simple, although not necessarily easy, to the immigrants involved. The opportunities to make a living at unskilled labor on the plantations were responsible, not only for bringing the great bulk of the immigrants to Hawaii, but they also provided a sort of spring-board from which the aliens might seek positions of greater financial returns and prestige.

The most dramatic aspects of this process quite naturally relate to the way in which the impoverished peasants from alien lands have not only found the means of providing for themselves and their rapidly growing families but have also acquired wealth and fame within a single generation. The rise from coolie to millionaire, if not an everyday experience in Hawaii, has occurred with sufficient frequency to attract widespread attention and to partially justify the local Horatio Alger myth. The much more frequent experience in Hawaii has been a relatively slow and laborious movement on the part of the immigrants and their children from one field of labor to another, in the entire course of which a clear rise in status occurs. This, however, requires years and possibly generations to effect and can be observed and measured, not in the occasional meteoric rise of a few outstanding personalities but in the long term trends reflected in the decennial censuses.

A number of studies<sup>1</sup> have been made in the past indicating the earlier and general phases of the process, but relatively little attention has been given to the developments since World War II. It is to assist in filling this gap that the present paper has been prepared, with special attention directed to data derived from the 1950 census. Unfortunately much of the significant information relating to occupational trends gathered in both the 1940 and 1950 censuses was not published and it was necessary for the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory to obtain through a special tabulation by the U.S. Census Bureau the data essential for this study. The published reports of the past two decennial censuses have omitted any reference to the occupations in which the various racial groups are employed, except in the most general terms and then only for the larger ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup> This is in contrast to the practice of the Census Bureau in their reports for earlier periods, upon which the previously mentioned studies were based.

1. See Romanzo Adams, The Peoples of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1924, 1933); The Education of the Boys of Hawaii and Their Economic Outlook (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1928). Andrew W. Lind, An Island Community (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 245-74; "Occupational Trends Among Immigrant Groups in Hawaii," Social Forces, VII (1928), pp. 290-99; "Occupation and Race on Certain Frontiers," Race Relations in World Perspective (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1956), pp. 49-70.

2. 1950 United States Census of Population, Hawaii, Detailed Characteristics, P-C52 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 115-18.

Certain general observations regarding the occupations in which the various ethnic groups in Hawaii were employed in 1950 must preface any detailed discussion of the problem. Although the eight major ethnic groups recognized in the census contributed to the employed personnel of the Territory roughly in proportion to their numbers in the total population, there were several notable exceptions. The Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos were over-represented in the employed population, whereas the pure and mixed Hawaiian, Caucasian, Korean, and Puerto Rican groups were under-represented. The omission of the armed forces from the employed personnel but their

I. EMPLOYED PERSONS IN CIVILIAN POPULATION 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER BY  
SEX AND RACE, IN TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

	Number Employed Persons			Per Cent Employed of Population 14 Years of Age and Over		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All Races	119,860	45,479	165,339	60.5	29.6	47.0
Hawaiian	2,569	771	3,340	52.2	16.9	35.2
Part Hawaiian	10,292	4,619	14,911	56.1	23.1	38.9
Caucasian	24,811	9,678	34,489	47.7	26.3	38.9
Chinese	8,085	3,803	11,888	64.8	34.6	50.7
Japanese	45,604	23,912	69,516	68.7	36.4	52.6
Korean	1,386	726	2,112	49.5	32.0	41.6
Filipino	24,840	1,462	26,302	70.9	15.2	58.8
Puerto Rican	1,604	325	1,925	50.2	11.5	31.9

inclusion in the total population affects adversely the rate of the Caucasian males, but it is also noticeable that the Caucasian females have less than their expected proportion, suggesting that they enjoy a protected position. This is even more marked among the Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Puerto Ricans. The striking scarcity of Filipino females as compared to the males is probably an important factor in their being exempted from the necessity of employment. The Japanese women, on the other hand--whether from choice or from social pressure--are much more highly represented in the employed population than most of the other ethnic group, although they are followed closely by the Chinese and Korean women. There is a strong suggestion in these data that the three groups of Oriental ancestry--Chinese, Japanese, and Korean--manifest a greater disposition to seek employment and hence more ambition to rise on the economic ladder than the Hawaiians or Puerto Ricans.

