This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

A SMALL TOWN'S REACTIONS
TO THE ARRIVAL OF
A JAPANESE MANUFACTURING COMPANY
AND ITS JAPANESE EMPLOYEES
presented by

Marcia Soller Venus

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Education

Major professor

Date June 6, 1991

A SMALL TOWN'S REACTIONS TO THE ARRIVAL OF A JAPANESE MANUFACTURING COMPANY AND ITS JAPANESE EMPLOYEES

By

Marcia Soller Venus

A DISSERTATION

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Administration

1991

ABSTRACT

A SMALL TOWN'S REACTIONS
TO THE ARRIVAL OF
A JAPANESE MANUFACTURING COMPANY
AND ITS JAPANESE EMPLOYEES

By

Marcia Soller Venus

Late in 1987 a Japanese auto supplier selected Pleasantville, a small, primarily white town of 7,500 people located in a Great Lakes state, as the site for a $100 million manufacturing plant. In the year that followed, over 100 Japanese workers arrived to establish the plant, staying from six months to one year. Since early 1989, 15 Japanese executives and their families have made Pleasantville home, purchasing houses for three to five year assignments.

This study chronicles the reactions of the people in Pleasantville to the arrival of the Japanese families from early 1989 through 1990. Drawing on interviews of 52 residents of the community, the study addresses the recent phenomenon of Japanese companies locating in American small towns. The question What has been going on in Pleasantville since the Japanese arrived and how do people feel about it? is the focus of this study.

The results coalesced into seven major conclusions: (1) The predominant attitude reported by those interviewed is one of acceptance of the Japanese. (2) There is an overall acceptance of the Japanese manufacturing plant as a result of its economic impact, its role in the community, and the attitude and activities of its president. (3) Some activities and events in the development stages of of the plant caused misunderstandings on the part of those interviewed. (4) Cultural differences caused confusion and concerns between Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville. (5) Where there are concerns about the Japanese presence in Pleasantville, economic concerns override World War II, or "historic enemy", issues and basic racial issues as the predominant concern. (6) Communication, primarily language and the fear of misunderstanding, is such a pervasive problem that even after two years, it prevents most Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville from interacting except in the most minor way, despite the fact that many want to and try to relate. (7) While some aspects of the community have changed, for most people "Pleasantville is still Pleasantville," although there is a feeling that significant community change will be more obvious in time.

Dedicated to my mother,
Dorothy Graham,
who would have been so proud.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The growing awareness that not only could I do fieldwork research, but that I would love it, came to me during a year-long course with Dr. Douglas Campbell. I thank him for developing my skills, for his friendship, and for his dedicated efforts to direct this dissertation. Dr. Rhonda Egidio not only co-directed this work, but inspired me regularly in my early doctoral classes in a wonderful three-course series on adult development, where I grew while learning about how others did. I have appreciated the support of other members of my committee, Dr. Richard Gardner, Dr. James Snoddy and particularly Dr. Howard Hickey, who counseled me to begin doctoral work.

I owe a great deal to the support and encouragement of my husband, Richard Venus, and son, Eric Soller, who have put up with me and loved me anyway for the past five years; Eric wasn't sure he wanted a mother he had to call "Dr. Mom" and Richard has already begun to call me "Dr. Sweetie."

My father, Robert Graham, developed my appreciation for Japan and for abstraction. My brother, Mark Graham, has kept our relationship strong in recent years. I am indebted to them both.

And to the other people who have supported me, I thank them: Judy Dennis, who cared so much and did such wonderful work typing all the stages of this dissertation; Laura VanSickle, whose help carried me through all the early papers and reports and the proposal; Janet McDowell and Peggy Snead, whose friendship I value; and the staff of the Intermediate School District where I work, who have encouraged me, made exceptions, and helped me reach this moment.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTENTS PAGE

CHAPTER 1

JAPAN COMES TO PLEASANTVILLE

INTRODUCTION

"Welcome to Pleasantville," the highway sign says. The sign doesn't tell you that this is a small town where something is happening, something that is new for Pleasantville and is happening in other small and mid-size cities and towns across the heartland of America.

Pleasantville has just one main street. Highway 98 enters and exits from the east and the west. As it passes through the heart of this small town, it becomes Pleasantville Avenue. This picturesque street consists of three long blocks making up the downtown area and twice that many blocks of beautiful turn-of-the century homes which have been carefully restored and painted appropriate Victorian colors. Careful attention to the authentic in these restoration projects has made this state-designated historic district popular for tours during the spring season. Moving to the west, the historic homes are replaced by small shopping malls, grocery stores, gas stations, a variety of restaurants and bars, banks, and other service providers.

