Survey Research in Hawai'i before 1950

Robert C. Schmitt

Survey research has become commonplace in modern Hawai'i. Government agencies ask people about their social and demographic characteristics, labor force status, housing, income and expenditures, accidents and illnesses, and consumption of food, drink, and illegal substances. The Hawai'i Visitors Bureau investigates the origins, attitudes, and spending of tourists. Private firms regularly survey radio listeners and television watchers. Political polls are legion; before the 1986 primary election, for example, at least five organizations conducted at least 11 polls for the gubernatorial race alone, and the contests for lesser offices generated an even greater number of surveys.\(^1\) Approximately 77 of the 678 statistical tables in *The State of Hawaii Data Book 1985* reported the results of survey research.\(^2\)

Research of this kind is almost entirely a 20th century development in Hawai'i. Although it has roots in earlier studies, notably the population censuses conducted by the Sandwich Islands Mission and Hawaiian government between 1831 and 1896, and the social surveys undertaken by Robert G. Wyllie in the 1840s, these pioneering efforts lacked some of the essential features of modern survey research. The earliest example of such research, strictly defined, dates from 1900–1901, and surveys remained infrequent until World War II. A rapid expansion in the field took place after the war, and by 1948, when Hawai'i's first large-scale political poll was made, survey research was well-established in the Islands. This history, surprisingly, is largely undocumented and little known.

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A DEFINITION AND SOME PROBLEMS

For purposes of this paper, “survey research” will be used to refer to sample surveys of persons or households, in which information regarding their characteristics, attitudes, or behavior is obtained by face-to-face interviews, telephone calls, or questionnaires. The sampled respondents are meant to be representative of a larger population.¹

This somewhat restricted definition automatically excludes a number of related studies. By stressing sampling procedures, it omits most population censuses, which commonly involve a full enumeration. (Sampling was not used in Hawai’i’s censuses until 1950.) By focusing on information obtained directly from human respondents, it excludes studies based on government records, business files, or field observations of non-human phenomena.

Even so limited, this brief review must remain unavoidably incomplete. Many surveys, perhaps most of them, are made for private clients and are never publicly released. Highly perishable, they quickly lose value after the end of an election campaign or television season, and are discarded and forgotten. Even non-confidential studies, some made at public expense, may disappear from library shelves and agency files; significantly, none of the reports of radio audience surveys and origin-destination studies mentioned in this paper survives anywhere in Hawai’i, and our sole knowledge of them comes from secondary or long-gone sources. Much of the historical record of survey research seemingly has vanished.

19TH CENTURY ORIGINS

As noted above, survey research in the Islands was preceded by the population censuses taken by missionaries and government enumerators during the 19th century. The 1831–1832 and 1835–1836 all-island censuses made by the Sandwich Islands Mission provided statistics on the number of inhabitants in each ahupua’a or district, classified by sex and broad age groups. The Hawaiian government undertook censuses on 10 separate occasions between 1849 and 1896, obtaining data on age, sex, race or nationality, marital status, religion, occupation, and real estate ownership. All 12 of these censuses involved full counts rather than samples, however.²

Another forerunner of modern survey research in Hawai’i was Robert Crichton Wyllie’s list of 116 questions submitted in 1846 to the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Wyllie requested data
on such subjects as wages and hours, dietary patterns, agriculture, manufactures, imports and exports, retail trade, shipping, demographic characteristics, fertility, morbidity, mortality, housing, land use and tenure, education, religion, crime, life expectancy, depopulation, child care, living costs, poverty, taxation, capital improvements, labor supply, water resources, and interracial marriage. Wyllie’s study has been described as “what may well have been the first comprehensive social and economic survey ever undertaken in the Pacific.” Unlike modern survey research, however, it involved neither sampling nor direct interviews with household respondents.

FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE SURVEYS

The earliest examples of true survey research in Hawai‘i appear to be the family income and expenditure surveys conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1900–1901 and 1910.