By way of indicating some of the major occupational trends among the immigrant groups in Hawaii, a simple tabulation has been prepared indicating the distribution of the employed population of each racial group within the large categories used by the census. The census practice of incorporating "kindred" occupations in some of

II. PERCENTAGES OF EMPLOYED CIVILIANS 14 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER ENGAGED IN  
MAJOR TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS BY RACE AND SEX, TERRITORY OF HAWAII, 1950

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES	ALL RACES	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<u>MALES</u>									
Professional, Technical, & Kindred	7.3	3.6	6.3	17.0	10.7	5.5	8.7	1.2	.9
Managers, Officials, & Proprietors	9.5	3.0	7.0	16.7	18.3	9.7	12.6	1.5	1.2
Clerical and Kindred	7.4	3.2	8.3	7.7	17.3	8.5	9.8	2.0	2.1
Sales	5.1	1.2	3.1	6.5	8.9	6.5	6.1	1.4	1.4
Craftsmen, Foremen, & Kindred	21.0	20.1	23.8	21.5	18.5	27.8	24.3	7.5	22.4
Operatives and Kindred	16.1	21.4	19.9	12.8	11.4	15.0	12.6	19.9	30.4
Service Workers (including Household)	7.5	10.5	9.9	6.8	7.8	5.3	10.7	11.2	6.7
Laborers	22.7	34.6	19.9	9.0	5.3	16.4	11.5	53.8	34.3
Others	3.3	2.4	1.8	2.0	1.8	5.4	3.7	1.5	.6
	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>FEMALES</u>									
Professional	16.5	11.4	17.7	36.2	20.9	8.6	16.5	6.5	2.5
Managers, Officials, & Proprietors	5.3	2.2	4.2	6.4	7.5	4.8	11.5	4.8	1.2
Clerical and Kindred	25.5	8.7	28.3	29.6	36.6	23.0	27.8	15.7	7.3
Sales	10.0	4.5	5.4	7.1	10.9	12.4	8.1	9.0	5.2
Craftsmen, Foremen, & Kindred	1.5	2.7	2.0	1.2	1.3	1.4	2.2	1.8	1.8
Operatives & Kindred	12.5	27.7	13.1	4.4	8.6	15.4	11.3	17.3	24.9
Private Household Workers	6.7	9.2	5.5	3.5	1.3	8.6	2.8	10.6	24.9
Service Workers (except Household)	15.8	25.3	20.8	10.6	11.3	16.5	15.2	26.8	29.8
Laborers	4.7	6.0	2.3	.8	1.2	7.2	3.3	6.0	2.2
Others	1.4	2.2	.7	.2	.4	2.0	1.2	1.5	.1
	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	99.9

the major categories has the tendency to disguise somewhat the status and class significance of the data, but there is nevertheless a rough correlation between social prestige in Hawaiian society and the position among the occupational classes from top to bottom of Table II. In terms of economic income alone, however, the managers, officials, and proprietors would outrank the professional group, and the craftsmen rate higher than sales personnel.

The preferred position of the Caucasians and the Chinese and the relatively inferior status of the Filipinos and the Puerto Ricans stand out most strikingly in the case of the males. The intermediate status of the Koreans, Japanese, and Hawaiians, with the Part Hawaiians clearly surpassing the pure Hawaiians, is equally evident. Much the same ranking of the racial groups prevailed twenty years earlier, except for the fact that the Hawaiians then enjoyed a relatively preferred position with reference to the immigrant groups.<sup>3</sup>

There are no sharp contrasts as to the occupational distributions by race between the males and the females except for those resulting from the heavier concentration of women in the professional, clerical, and service occupations, and their lower representation than the men as managers and officials, craftsmen, operatives, and laborers. It appears that the Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian women have succeeded better than the men in retaining a favorable position in the professional fields. A very pronounced excess of Hawaiian women as operatives and as service workers is also apparent. The dominant position which the Japanese women still hold as private household workers--2064 out of a total of 3063 among all racial groups--assumes less overwhelming proportions when it is recognized that a quarter of all the employed Puerto Rican women were engaged as private household workers and a tenth of the employed Filipino women were so occupied.

The simple percentage utilized in Table II, while useful in suggesting the points of light or heavy occupational concentration of the various ethnic groups, do not alone indicate the degree of such concentration. To achieve this result, it is necessary to divide the proportion of persons of a given race in a particular occupation by the proportion of persons of all races in this particular occupation. If the quotient is less than unity, it means that the given race has less than its normal or expected number within the particular occupational group, whereas if the quotient is more than unity, the given race is over-represented within this particular occupational group. Such a simple index of occupational strength is utilized in the remainder of this paper instead of the mere listing of the number of persons involved or the proportion of the total employed persons of the given ethnic group which they represent. Thus the first index in Table III for the Hawaiians of .28 indicates that this ethnic group had roughly a quarter of the number of accountants and auditors which, considering the size of the group, an equal distribution would entitle them to. The index for the Chinese as accountants and auditors indicates that they actually had 2.69 times the number in this occupation which they would have if an equal distribution prevailed, suggesting therefore a special capacity or preference for this field among the Chinese and a strong avoidance or incapacity among the Hawaiians.