As Highway 98 enters Pleasantville from the east, there is a new structure which has provided the impetus for the activity in the community which is being documented here. A large, white, imposing factory graces the eastern entrance of the community. As one drives by this impressive

structure, the name "Pleasantville Manufacturing" on the front of the building announces this new industry. Nothing visible about this manufacturing facility would inform the casual traveler passing through Pleasantville of the nature of this plant, an industry which in three short years has caused a wide variety of reaction from this small, basically white, middle-and-upper-middle class community. The passer-by would not be able to tell that Pleasantville Manufacturing is Japanese owned and operated.

JAPAN COMES TO TOWN AND SO DO I

Nothing about the blocks of historic homes and nothing about the strip malls and service areas give any impression that Pleasantville has become one of the many now-international communities in the United States where Japanese residents make their lives as part of middle America. The only evidence that would have greeted the traveler in the first year of the plant's existence was in the three-block downtown area where occasional stores and restaurants placed home-made signs in front windows with large Japanese characters spelling out the word "welcome." After three years, those signs have disappeared, leaving no physical evidence of the Japanese presence in the community.

Hundreds of Japanese companies are currently located in the United States. Although most of them employ primarily United States citizens, a significant majority are managed and operated by Japanese, assigned to the United States for anywhere from six months to five years. These Japanese

frequently are accompanied by wives and children, many school-age, and their presence has an impact on the communities in which they reside. Many of these Japanese companies are located in small communities, a deliberate attempt on the part of the Japanese industrial planners to locate plants where a certain "quality of life" is available to Japanese and American employees (Scwartz, Gordon, and Veverka, 1988).

"A record number of Japanese are moving to the industrial middle west, turning weed-filled lots into automobile plants, and bringing sushi and shabu shabu to small town America" (Wilkerson, 1988, 14). For example, Pleasantville is a community of 7,500. This small, rural community is surrounded on all sides by farmland. It has no slums, no crime problem, and offers a quiet, rural life-style. One high school, one middle school, and six elementary schools provide for the educational needs of the community. There is no movie theatre, one bowling alley, and a few small restaurants and bars. There are a number of industries in the community, several of which are large and profitable, resulting in a higher-than-average per capita income and quality of life. These aspects of the community appealed to a Japanese manufacturer to such an extent that late in 1987 the community was selected as the site for the company's first American venture.

Within months, Japanese executives arrived in Pleasantville to begin supervising construction of the $100 million plant. In the months that followed, other Japanese

arrived to put into place all the complex details necessary to operate a 350-person manufacturing facility. In total, 130 Japanese arrived in the months that followed, some for as short a time as six months, others for five or more years.

Community planners greeted this development with great enthusiasm. A manufacturing company had left Pleasantville several years before and 350 jobs were welcome. This was the first major foreign firm to choose Pleasantville, and its economic impact was seen as very desirable. All the major members of the Pleasantville business and industrial community voiced their support and encouragement. Several events were held to welcome the new Japanese executives. Some workshops on Japanese culture and language, primarily for the business community, were presented during 1988. The construction was completed; hiring began; many area residents found employment and a number were selected to travel to Japan for several weeks of introduction to Japanese manufacturing processes. Slowly more Japanese arrived, including wives and children. Homes were purchased and Japanese families set up new lives.

It was in early 1989 that I began to study Pleasantville and the changes it would undergo as a very different culture began to find its home in this small American town.

I have always been fascinated with Japan. My birth announcement appeared in the newspaper on the same day as the announcement of Pearl Harbor. Maybe it all began then. All I know is that I have always been moved by things

Japanese. I was the only American I knew who cried on the first viewing of a Kabuki play in Japanese, somehow sensing, despite not really understanding what was happening, the great drama and tragedy involved. I am sure I inherited much of this interest and affection for Japan from my father, whose Japanese travels over many years have caused him to choose Japan as the final resting place for his ashes. Recently he was able to make arrangements, in Japanese, for his ashes to be interred, when that time arrives, at Ryoanji, a beautiful Japanese Buddhist temple in the historic city of Kyoto. Through the years he has presented me with beautiful pieces of Japanese art. As a result of my experiences with him, I have learned to appreciate Japanese art, food, culture, and particularly Japanese people. While attending the University of Hawaii for several years, I had the good fortune to live in a home with many Japanese characteristics, and I had a Japanese boss, a Japanese secretary, and numerous Japanese friends.