The 1900–1901 survey was based on data from “a careful canvass of representative families of different nationalities.” The 225 families interviewed apparently were distributed on all major islands, although nothing is known of the actual sample design. Only 16.9 percent were owner occupants, 24.9 percent were renters, and 58.2 percent occupied rent-free units, a common arrangement in plantation communities. The average number of persons per room was 1.21. The average annual family income was $802; average expenditures, $659, including $371 for food. The final report included not only statistical totals but details for every family in the sample.

The 1910 survey involved “schedules containing data as to income and expenditures obtained from 363 families of wage earners in Honolulu.” Interviews were conducted by six field agents supervised by J. A. Rath, superintendent of Palama Settlement, and by the chief special agent in charge of the 1910 Census. Family incomes averaged $808 annually; expenditures, $700, including $72 for rent, $353 for food, $111 for clothing, and only $13 for medical expenses. With regard to housing, 73.6 percent of the respondents were renters, 70.8 percent had four rooms or more, 90.9 percent had “city water,” and 56.5 percent reported a private bath.

The 1910 study reported numerous ethnic differences, none of them very surprising (fig. 1). Annual family incomes, for example,

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Fig. 1. Statistics showing expenditures for food by family and ethnic background in Report of the Commissioner of Labor on Hawaii, 1910. (HHS photo.)
### Average Number of Items in Dietary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
<th>Bread and Flour</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Pol.</th>
<th>Fresh Meat</th>
<th>Salt Meat</th>
<th>Fresh Fish</th>
<th>Salt Fish</th>
<th>Total Meat Foods</th>
<th>Vegetable Foods</th>
<th>Condiments</th>
<th>Average Number of Items in Dietary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>$39.53</td>
<td>$8.38</td>
<td>$3.04</td>
<td>$106.18</td>
<td>$23.35</td>
<td>$18.97</td>
<td>$4.17</td>
<td>$204.42</td>
<td>$36.10</td>
<td>$29.07</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13.08</td>
<td>54.56</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>55.71</td>
<td>25.81</td>
<td>8.09</td>
<td>107.15</td>
<td>12.27</td>
<td>13.30</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>17.60</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>69.27</td>
<td>52.74</td>
<td>30.58</td>
<td>16.31</td>
<td>181.35</td>
<td>3.84</td>
<td>40.80</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>50.04</td>
<td>12.05</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>71.91</td>
<td>11.63</td>
<td>19.02</td>
<td>33.05</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>28.90</td>
<td>17.47</td>
<td>31.07</td>
<td>59.12</td>
<td>17.42</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>150.33</td>
<td>19.02</td>
<td></td>
<td>33.05</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PER CENT OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURES PER FAMILY FOR SELECTED ARTICLES OF FOOD, OF TOTAL FOOD EXPENDITURE, BY RACE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Bread and Flour</th>
<th>Rice</th>
<th>Pol.</th>
<th>Fresh Meat</th>
<th>Salt Meat</th>
<th>Fresh Fish</th>
<th>Salt Fish</th>
<th>Total Meat Foods</th>
<th>Vegetable Foods</th>
<th>Condiments</th>
<th>Average Number of Items in Dietary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>8.62</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>0.66</td>
<td>23.14</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>44.56</td>
<td>7.57</td>
<td>6.34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>22.10</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>22.57</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>10.46</td>
<td>3.28</td>
<td>43.41</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>5.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>4.75</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>18.70</td>
<td>14.24</td>
<td>8.26</td>
<td>16.08</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>48.97</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>5.90</td>
<td>26.63</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>21.76</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>14.68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>12.87</td>
<td>3.10</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>18.49</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>37.61</td>
<td>9.42</td>
<td>8.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8.18</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>8.79</td>
<td>16.73</td>
<td>4.93</td>
<td>9.96</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>42.53</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>9.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Including 1 Filipino and 1 Mexican family.  
2 Including Part-Hawaiian.  
3 Including 1 Spanish family.
ranged from $425 for Japanese and $607 for Chinese to $794 for Portuguese, $928 for Hawaiians, and $1,069 for non-Portuguese Caucasians. Annual spending for bread and flour averaged only $12.54 for Japanese families but $50.04 for the Portuguese; for rice, it ranged from $4.95 among Hawaiians to $56.62 among Japanese; for poi, from 17¢ annually per Japanese family to $69.27 for Hawaiians.  