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3. A.W. Lind, "Occupation and Race on Certain Frontiers" in A.W. Lind, ed., Race Relations in World Perspective (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1956), p. 66.

III. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES IN PROFESSIONAL PURSUITS  
OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII, BY SEX, 1950

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<b>MALE</b>								
Accountants and auditors	.28	.90	1.85	2.69	.87	1.04	.04	--
Airplane pilots and navigators	.40	.20	4.50	--	.09	.73	--	--
Architects	--	.67	3.16	1.00	.45	3.33	--	--
Artists and art teachers	--	.50	2.02	1.27	.90	.74	.45	--
Authors, editors, reporters	--	.34	3.19	.95	.58	.43	.10	--
Chemists	--	.28	1.68	1.72	1.15	2.64	.18	.46
Clergymen	.86	.32	2.63	.61	.80	1.39	.21	.17
College professors and instructors	--	.21	4.08	.53	.19	--	.14	--
Dentists	.37	.28	.92	3.34	1.37	2.73	--	--
Designers and draftsmen	--	1.21	1.06	2.78	1.19	1.68	.06	--
Engineers, civil	.19	1.13	2.33	2.48	.57	1.72	.03	--
Engineers, electrical	.55	.64	3.65	.82	.23	1.03	.04	--
Engineers, mechanical	.26	1.24	3.35	.75	.31	.48	.08	--
Lawyers and judges	.55	1.18	3.02	1.04	.47	.34	.02	--
Musicians and music teachers	.48	2.29	1.44	.55	.23	.88	1.28	--
Personnel and labor relations	.21	1.40	3.21	.60	.19	1.16	.41	--
Pharmacists	--	.28	1.29	2.51	1.29	2.09	.12	--
Photographers	--	.10	1.23	1.46	1.43	.77	.39	.33
Physicians and surgeons	.10	.25	2.45	2.78	.67	1.88	.01	--
Radio operators	.34	.47	3.96	.33	.20	.64	.05	.27
Religious workers	1.23	.10	4.32	.13	.09	--	.08	--
Social, welfare, recreation workers	1.01	1.95	1.41	1.44	.92	2.80	.13	.40
Surveyors	.52	3.04	.70	1.32	1.15	.96	.13	.83
Teachers (n.e.c.)*	.65	.75	2.15	1.16	.98	1.30	.05	--
TOTAL	.49	.86	2.32	1.47	.74	1.19	.16	.13
<b>FEMALE</b>								
Accountants and auditors	.91	.66	1.74	1.72	.70	1.29	.16	--
Actresses, dancers, entertainers (n.e.c.)	.83	3.72	1.25	.50	.20	3.07	3.48	.98
Authors, editors, reporters	--	--	3.92	.82	.13	.61	.61	--
Librarians	--	.58	3.07	1.17	.33	.31	.30	--
Musicians and music teachers	2.32	2.23	2.22	.82	.26	.93	.77	--
Nurses, professional	.38	.52	2.45	.58	.64	1.00	.40	.22
Nurses, student professional	.22	.32	.29	.83	1.38	2.98	1.37	--
Religious workers	.44	.44	3.45	.80	.18	.93	.46	1.04
Social, welfare, recreation workers	1.42	1.07	2.04	1.22	.55	1.70	.37	--
Teachers (n.e.c.)*	.81	1.41	2.06	1.67	.47	.72	.17	.04
TOTAL	.69	1.07	2.19	1.26	.52	1.00	.40	.15

\*Not elsewhere counted

The distinctly advantageous position of the Caucasian males in professional pursuits is reflected repeatedly in Table III where it appears that they had approximately four and a half times their expected number of airplane pilots, four times their expected number of college faculty members, and well over four times their proportion of religious workers.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the only fields of professional work in which the Caucasian male index was less than unity, indicating less than a proportional representation, were dentistry and surveying. In contrast, the Chinese males had well over three times their expected proportion of dentists and nearly three times their normal proportion of physicians. The additional professional areas in which the Chinese males enjoyed an especially favorable position were as chemists, designers and draftsmen, civil engineers, and pharmacists. For a small group which has only slightly more than its expected total number of professional workers, the Korean males had surprisingly high representation as architects, chemists, dentists, pharmacists, and social workers, and notable participation as designers and draftsmen, civil engineers, and physicians.