Following my time in Hawaii, and after fifteen years of life in the upper Midwest, I had no expectation that I would have an opportunity to experience Japanese life again. It was with great delight that I heard about the arrival of the Japanese plant in Pleasantville, a community near my home. Assignments in my professional life allowed me to have dealings with the Japanese executives who arrived to make preparations for the plant development. I spent many months formulating and implementing training programs for the plant

employees, from welding and metrics to Japanese language for the Americans and English-as-a-Second-Language for the Japanese. It was exciting to experience this somewhat mysterious and fascinating culture here in my own rural community.

Because of my background and knowledge of Japanese culture, I found myself assuming more professional assignments related to this new facility and was more and more involved with the arrival of the Japanese, both personally and professionally. With my admiration and fascination for Japanese customs and Japanese people, and with my appreciation of white, middle-class Pleasantville, I became very curious to find out how these two worlds would meet. In some ways it seems that I was almost fated to be here, near Pleasantville, as the Japanese arrived, in a position not only to participate in this history-changing event but with the opportunity to record it.

In a rare coincidence, during the over two-year period of the study reported in this dissertation, my step-daughter, an English teacher in Japan, married a Japanese man and settled in Shizuoka Prefecture. My husband and I traveled to Japan for the wedding and became part of our new extended Japanese family. This timely trip made what I heard and understood during the remaining phase of the study even more real and personal.

JAPANESE COMPANIES LOCATE IN MANY SMALL TOWNS

> The Midwest and upper South were where the Japanese auto makers wanted to be. Our national newspapers and news magazines might consider the so-called heartland "flyover country," might say that nothing of significance happened in America unless it started on the East or West coast, might still see the auto industry through the lenses of their Detroit bureaus--but the Japanese saw homogeneous people, interstate highways, and all that empty land. (Gelsanliter, 1990, 76)

Pleasantville is but one of many similar small communities now home to a Japanese company and its Japanese employees. Hundreds of Americans now have Japanese executive families for neighbors; American children go to school with non-English-speaking Japanese children; stores and restaurants and other services attempt to accommodate themselves to Japanese wives and families with different tastes and customs. Many authors, from the media to major publications, have written about the Japanese and their attitudes toward and reactions to their new home. Little has been done to document the attitudes and reactions of the residents of the communities who interact with this new and different culture. Pleasantville has offered an excellent opportunity to study a small rural community during the two and one-half years after the arrival of the first Japanese families.

Recent news articles regarding Japanese investment in the United States, particularly in reference to the development of manufacturing facilities in this country, report an increasing number of Japanese-owned or

Japanese-American joint ventures, particularly in industry. These companies employ more than 300,000 Americans, many in areas where high unemployment previously existed. "The state of Kentucky alone has 39 Japanese-owned or Japanese joint venture manufacturing plants representing an investment of $1.9 billion and employing nearly 11,000 workers. Thirty-two of these plants were opened in the last four years" (Packard, 1988, A2). In addition to manufacturing facilities, there are hundreds of other Japanese endeavors in this country, including numerous other types of business, many only one and two person offices.

In a feature article in the Detroit Free Press on Sunday, March 25, 1990, on the topic of the transplantation of former GM workers to the new Saturn plant in Spring Hill, Tennessee, the author discussed "the new geography of America industry," the fact that major industry is moving to what he described as "greenfield" sites, small communities in the mid-west, communities where a certain quality of life is available. In relation to that move, the article reported, "Recently Japanese manufacturers have fueled the movement. Since 1980, Japanese-owned firms or joint ventures have opened eight light assembly plants, 270 auto parts suppliers, 66 steel mills and processing plants, and 17 rubber plants, mostly in the lower mid-west" (Lippert, 1990a, 6H). One of those 270 auto parts suppliers is the $100 million plant in Pleasantville.

There are numerous political, financial, and social ramifications from this increasing infusion of Japanese

owned and managed industry into the American scene. Any one of these areas is worthy of study. To date many books and articles have been written regarding the dynamics in the work force where Japanese homogenous and conformist management philosophy collides with American independence and individuality (Gelsanliter, 1990; Halberstam, 1986; Zimmerman, 1985).