The next such surveys did not take place until the 1930s. In 1933-1934, Wentworth interviewed 101 Filipino families on a single (unnamed) plantation. Annual family incomes averaged $683; money expenditures, $779, chiefly for food ($315) but also for such items as “funerals and celebrations” ($36) and “chickens, ducks, pigeons, pigs, etc.” ($24).  

Several years later, using a random sample of names provided by the Territorial Tax Office from tax returns, Hoflich, Taylor and Casaday interviewed 218 middle-income Caucasian families in Honolulu. These families reported 1937 incomes averaging $3,624; their 1937 expenditures, averaging $3,370, were devoted mostly to food (24.4 percent), transportation (14.0), and housing (12.9).  

The next such survey occurred during World War II. Apparently unaware of the earlier studies cited above, the chief investigator reported: “During the summer of 1943, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted the first general survey of the incomes and expenditures of families of wage earners and clerical workers in Honolulu, to provide a basis for an index of changes in the cost of living. This covered a carefully selected group of 100 families representing all important racial groups in the city.” The names of families to be sampled were drawn at random from a wartime registration file covering every individual in Honolulu. The mean monthly family income in June 1943 was found to be $415 before taxes. Expenditures for current consumption during that month averaged $270, including $119 for food, $18 for housing, and $17 for transportation. Special attention was paid to the breakdown of the $25.65 weekly food bill, which, among other items, reported 71¢ per family for bread, 95¢ for rice, 41¢ for poi, 9¢ for miso and natto, 45¢ for soya sauce, and 6¢ for tofu and aburage.  

Early in 1945, Territorial statisticians undertook a similar survey of 69 families of wage earners and clerical workers on the Big Island,

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Fig. 2. John F. Child Jr., founder in 1936 of the first private market research firm in Hawai‘i. (Robert C. Schmitt photo, 1953.)
Maui, and Kaua‘i, covering incomes and expenditures during the preceding year. The 48 families receiving perquisites (until 1946, most plantation workers received free housing, medical care, and other benefits) averaged $178 monthly in gross income; the 21 without perquisites averaged $260.\(^{13}\)

**VISITOR SURVEYS**

More than 25 years elapsed between the pioneering use of survey research to measure residents’ income and expenditure patterns and its application in another area of concern. This was in the growing tourist industry.

The Hawai‘i Promotion Committee had begun compiling statistics on passenger arrivals at least as early as 1911, and a decade later its successor, the Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau, had initiated regular tabulations by type of passenger and area of origin. The series introduced in 1921 were based entirely on ship manifests, and did not involve any interviews or sampling.\(^{14}\)

In 1928, however, the Tourist Bureau supplemented these headcounts with a survey of visitor expenditures. A year later, they tersely reported:

> An estimate, based on questionnaires sent to former visitors, indicates that approximately 30 percent of the ten million dollars spent in Hawaii last year by tourists went to the hotels, restaurants, boarding houses, and rental-cottage owners.