The other ethnic groups were all more or less under par in the professional fields--the Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and Hawaiians markedly so, and the Japanese and Part Hawaiians only slightly so. In most of the professional pursuits the Puerto Ricans were completely unrepresented and only as surveyors did they even closely approximate their normal proportion. The Filipinos, although suffering from under-representation by virtue of their recent arrival in the Islands, participated to some slight degree in most of the professions, with fair representation as artists and art teachers and as photographers and a slight over-representation as musicians and music teachers. The situation of the pure Hawaiians was only moderately better than that of the Filipinos. There were eight professional fields in which the Hawaiians had no representatives and it was only as religious and social workers that their participation was up to par or better. The Part Hawaiians were much more favorably situated, having decidedly more than their normal share of musicians, social workers, and surveyors, and at least a moderate number in all fields except as photographers and religious workers. For a group which has a reputation for industry and ambition, the Japanese had succeeded only moderately well in the professional fields. They were well above par as dentists, pharmacists, chemists, designers and draftsmen, photographers, and surveyors, but decidedly under par as airplane pilots and navigators and as religious workers.

The same relative position of the different ethnic groups obtains with reference to women engaged in professional occupations. Again the Caucasians were more favorably situated than any other group, with an under-representation in only one field--that of student nurses. The advantageous position of the Chinese females is similarly apparent in most professional fields except as actresses, dancers, and entertainers and as nurses. Curiously enough, these were the general areas in which both Korean and Filipino women excelled, except that it was as student nurses rather than as professional nurses. Student nursing was the one professional field in which Japanese women had more than their normal representation. Both the Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian females were more favorably situated in professional pursuits than their male relatives. Both groups were clearly above par as musicians and music teachers and as recreation and social workers, with the Part Hawaiians also excelling as actresses, dancers, and entertainers, and as general teachers. Puerto Rican women were only slightly stronger in the professional fields than the males. They had no representation in six fields, and it was only in the area of entertainment and as religious workers that they came close to having their proper share.

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4. Because of limitations of space, relatively little attention is directed in this paper to the factors responsible for the specific indices.

**IV. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES IN MANAGERIAL, OFFICIAL, AND PROPRIETORY  
PURSUITS OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII, BY SEX, 1950**

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<b><u>MALE</u></b>								
Officials and inspectors, Federal	.27	1.14	3.15	1.36	.31	.33	.11	.14
Officials and inspectors, terr./local	.85	3.20	1.96	1.51	.43	1.36	.08	.20
Officers of ships, pilots, etc.	2.43	1.73	3.59	.22	.05	1.29	.04	--
Other specified managers and officials	.19	.74	2.48	1.84	.63	1.31	.14	.41
Managers, officials, propr.--salaried	.23	.85	2.68	1.50	.60	.90	.10	.06
Wholesale trade	.12	.47	2.90	1.46	.64	.44	.04	--
Retail trade	.09	.57	1.96	2.42	.91	1.43	.07	--
Finance, insurance, real estate	--	.67	3.36	1.54	.35	.23	.04	--
Managers, officials, propr.--self emp.	.25	.41	.80	2.37	1.49	1.67	.20	.13
Construction	.39	.47	.91	1.03	1.72	1.21	.11	--
Manufacturing	.13	.54	1.12	1.48	1.48	1.87	.12	--
Wholesale trade	.85	.40	1.49	2.52	1.17	.68	.06	--
Food and dairy products stores	.09	.20	.22	3.84	1.65	.95	.19	.07
Eating and drinking places	.26	.56	.47	3.22	1.54	.64	.12	.55
TOTAL	.31	.74	1.75	1.92	1.01	1.32	.15	.12
<b><u>FEMALE</u></b>								
Managers, officials, propr.--salaried	.57	.87	1.92	.92	.73	1.20	.40	--
Managers, officials, propr.--self emp.	.33	.61	.58	1.73	1.11	1.95	1.27	.29
TOTAL	.41	.80	1.18	1.39	1.39	2.16	.89	.10

The management and ownership of business, as well as the direction of government, provide other areas of occupational preferment, not only because of the greater incomes which they afford but also because of the power which such positions involve. There is, of course, a wide range in the incomes, power, and prestige associated with the numerous occupations included in the census category of "managers, officials, and proprietors," and the same sharp differences in status between the various ethnic groups do not appear in this area as in the professional field just discussed. The relative positions of the different ethnic groups, however, are much the same in the two broad fields, with the Chinese and Caucasians again at the top and the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans at the bottom. Of the intermediate groups, the Koreans, followed by the Japanese, have a clear advantage over the two Hawaiian groups.