An equal number of magazine and news articles have discussed the implications on the America economy of the "buying of America," not only by the Japanese, but by the British, Dutch, Canadians, and others. In the past six years, foreign ownership of American farms, factories, banks, businesses, real estate and other assets has doubled. According to a special report by Jack Anderson, "The U.S. Commerce Department estimates that total foreign investments now exceed $1.5 trillion" (Anderson, 1989, 4). While the British and the Dutch still own more American assets than other foreigners, of late the most visible financial invasion has come from Japan.

> According to a General Accounting Office survey issued in October, 1988, Britain holds $75 billion or 29 percent of the $252 billion in foreign investment in manufacturing and real estate in the United States; Holland holds $47 billion or almost 20 percent; and Japan holds $33.4 billion or 12.7 percent. Canada, the next on the list, holds $21.3 billion or 8.3 percent. (Los Angeles Times, n.d., A13)

Japanese direct investments increased in 1989 by 45 percent and continue at a similar rate. "The Japanese, whose devastated homeland was rebuilt with American aid, now

surpasses the U.S. as the world's economic leader, while threatening to overtake us as the world's No. 1 technological power as well" (Anderson, 1988, 4).

The most recent Japanese acquisitions have been of such a public nature that the awareness of the Japanese presence in the United States has become highly visible to almost everyone. Newspapers and television dedicated columns and hours discussing the Japanese purchases of Rockefeller Center, the Sears Tower, and 7-Eleven, all considered sacrosanct symbols of American life.

Despite the fact that numerous articles and books have been written about such topics as Japanese culture and customs, Japanese problems with adjustment to the United States, eventual adjustment when returning to Japan, and Japanese concerns about American education for their children, little has been done to study the communities who accept these Japanese families. David Gelsanliter, in his 1990 publication, Jump Start: Japan Comes to the Heartland, introduces his brief 23-item bibliography by saying, "The coming of the Japanese auto makers to the American heartland is such a recent phenomenon that little has been written on the subject."

There is considerable concern about the reactions of the Japanese to their new life, but more research must be done on how and why local communities react to these new residents. Many small Midwestern and Great Lakes communities have had little experience with cultural diversity and certainly nothing as sudden and as culturally

different as the arrival of from 10 to 50 Japanese families within a period of months.

Communities change, respond, react; it is inevitable that change occurs over time when a significant amount of cultural difference is injected into a community system. Factors such as the significant issue of language, vastly different customs and cultural expressions, the physical difference of the new residents, food preferences, and educational needs are only a few of the major dynamics involved. A singular area which cannot be ignored is that of a basic prejudice against people of a different race, a concept many scholars of the Japanese feel affects the attitudes of Americans toward the Japanese. Many small communities have never had to deal, as a whole, with the issue of racial difference. Impossible to ignore is the fifty-year-old prejudice resulting from World War II, particularly the attack on Pearl Harbor. Robert Christopher in The Japanese Mind, one of the most widely read books on understanding the Japanese, is very direct in his interpretation of American attitudes. "In the relationship between Japan and the United States, there is another factor at work as well: a deeply ingrained superiority complex which makes it hard for a great many Americans to concede that we could ever be in error or at fault in our dealings with the Japanese. To some degree, this superiority complex clearly reflects plain, old fashioned racism" (Christopher, 1983, 24).

All of these factors, and others, come to play in communities where Japanese plants locate. These communities are selected by the Japanese because they are small, safe, rural areas with a desirable "quality of life." The paradox is that as a result, these communities have the least amount of experience with racial difference.

Since the advent of numbers of Japanese moving into small American communities is relatively recent, little has been done to chronicle the changes and responses which occur in the community as a whole and in the lives of the individual members who make up those communities.

WHAT WE CAN LEARN IN PLEASANTVILLE

The purpose of this study has been to attempt to discover, almost as a detective seeks to follow the trails of evidence, what has happened in Pleasantville in the three years since the arrival of the first Japanese. The focus has been on the local community and its citizens, not on the Japanese population.

In the manner of the detective, the study was designed to follow where the trail leads, from individuals into numerous community domains as they are opened up and directed by the informants in the study. The details of the design are included in Chapter 3's presentation of the research methods.

In addition to recording what the community has experienced and is currently experiencing, as viewed through its neighborhoods and areas of community life, this study

sheds light on specific ways a community and its members adapt to or resist cultural change. As I began the research, I knew I would consider the study to be successful if it led to assumptions regarding things which have contributed to, or failed to support, positive community acceptance of this new culture. Information of this kind would be valuable to community developers, Japanese planners, and others attempting to integrate Japanese, and other nationalities, into American communities in the future.