Unfortunately, the technical details and full findings of this survey appear to have been lost.\(^{15}\)

A more ambitious survey of visitor spending was begun in January 1931 by Professor Merton K. Cameron of the University of Hawai‘i. Undertaken under University auspices with the cooperation of the Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau, this study was based largely on questionnaires completed by 294 visitors reporting their length of stay, expenditures by category, and other characteristics. Although Cameron’s final report was extremely sketchy regarding sample design and methodology, it presented its findings in considerable detail, often with last-digit precision. “Regular tourists,” for example, reported an average length of stay of 24 days on O‘ahu, where their mean expenditure was $17.50 per visitor-day, and their aggregate annual total (as expanded) included exactly $266,480 for tips. In-transit tourists, those en route to other destinations, meanwhile
averaged $15.30 per visitor-day, and as a group flipped exactly $3,211 over the rail to the “diving boys” during the year.\textsuperscript{16}

Cameron's survey was apparently the last to probe visitor characteristics for almost two decades. It was not until 1950 that the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau (as the Hawai'i Tourist Bureau was called after 1945) resumed the direct questioning of visitors, asking not only for data on their spending but also a wide range of demographic and attitudinal questions.\textsuperscript{17}

\section*{Radio Listenership}

The first survey of radio listenership in Hawai'i did not take place until 1935, 13 years after the introduction of regular broadcasting in the Islands. According to a newspaper account (the original published report no longer can be found):

Approximately 60,000 questionnaires were distributed on all the islands in a house to house canvass and all races and nationalities were active participants in the questionnaire. Out of this number 5,618 answers were received, 5,369 stating that they owned radio receivers, 227 were without sets, and 22... did not state whether they had radio receivers in their homes or not. ... This is the first time in the radio history of the territory that a survey of listeners' preferences has been attempted. ...\textsuperscript{18}

Not all of the respondents limited their listening to the two Island stations then in operation. Asked whether they listened to the Mainland direct, 3,222 replied yes, 1,836 said no, and 601 did not answer. Their favorite Mainland stations, in order, were KFI in Los Angeles, KPO in San Francisco, KSL in Salt Lake City, and WLW, then America's most powerful station, in Cincinnati.

Tastes in programs varied. Many preferred music: “sweet dance,” 1,577; Hawaiian, 1,546; jazz dance, 1,079; cowboy, 958; symphony, 615; classical, 613; Chinese, 127. Among specific programs, Jack Benny, then the most popular performer in the country, ranked only eleventh, barely ahead of the Metropolitan Opera.

Audience research by mailed questionnaires and door-to-door interviews later gave way to telephone surveys. This approach was used in a 1940 all-island listenership survey by Business Survey and Research Service. For example, like the earlier study by the Chamber of Commerce, it reported a sizable audience for Mainland stations.\textsuperscript{19}

By 1946, a Honolulu newspaper could observe, “Telephone surveys are not new to Honolulu. Many people have had the experience of answering a phone call and being asked, ‘Would you mind telling
us what program you're listening to?" One especially large survey, conducted that year by a group from the advertising firm of Holst & Cummings, Ltd., used 50 telephone operators who completed 15,000 calls over a five-day period.20

MARKET RESEARCH FIRMS

Early survey research in Hawai‘i was undertaken by government agencies, university faculty members, or membership organizations. Private market research firms, increasingly common on the Mainland, did not appear in the Islands until later.

The first such company in Hawai‘i was Business Survey & Research Service, founded in 1936 by John F. Child Jr. (fig. 2), in the Damon Building.21 Advertising in the 1937–38 city directory, Child offered "Specialized Business Research, Commercial Surveys, Scientific Appraisals."22 In 1946, he changed the name of the firm to John Child and Company and advertised, among other services, "Opinion Surveys, Marketing Research."23 The business flourished for many years, conducting studies and surveys for a wide range of governmental and private clients, until Child’s death in 1970. Thereafter the name of the company was adopted by former employees, and still survives, although the present business is generally limited to real estate studies and appraisals.24