The preeminence of Caucasians as federal officials and administrators is slightly less than that of Part Hawaiians at the territorial and county level. In both fields the Chinese also had more than their expected proportions. The primacy of the Caucasians appears most prominently as the officers of ships, a field in which the Hawaiians, as well as the Part Hawaiians greatly exceed the normal statistical expectations. This is one area in which the Chinese and Japanese share with the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans a decided disadvantage. As salaried officials, proprietors, and managers, the Caucasians and Chinese are exceptionally well entrenched--the Chinese more so in retail trade even than the Caucasians. The Hawaiians, on the other hand, are poorly represented and, as one would expect, this is also true of the Filipinos and Puerto Ricans.

It is particularly noteworthy that as self-employed managers, officials, and proprietors, the three Oriental groups out-strip the Caucasians in every field except wholesale trade. Much the same situation obtains with reference to women as salaried or self-employed managers and proprietors. The notable exception is that of the Filipino women who considerably exceed their norm as self-employed managers and proprietors and who apparently are much more disposed toward this field than the Filipino men.



V. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES IN CLERICAL AND SALES PURSUITS  
OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII, BY SEX, 1950

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	PHILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<u>MALE</u>								
Bookkeepers	.05	.56	.55	3.32	1.51	1.02	.10	--
Stenographers, typists, secretaries	.51	1.22	1.30	1.71	1.15	1.66	.20	--
Clerical - TOTAL	.43	1.13	1.05	2.35	1.15	1.33	.27	.28
Hucksters and peddlers	.66	.56	.12	1.55	1.85	--	.42	.42
Insurance agents and brokers	.17	.45	1.59	1.88	1.10	2.07	.28	--
Real estate agents and brokers	.30	1.05	1.62	2.91	.76	2.50	.23	.24
Salesmen and sales clerks (n.e.c.)	.20	.54	1.29	1.66	1.31	1.07	.25	.21
Wholesale trade	.17	.57	1.87	1.17	1.20	.78	.05	.07
Retail trade	.23	.52	.96	1.91	1.40	1.22	.34	.27
Sales - TOTAL	.24	.61	1.27	1.74	1.28	1.18	.27	.28
<u>FEMALE</u>								
Bookkeepers	.13	.44	.80	1.46	1.21	.87	.27	--
Cashiers	.38	1.17	1.05	1.42	.91	.81	.91	1.14
Stenographers, typists, secretaries	.20	.98	1.35	1.33	.87	1.04	.58	.11
Telephone operators	1.26	2.76	1.63	1.06	.37	.93	1.17	1.15
Clerical - TOTAL	.34	1.11	1.16	1.43	.62	.90	1.09	.13
Salesmen and sales clerks, retail trade	.19	.47	.61	1.11	1.29	.72	.88	.48
Sales - TOTAL	.45	.54	.71	1.09	1.23	.81	.90	.52

As we move into the white-collared field of clerical and sales workers--still preferred occupations but less desirable than either the professional or managerial occupations--the Caucasian males drop into second, third or even fourth place, although usually maintaining at least their normal proportion except as hucksters and bookkeepers. The Chinese males usually stand at the top, although, as hucksters and peddlers, their index was exceeded by that of the Japanese and, as insurance agents and brokers, by the Koreans. The Japanese males exceed their expected proportion in all clerical or sales occupations except as real estate brokers and agents. Again the Hawaiians are far below par and the Part Hawaiians are usually also deficient. The Filipino males are better represented in the clerical and sales occupations than in the professional or managerial fields, but they are still very much under-represented in all fields.

Among the women employed in clerical and sales occupations, there are some notable deviations from the common trend among the males similarly employed. The only occupation in which the Hawaiians and Filipinas both exceed the statistical expectations is that of telephone operators, although the actual numbers involved are still quite small--13 and 23 respectively. The Caucasian telephone operators, on the other hand, constitute somewhat more than a third of all women so employed. The Chinese and Japanese are the only two groups with more than their normal share of the women sales workers and the Chinese alone excel in all the clerical fields.

VI. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII  
AS CRAFTSMEN AND FOREMEN, 1950 (Males Only)