Since most economists and business leaders predict that this trend of Japanese companies establishing themselves in American communities will continue, and more small and mid-sized cities and towns will become home for Japanese workers, research must be done on what is happening in the communities where Japanese are currently living. How are American citizens reacting to their new neighbors? Are there changes in the community? Are the reactions positive or negative? Why? What methods have been used, or could be used, to create or affect reactions?

Pleasantville was a perfect community to begin this important research. Japanese have lived here for up to three years; few other minorities live in the area; the community is small, rural and relatively easy to access because of its size; the community is easily available to me. The answers found in Pleasantville address a topic of increasing importance around the country.

The study may not be generalizable to every community in mid-America which currently is or might become home to a Japanese industry. The results of this study, however, could help many community planners and economic developers understand the human dimension of the adjustment into communities of a culture so different from our own.

More specifically, the study should be valuable to Pleasantville itself. Even though almost three years have passed since Japan and Pleasantville merged, the resulting dynamics will create an on-going process for community leaders for years to come. Japanese families will complete their assigned term and return to Japan and new Japanese will come. It is also possible that in the near future other Japanese firms, support to Pleasantville Manufacturing, may locate in the area. In Bellfontaine, Ohio, of the 11,000 jobs created by the location of Honda, 3,000 are a result of Japanese supplier companies which located nearby to be able to respond to the just-in-time manufacturing philosophy espoused by most Japanese manufacturers (Gelsanliter, 1990, 70).

The practice of just-in-time management, an integral part of Japanese business, is based on the concept of inventory being delivered "just in-time" for it to be used in the manufacturing process, as opposed to warehousing large amounts of inventory, requiring space and a large investment of funds. As a result, suppliers must be located nearby, able to deliver parts, often within an hour.

National and state leaders feel this is only the beginning of a trend which will continue in this area for years. Therefore, local leaders need to look seriously at how the community is being impacted at the present time and how well selected community members feel they were prepared for the transplant into their community of a vastly different culture.

Since the process involved in this study was a personal one, I was affected in an intimate way by the entire research experience. It was obvious to me from the beginning that my bias toward Japan needed to be kept contained during the course of the study. That was not always easy to do, especially when encountering community members who shared my attitudes toward Japanese people and Japanese culture. One of the most difficult aspects of conducting interviews was not allowing myself to show my enthusiasm or influence the reactions being shared with me by leading the interviewee in any way. I was concerned that I would like the people who had positive reactions and dislike those who spoke of bitterness and antagonism toward the Japanese, thereby possibly coloring the results with my own palate of feelings.

I cannot guarantee that I kept my own attitudes from surfacing but I did make a constant, conscious effort. In fact, I was stunned that I sincerely liked the American Legion member who was actively involved in the South Pacific from 1942-1945, as he shared, often in tears, his tremendous sense of patriotism and now disappointment in and anger at

his government as it supports and encourages Japanese investment in his country and in his own town.

Only on a few occasions, at the conclusion of a particularly spirited and personally enriching interview, where definite interest in and support of the Japanese had been expressed, did I share the existence of my own newly-acquired Japanese family, and never once did I pull out wedding or trip pictures!

During the course of this research, state and local economic developers announced that another multi-million dollar foreign company, not Japanese, will be built in Pleasantville in the immediate future. Hopefully the results of this study will help community leaders prepare for the next arrival of its new international neighbors.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE LEADS AND SUPPORTS

INTRODUCTION

The nature of this study evolved, from early in 1988 as I began to realize the importance of what I saw happening in Pleasantville, until I began the actual collection of data in mid-1990. The relationship of the study to the literature evolved in a similar way.

Since I began this work intent first on studying the Japanese as well as the American cross-cultural interaction, I immersed myself in literature regarding Japanese culture and customs. In the summer of 1988 I designed an independent study on that topic, and spent three months reading appropriate books, viewing video tapes, watching classic films, and visiting area libraries and Japanese centers. By the end of 1988, I had delved into that related literature to such an extent that I became one of the local "experts" on the topic of the Japanese.

However, as the heart of the study began to emerge, the Japanese reactions and adjustments became less important than chronicling the activities, attitudes, and responses of the Pleasantville community to the presence of the Japanese plant and its employees. Areas of literature which then began to emerge included: 1) those related to the concept of "community," and to community acceptance and rejection of change; 2) the development of individuals from monocultural

to multicultural, and the relationship of ethnocentricity and prejudice to the events in Pleasantville; and 3) theories of cross-cultural communication. Thus, three distinct bodies of literature led and supported this study and regularly reinforced the appropriateness of the research.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE APPROPRIATE LITERATURE

These bodies of literature which I considered at various stages of the study break down into eight major components, only six of which I will describe in any detail. I will briefly discuss the eight, explain the reasons for eliminating the first two, explain the use of the next three primarily to support and document the findings, and elaborate in some detail on the final three which are of greatest significance to the study.