John Child’s career was a distinguished one. Born in Honolulu in 1912, he earned a B.S. in economics at the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania and also took courses at the Universities of Michigan and Hawai‘i. In 1937, soon after forming Hawai‘i’s first market research company, he joined with Romanzo Adams to lay out an all-island census tract system for use in the 1940 census—the first in the nation to encompass an entire state or territory. In 1940, he served as Assistant Area Supervisor in charge of the U.S. Census of Business and Manufactures. He was a major figure in organizing the Hawai‘i Chapter of the American Statistical Association in 1947, and served as the Chapter’s first president. In 1950, he played a key role in establishing the present-day Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau research program, and, under contract to the Bureau, conducted their Basic Data, Visitor Reaction, and Visitor Expenditure Surveys until 1957.25

Hawai‘i’s second private research firm was opened by a public opinion pollster who arrived from the Mainland in 1940, then went out of business after losing an eye in a tennis accident. No record of his name can be found.26
Hawai‘i’s next survey research firm did not appear until early 1947. This was Territorial Surveys, the Honolulu branch of Dan Clark II and Associates, offering (according to its letterhead) “opinion, market, and audience research.” Besides Clark, key personnel over the years included J. Roy Bardsley, Andrew J. Fiolek, and Daniel V. Bergman. Territorial Surveys conducted numerous large-scale studies over the next decade, including political polls, public opinion surveys on labor-management relations, disease awareness studies, and an analysis of substandard housing in Honolulu. During the 1950s the firm became an affiliate of Hawaiian Economic Service, which was later reorganized as Robert S. Craig Associates.27

Other research firms founded in the late 1940s were the Hawaiian Economic Foundation and Research Associates. The Hawaiian Economic Foundation was established in 1947 by Claude A. Jagger, for many years a Mainland financial writer with the Associated Press. On October 1, 1950, Jagger joined with Robert S. Craig to form Hawaiian Economic Service. The firm specialized in management studies and general economic and business analyses, doing little or no survey research (strictly defined) until its acquisition of Territorial Surveys.28

Research Associates was founded in 1948 by Gilbert G. Lentz, who was soon joined by Ronald B. Jamieson and Edward C. Gallas. The new firm concentrated on personnel and administrative studies, including several for the Territorial and City and County governments.29 Its activities were much like those of a prewar organization, the Hawai‘i Bureau of Governmental Research. The Bureau, a non-profit operation supported by business interests to study the problems of government, was formed in 1928 and discontinued 11 years later. Like Research Associates, its focus was on administrative studies rather than survey research.30

Although most of these firms conducted market research of one kind or another, some of which was presumably based on sample surveys, specific examples are extremely hard to locate. As noted earlier, such studies are typically made for private clients, who are unlikely to publicize them or deposit copies in public libraries.

All such research, whether by public or private analysts, was greatly aided by advances in data processing. Adding machines had been sold in Hawaii since 1896, and desk calculators since 1911 or 1912. Punched card equipment, used on the Mainland as early as
1887, first reached the Islands in 1930. Five years later, the Tabulating Service Bureau opened its Honolulu office. The first computer in Hawai‘i, an IBM 650, was installed in 1956.31

**ORIGIN AND DESTINATION SURVEYS**

The last major type of survey research to appear in Hawai‘i before World War II was the origin and destination (O-D) survey, intended to help plan highway improvements. This survey was directed by John L. Padgett, Territorial Highway Planning Engineer, and sponsored by the U.S. Public Roads Administration, the Territory, and the City and County of Honolulu. For six days, November 4–9, 1940, 80 interviewers stationed at 20 major intersections in central Honolulu asked motorists stopped at traffic lights about the origin and destination of their trips, routes taken, intermediate stops, and purpose of travel. About 15,000 interviews were completed on the first day alone. Unfortunately, funds ran out before the results could be published, and wartime changes soon made the findings obsolete.32

A second O-D survey was undertaken in 1947, largely to obtain data needed in planning the proposed *mauka* (toward the mountain) and *makai* (toward the ocean) arterial highways. As described by the Territorial Superintendent of Public Works:

A large scale Metropolitan Traffic Survey was initiated by the planning division in cooperation with the [U.S.] Public Roads Administration and the City and County of Honolulu. Personal interviews covering every tenth home in Honolulu were combined with traffic counts and data supplied by the principal commercial transportation agencies to get complete statistical information on highway and street usage and needs.