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
Bakers	.15	.11	.37	1.23	1.92	.83	.35	.24
Carpenters	.31	.32	.28	.55	2.12	.55	.26	.32
Cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen	3.92	2.64	1.09	.29	.56	.65	.69	5.39
Electricians	.90	1.51	1.34	1.35	1.04	1.51	.25	.61
Excavating, grading, road mach. oper.	4.76	3.05	1.09	.11	.57	.80	.60	3.47
Foremen (n.e.c.)	2.19	1.85	1.72	.90	.77	.69	.25	1.11
Linemen and servicemen, power, etc.	2.27	4.15	1.30	1.10	.46	1.61	.15	1.50
Machinists and job setters	.49	1.31	1.88	1.64	.77	1.12	.25	.85
Masons, tile setters, stone cutters	.52	.83	.41	.09	1.96	1.09	.21	1.30
Mechanics and repairmen, airplane	.15	1.35	2.79	2.27	.16	3.24	.15	.47
Mechanics and repairmen, automobile	.34	.57	.66	.54	1.77	1.01	.34	.80
Mechanics and repairmen, radio, television --		.57	1.67	1.73	1.09	2.35	.16	.41
Painters (constr.), paper hangers, glaziers	.59	.77	.50	.72	1.68	1.38	.47	.75
Plumbers, pipe fitters	1.28	1.33	1.41	1.15	.97	1.29	.36	1.74
Stationary engineers	1.51	1.60	1.91	.57	.61	.64	.62	1.10
Tailors and furriers	.17	.13	.07	1.75	1.04	4.34	1.97	--
Tinsmiths, coppersmiths, sheetmetal	--	.76	1.43	3.64	.88	2.07	.12	.51
TOTAL	.96	1.13	1.02	.88	1.32	1.16	.36	1.07

The skilled occupations--classified in the census as craftsmen, foremen, and kindred occupations--are somewhat more widely distributed among the various ethnic groups--at least in the sense of all being included. All groups, except the Filipinos, have close to their expected proportion of the total, although there is considerable variation as to the specific points of heaviest concentration. Both the Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians stand out very prominently as large machine operators--cranemen, derrickmen, hoistmen, and excavating and road-machine operators--as foremen, telephone and power linemen and servicemen, and as stationary engineers. Several of these are likewise areas in which the Puerto Ricans, who are usually at the bottom of the list in the preferred occupations, also excel.

In general, the three Oriental groups tend to avoid the fields in which the Hawaiians rate highly. The Caucasians are well represented in most of the skilled occupations, markedly so as airplane mechanics and repairmen, machinists and job setters, foremen, and stationary engineers; but they are poorly represented as bakers, carpenters, masons, auto mechanics, and tailors. Several of these latter occupations--all except the tailors--are the ones in which the Japanese constitute more than two thirds of the total number. Tailoring is the one and only skilled occupation in which the Filipinos are as yet strongly represented, but they are far better situated generally as craftsmen now than they were in 1930. The Koreans have continued their traditional preeminence as tailors and they had by 1950 also achieved a strong position as airplane, radio, and television mechanics and repairmen, as tin and copper smiths, and as sheet metal workers. These are fields in which the Chinese also figure prominently.

VII. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII  
IN SEMI-SKILLED PURSUITS, BY SEX, 1950

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<b>MALE</b>								
Attendants, auto service and parking	.19	1.01	.69	.81	1.49	.72	.60	1.04
Bus drivers	2.73	2.64	.85	.37	.85	.58	.73	1.25
Laundry and dry cleaning operators	.33	.41	.38	.94	.97	2.45	1.95	.70
Meat cutters (except slaughter house)	.48	.41	.64	4.48	1.07	.18	.48	.15
Oilers and greasers, except auto.	.75	1.18	.97	.28	.53	.92	2.05	1.80
Sailors and deck hands	3.21	2.08	2.13	.53	.16	1.76	.82	.76
Stationary firemen	1.03	1.22	.83	.21	.42	.69	2.38	1.20
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	1.36	1.45	.78	.85	.89	1.14	1.16	.79
Truck drivers and deliverymen	1.73	1.33	.87	.42	.95	.54	1.12	2.77
Welders and flame-cutters	.53	1.44	.94	.69	1.28	1.07	.49	1.08
Operatives: Pineapple canning	1.63	1.15	.33	.56	1.07	.75	1.63	.54
" Sugar processing	.17	.10	.22	.07	.66	.06	3.23	1.17
" Public administration	1.54	1.80	1.40	1.58	.39	2.34	.81	3.82
TOTAL	1.33	1.24	.80	.71	.93	7.80	1.24	1.89
<b>FEMALE</b>								
Dressmakers/seamstresses, exc. factory	.16	.11	.25	.53	1.62	.75	.58	.26
Laundry and dry cleaning operators	3.24	1.42	.41	.29	1.11	.75	2.10	.93
TOTAL	2.22	1.04	.35	.68	1.23	.90	1.38	1.99

As we move still further down the social and economic scale, it is the ethnic groups which have arrived more recently or have fared poorly in the competitive struggle that begin to stand out most prominently. The Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Part Hawaiians, in that order, dominate as semi-skilled workers, whereas the Caucasians, Chinese, and Japanese are definitely under-represented in the field. The Hawaiians and Part Hawaiians are preeminent in the occupations related to transportation, such as drivers, chauffeurs, sailors, and deck hands, while most of the other ethnic groups are below par in these occupations. The one area in which the Chinese had far in excess of their expected number was as meat cutters, a time honored occupation particularly among the first generation Chinese. The one area of major concentration for the Japanese was as laundry and dry cleaning operatives. The only semi-skilled occupation in which the Caucasians were overly represented was that of sailors and deck hands, probably drawn in large part from outside the Territory. The heavy weighting of Filipinos--67 per cent of the total--<sup>5</sup> in the sugar processing occupations stands in sharp contrast to the under-representation of most other ethnic groups. As semi-skilled operatives in public works projects, the Filipinos and Japanese are at a considerable disadvantage as compared with all the other racial groups.

Caucasian and Chinese women have consistently avoided the semi-skilled trades, whereas the Hawaiian, Filipino, and Puerto Rican women have concentrated in these areas. As dressmakers and seamstresses, however, the Japanese women alone supply 85.6 per cent of all the workers, which is 1.62 times their expected number.

#### VIII. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS IN HAWAII AS SERVICE WORKERS, BY SEX, 1950

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<b>MALE</b>								
Attendants, hospital & other institutions	.86	.83	.40	.34	.29	--	3.29	.69
Barbers, beauticians, manicurists	.20	.02	.43	.10	.68	.55	2.99	.32
Charwomen, janitors, porters	1.74	.72	.60	.84	.89	2.58	1.49	1.89
Cooks, except private household	.05	.31	.38	3.09	1.25	.34	.81	.07
Firemen, fire protection	2.72	3.96	1.39	.71	.57	1.14	.08	.59
Guards and watchmen	2.90	2.07	1.51	.56	.43	1.48	1.02	1.12
Policemen, sheriffs, marshals	2.12	3.59	1.98	.75	.26	2.39	.20	.50
Waiters, bartenders, counter workers	.11	.31	.92	1.73	.66	.31	1.76	.27
TOTAL	1.37	1.30	.89	1.02	.67	1.36	1.46	.88
<b>FEMALE</b>								
Barbers, beauticians, manicurists	.07	.21	.33	.65	1.58	.42	.17	.31
Charwomen, janitresses, porters	5.95	2.22	.77	.68	.70	.34	1.54	3.85
Cooks, except private household	.83	.75	.67	.84	1.24	.76	.56	.56
Private household workers	1.37	.82	.53	.20	1.28	.41	1.57	3.70
TOTAL	1.53	1.17	.63	.56	1.11	.79	1.66	2.43

5. This is 3.23 times the expected number.

The ethnic distributions within the service occupations do not yield to simple analysis since these occupations vary considerably in prestige, income, and their requirements in skill and effort. Incomes tend to be low as compared with most other occupations except unskilled labor, but there are some fields which offer substantial returns. Other vocations, such as firemen, guards, watchmen, and waiters, may permit extended periods of considerable leisure interspersed with other periods of strenuous and exhausting effort. Still other callings, such as beauticians, manicurists, cooks, and policemen, may demand considerable training bordering on the professional, while others require little more than the individual's physical presence. Hence, the racial groups, although having some representation in almost all the service occupations, are quite unevenly distributed.

The Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian males, while heavily concentrated as firemen, guards, watchmen, and policemen, are only slightly included among the barbers, cooks, waiters, and bartenders. The situation among the Caucasian males is quite similar, although the contrasts are not quite so sharp. The Chinese males--probably first generation--still retain their traditional distinction as cooks and they are also well entrenched as waiters and bartenders. The Japanese, who twenty years earlier largely controlled the barbering trade, had by 1950 been considerably displaced by the Filipino men. The Japanese women, however, retain their unrivalled position in this field. The Filipino men have also dominated as hospital and other institutional attendants and they are well entrenched as janitors and porters. Korean males have also surpassed as janitors. As charwomen and janitresses, the Hawaiians, Part Hawaiians, Filipinas, and Puerto Ricans have somewhat displaced the Oriental women. Although Japanese women still contribute more than two thirds of all private household workers, the Filipinas and the Hawaiian women are more highly concentrated in proportion to their numbers, and the Chinese, Korean, and Caucasian women are least represented.