Fifteen interviewers, mostly University of Hawai‘i students, asked residents how many trips they made daily, why, at what time of day, by what mode of transport, and between what origins and destinations. Although the publication of detailed findings was planned and even announced, the only product of this extensive survey actually to appear in print was apparently a map of “desire lines” in the 1948 annual public works report.33

A number of related studies were made by the Territorial Highway Department during the next few years. In the summer of 1947, 30 UH students interviewed 26,244 drivers as they left or returned to their parked cars in downtown Honolulu, asking questions on time parked, origin, destination, and purpose of trip.34 Small-scale O-D
surveys were made in Windward O‘ahu in 1947 and Hilo in 1946, 1948, and 1949.\(^{35}\)

**PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS**

Prewar public opinion surveys in Hawai‘i were few in number and limited in scope and sample size. An example is Ozaki’s 1940 study of the attitudes of Chinese and Japanese students at the University of Hawai‘i toward intermarriage. Ozaki’s sample, mostly sociology majors, almost unanimously preferred their own kind, followed by Asiatic-Hawaiians (among Chinese students) and Chinese (among the Japanese).\(^{36}\)

Opinion polls became more common after the creation of the War Research Laboratory. As recorded by Lind:

> Early in 1942 steps were taken to establish at the University of Hawaii a center for investigation and analysis of the more important effects of the war upon the civilian community. . . . In July of 1943 this program was accorded official status as the War Research Laboratory. . . . Questionnaire and polling devices have been utilized effectively within certain restricted areas. The presence in Hawaii’s population of sizable groups which do not speak the English language with facility, together with war-time [sic] suspicions of unfamiliar investigators, have discouraged the wide scale use of these popular instruments of research. . . . At periodic intervals since the spring of 1943, significant samples have been obtained of public opinion on such issues as the conduct of the war, the existence of class and racial discrimination in Hawaii, martial law, and other wartime restrictions.\(^{37}\)

One such survey conducted by the War Research Laboratory in 1944 analyzed various aspects of civilian morale. The sample consisted of 780 high school and UH students, predominantly female (56 percent) and Japanese (59 percent). One of the questions asked was, “Do you believe the security of Hawaii would be endangered by the complete elimination of martial law?” To this, 55 percent answered yes, 33 percent no, and 12 percent didn’t know. Another question was, “Is your feeling one of approval when a girl of Oriental ancestry dates a Haole service man?” Overall, only 33 percent disapproved, but with major ethnic differences: 61 percent of the haoles, 34 percent of the Part Hawaiians, 31 percent of the Japanese, 29 percent of the Chinese, and only 19 percent of the Koreans answered no.\(^{38}\)

With the return of peace, morale problems lost their urgency, the War Research Laboratory was renamed the Hawai‘i Social Research Laboratory, and its interest in opinion polling waned.\(^{39}\)
The early postwar years were marked by a rapid build-up in labor-management tensions, and these soon attracted the attention of pollsters. In March 1947, five large business organizations—American Factors, Ltd., Castle and Cooke, Ltd., Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd., the Hawai‘i Employers Council, and the Hawaiian Sugar Planters’ Association—commissioned the newly established firm of Territorial Surveys to conduct a four-part survey of public attitudes toward business in the Territory. After receiving the findings, tabulated in considerable detail, the sponsors turned them over to the Hawaiian Economic Foundation for analysis and recommendations.\textsuperscript{40}

It was an ambitious study. Territorial Surveys, using “the same basic methods utilized by the American Institute of Public Opinion, The Fortune Poll, and other reputable mainland survey organizations,” planned to interview 1,170 persons over 21 years of age throughout the Territory. Respondents were asked numerous questions on the cost of living, job satisfaction, attitudes toward business and labor, government regulation of business, the Big Five, and the media.\textsuperscript{41}