IX. OCCUPATIONAL INDICES OF MAJOR RACIAL GROUPS  
IN HAWAII AS LABORERS, 1950 (Males Only)

OCCUPATION	HAWAIIAN	PART HAWAIIAN	CAUCASIAN	CHINESE	JAPANESE	KOREAN	FILIPINO	PUERTO RICAN
<u>Farm Laborers and Foremen</u>								
Farm laborers, unpaid family workers	.60	.61	.19	.40	1.92	1.22	.55	.53
Farm laborers, exc. unpaid & foremen	.83	.40	.31	.05	.57	.28	3.13	.94
Sugar farms	.19	.18	.26	.03	.56	.08	3.37	.89
Other farms	2.03	.81	.39	.10	.58	.64	2.68	1.02
TOTAL	.82	.41	.30	.07	.64	.33	2.98	.91
<u>Laborers, Except Farm and Mine</u>								
Fishermen and oystermen	2.96	1.57	.19	.17	1.23	.60	1.32	.12
Gardeners, except farm and groundkeepers	2.33	1.10	.72	.53	1.04	1.24	1.10	2.24
Longshoremen and stevedores	3.47	1.69	.18	.18	.43	.51	2.60	1.15
TOTAL	2.41	1.46	.52	.43	.82	.73	1.60	2.26

Unskilled labor rates the lowest on the social and economic scale and is consequently chiefly the domain of the most recent immigrant arrivals and the least successful in the subsequent struggle. Hence the Filipino males have nearly three times their proportion in all types of farm labor, except unpaid family work, and they are well above par in other forms of unskilled labor. The Hawaiians, more strikingly than the Part Hawaiians, dominate in the non-plantation laboring pursuits, and especially in such casual and transient labor as stevedoring and fishing. The Puerto Ricans, although heavily concentrated in the non-plantation laboring groups, are very poorly represented as fishermen. The Chinese, even more strikingly than the Caucasians, have escaped or emerged from the unskilled laboring occupations. Japanese women, chiefly of the first generation, still loom most prominently as unskilled agricultural workers, constituting among the employed women 87 per cent of all unpaid family workers, 93.5 per cent of all sugar plantation laborers and 76.6 per cent of all other farm laborers.

\* \* \* \* \*

Analyses of the 1950 census of population in Hawaii tend in general to confirm the trends in occupational distribution and movement revealed in earlier studies. The advantage in the competition for status and wealth derived from longer experience in the Hawaiian setting was further emphasized in the case of certain immigrant groups such as the Chinese, and to a lesser degree of the Koreans and Japanese. On the other hand, length of experience appears to have exaggerated rather than diminished the disabilities of the Hawaiians and the Puerto Ricans. The supremacy of the Caucasians on the occupational scale, derived in large part from their having initiated many of the enterprises in Hawaii, was considerably less apparent in 1950 than it was in 1930, while the Part Hawaiians had retained about the same relative position as they had twenty years earlier.

The numerous avenues of occupational advancement reviewed in this paper have obviously been utilized in varying degrees by the different ethnic groups. The tendency of the Hawaiians to capitalize vocationally upon their political skills and priorities, although still very marked, were much less apparent in 1950 than twenty or thirty years earlier. The facility of the Oriental groups in clerical and trading occupations and of the Hawaiians and Puerto Ricans in the heavier mechanical and operative trades was strikingly confirmed by the 1950 data.

Strong cultural preferences, as for example of the Chinese males as food handlers, tailors, and tinsmiths, and of Japanese as builders and domestic servants, obviously persist among the first generation at least. On the other hand, traditional aversions, as of the Japanese for nursing and butchering are gradually disappearing among the Island-born generations.

Finally the distinctions between the different ethnic groups in terms of their occupational segregation or preferences are clearly less marked in 1950 than they were a few years earlier and we may expect that during the coming decades these distinctions will further diminish.

--AWL



UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY

HONOLULU 14, HAWAII

February 18, 1957

Institute of Industrial Relations  
University of California  
Berkeley, California

Gentlemen:

The enclosed report of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory marks a new departure in providing an analysis and interpretation of data derived from the files of the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Far too little of the valuable resources available in this informational storehouse are ordinarily made accessible to the general public, and we have therefore selected for special analysis a body of data not previously released in any form, relating to the occupations in which the population of the various ethnic groups were engaged in Hawaii in 1950. This analysis sheds additional light upon the long-term trends toward an equitable and democratic distribution of work opportunities in these Islands. We trust that you will find the report informative and useful, and we would be glad to receive from you any pertinent comments or questions.

We should also like to call your attention to a volume recently prepared and published by Bernhard Hormann of the Laboratory Staff and entitled Community Forces in Hawaii. This volume of 365 pages brings together the outstanding articles from the first fourteen issues of Social Process in Hawaii, all of which are now out of print, but which contain invaluable interpretive accounts of the cultures, social trends, and community problems of Hawaii. It is available at the price of \$3.40 and may be ordered through Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory.

Sincerely yours,

Andrew W. Lind  
Acting Director

ATL:mk

Encl.