Some of the findings were provocative. Asked what were the most important problems they and their families faced, respondents stressed the high cost of living (50 percent) and housing difficulties (21 percent). With respect to job satisfaction, 45 percent reported they were very satisfied, 42 percent were fairly satisfied, 12 percent were not satisfied, and 1 percent did not know. In answer to the query, “What is your first reaction to business—good or bad?,” 69 percent replied good, 9 percent said bad, and the rest gave qualified answers or didn’t know. A similar question regarding their first reaction to labor, in contrast, turned up 35 percent “good” replies and 42 percent “bad.” Fully 52 percent thought that union leaders were principally to blame for recent strikes in Hawai‘i, yet 42 percent believed some employers would not pay fair wages unless forced to by a strike. Three out of five respondents “could not satisfactorily define the words ‘collective bargaining.’ ”\textsuperscript{42}

POLITICAL POLLS

Political polls were well established on the Mainland during the late 1930s but did not reach Hawaii until 1948. The Honolulu Star-Bulletin, for example, featured the national surveys of the American Institute of Public Opinion, headed by Dr. George Gallup, in both
1938 and 1940, but carried no references to Island polls until the postwar years.

This is not to say that "straw votes"—informal, non-scientific polls usually based on voluntary responses to ballots distributed by whatever means came to hand—were unknown in prewar Hawai'i. In October 1940, for example, the Advertiser Want Ad Department ran a daily ballot in the classified section, soliciting readers' preferences for U.S. president, and eventually received 4,144 replies—3,289 for Roosevelt, 789 for Willkie, 42 for Thomas, and 24 for Browder. At the same time, their Business and Financial Editor conducted "a curbstone and mahogany straw vote" of 46 business officials, interviewed on street corners or at their desks. Fully 32 expected Roosevelt to win but 37 would have preferred a Willkie victory. Hawai'i residents, of course, were excluded from presidential elections before the arrival of Statehood.

The first Island political poll based on scientific sampling principles was apparently one conducted by Territorial Surveys in August 1948. The sample consisted of 1,200 interviews with adults throughout Honolulu, supplemented by a second sample of 400 Kaimuki residents. This survey revealed a strong shift from Republican to Democratic preferences, especially among non-Caucasian voters. Even so, when asked who "is the best person we could elect in November as delegate to Congress," 70 percent of the Japanese, 63 percent of the Chinese, and 60 percent of the Hawaiian respondents chose the Republican incumbent, Joseph R. Farrington.

SURVEY RESEARCH AT MID-CENTURY

The 1948 political poll in effect marked the end of the formative period of survey research in Hawai'i. With its release, almost all of the major types of survey research had made an appearance in the Islands. The ad hoc sampling procedures and primitive tabulating methods of earlier decades had given way to complex sample designs and vastly improved statistical tools. A cadre of professionals, skilled in the conduct and interpretation of surveys, worked in Island research firms, government agencies, and university departments. Most importantly, survey research had achieved a degree of acceptance among academicians, business leaders, government planners, and politicians that would have seemed unimaginable a few decades earlier.
### TABLE 1.
**Survey Research in Hawai‘i before 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type and year</th>
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<td><strong>Early general surveys:</strong></td>
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<td>1831-1832</td>
<td>Sandwich Isl. Mission</td>
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<td>1835-1836</td>
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<td>1844</td>
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<td>1846-1848</td>
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<td>Answers to Questions</td>
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<td>1849-1896</td>
<td>Hawaiian Government</td>
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<td><strong>Family income and expenditure:</strong></td>
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<td>1900-1901</td>
<td>U.S. Labor Commissioner</td>
<td>Report ... 1901</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>U.S. Labor Commissioner</td>
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<td>1933-1934</td>
<td>Wentworth</td>
<td>Filipino Plantation Workers</td>
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<td>1938</td>
<td>Hofich et al.</td>
<td>Middle-Income Families</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Terr. Dept. of Labor</td>
<td>Family Income, Expenditures</td>
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<td><strong>Visitor expenditures:</strong></td>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau</td>
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<td>1931-1932</td>
<td>Cameron</td>
<td>Tourist Expenditures in T.H.</td>
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<td><strong>Radio audience:</strong></td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>Chamber of Commerce</td>
<td>Radio Survey</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Child</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>Carney</td>
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<td><strong>Market research:</strong></td>
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<td>1936-1970</td>
<td>Child</td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Terr. Highway Dept.</td>
<td>Honolulu O-D Survey</td>
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<td><strong>Public opinion:</strong></td>
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<td>1949</td>
<td>Ozaki</td>
<td>Interracial Marriage Attitudes</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>War Research Lab.</td>
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<td><strong>Political polls:</strong></td>
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<td>1940</td>
<td>Honolulu Advertiser</td>
<td>Straw Vote</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>Terr. Surveys</td>
<td>Hawai‘i Poll of Polit. Opinion</td>
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</table>
Although this paper ends in mid-century, much has taken place since then and merits further study. Courses in market research, public opinion, and probability have been added to university curricula. New firms specializing in survey research have come and (mostly) gone, often with a surprising rate of turnover. Television reached Hawai‘i in 1952 and spawned a wide range of studies. Political polling, relatively rare before Statehood, has become a major growth industry. Large-scale surveys, many on a regular or ongoing basis, are increasingly common; notable examples include the Hawai‘i Health Surveillance Program (to monitor demographic and health characteristics), the Current Population Survey (primarily for labor force status), and the Visitor Expenditure Survey. Charting these more recent developments, all beyond the scope of the present study, would indeed be a worthwhile topic for future research.46

NOTES


3 For a fuller discussion of the field, see Earl R. Babbie, Survey Research Methods (Belmont Calif.: Wadsworth, 1973).


5 Hawai‘i Dept. of Foreign Affairs, Answers to Questions Proposed by His Excellency R.C. Wyllie, His Hawaiian Majesty’s Minister of Foreign Relations, and Addressed to All the Missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, May 1846 (Honolulu, 1848).


9 Fourth Report ... on Hawaii 1910, 38-50, 111-134.

10 Edna Clark Wentworth, Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii, Studies of the Pacific 7 (San Francisco, New York, and Honolulu: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941).


19 The author saw a copy of this report in the files of John Child and Co. around 1964, shortly before it was discarded.
34 Hawai'i Highway Planning Survey, Territorial Highway Department, City of Honolulu Parking Survey, Central Business District (1951).
39 For additional information on the activities of the War Research Laboratory, see the mimeographed reports initially titled What People in Hawaii Are Saying 1-3 (March-May 1944), and What People in Hawaii Are Saying and Doing 4-22 (1944-1955).
40 Territorial Surveys, A Public Opinion Analysis iii-v; Hawaiian Economic Foundation, Guides to Action (1948) 1-2; and Kauai—Proposals for Improvement of Community Relations (1948) 1-2.
41 Territorial Surveys, A Pilot Study 5 and A Public Opinion Analysis x-xi, 4-5.
42 Territorial Surveys, A Pilot Study 9, 12, 14 and A Public Opinion Analysis 79:102; Hawaiian Economic Foundation, Guides to Action 12.
43 “Roosevelt 4 to 1 in Hawaii Poll,” HA 3 Nov. 1940: 1. For the ballot, see HA 1 Oct. 1940: 16.
45 Fuchs, Hawaii Pono 319-320 and 481.
46 This brief summary of developments since 1950 is based partly on information provided by Charles F. Congdon and Daniel W. Tuttle Jr., among others.