Following are the eight areas which were important during the development of the study and into which the resulting research fits.

1. Asian refugees in the United States
2. Reactions to Japanese-Americans
3. Japanese management styles
4. Japanese adjustment problems
5. Japanese culture and customs
6. The concept of community and the acceptance versus rejection of change
7. Ethnocentricity to multiculturalism
8. Cross-cultural communication processes

Brief descriptions of the topic areas follow.

1. Asian Refugees in the United States

A great deal has been written about the reactions, problems, and concerns in the United States and other countries to the settlement of a variety of Asian immigrants and refugees. Reference to the reaction in the United States to any other immigrant/refugee groups was also considered (Tsai, 1986; Wilson and Hosokawa, 1982).

2. Reactions to Japanese-Americans

The past and present problems and recent solutions to the situation of the Japanese and Japanese-Americans interned in camps during World War II has been a topic about which much has been written recently as a result of the United States government's efforts to provide compensation for the heavy financial and personal losses of those "Issei" (first generation) and "Nisei" (second generation) Japanese Americans (Smith, 1990, 9; Johnson, 1988; Armor and Wright, 1988).

3. Japanese-American Management Styles

Books, articles and television programs present comparisons, contrasts, and analyses between Japanese and American management concepts and practices. These include many broader studies of national concerns regarding the Japanese "buying" of America (Halberstam, 1986; Zimmerman; 1985; Rowen, 1988).

4. Japanese Adjustment Problems

Numerous magazine and newspaper articles, and some books, address the Japanese adjustment in America. Most are primarily concerned with problems regarding the education of

Japanese children so they are able to succeed in the future in Japan, the difficulty for Japanese families in general as they return to Japan, and the difficulty for Japanese workers to adjust to the different work styles and ethics of American workers (White, 1988; Schwartz et al., 1988; Nance, 1989).

5. Japanese Culture and Customs

There is a significant amount of work available on understanding Japanese culture and customs, including a large number of videotapes on almost any topic of Japanese life. (Japan video series, 1989; Christopher, 1983; White, 1987; Lebra and Lebra, 1986).

6. The Concept of Community

Of relevance to this research are the theories on what constitutes "community," theories on community change, and theories about acceptance or rejection, particularly of people considered foreign (Goodenough, 1963; Nelson et al., 1960; Christenson, 1989; Robinson, 1989).

7. Ethnocentrism to Multiculturalism

An important area related to this study and existing in current research is how people move from the basic ethnocentric impulse to the ability to accept society as multicultural (Wurzel, 1988; Stewart, 1972; Brislin, 1990; Ramsey, 1987).

8. Cross-Cultural Communication Processes

A reasonable amount of information exists on the general topic of the problems, difficulties, and solutions related to the communication processes between persons of

different cultural orientations (Barnlund, 1975; Barnlund, 1989; Porter and Samovar, 1988; Storti, 1989; Goodenough, 1971).

Of these eight areas of existing literature, the last six provide the background support for this dissertation, the rationale for the major questions being addressed, and will benefit from the results of this study. The first two do not address the topic of the study for the following reasons:

1. Asian Refugees

Although work has been done on Asian adaptation processes and American reactions to the large number of Asian refugees in the United States in the past 10-15 years, there are several major differences which make these studies inappropriate for inclusion or major consideration in this study.

The differences between the Asian refugees and the Japanese dispatchees, as they are referred to by the Japanese, are so considerable as to separate them from any serious comparison.

While most Asian refugees are financially dependent on any community where they settle, Japanese dispatchees are financially secure, even considered by many Americans to be wealthy. Refugees are frequently unable to acquire or retain employment due to language barriers, while dispatchees are employed upon arrival at middle management or higher levels. Refugees are relegated to housing in poor, transient-type housing, while dispatchees are able to

purchase or rent homes, condominiums or apartments in upper-middle class residential neighborhoods. Ultimately, many refugees are potential permanent residents requiring long-term support from community systems. Dispatchees are temporary residents, usually here for three to five years, and requiring no financial and little other assistance.

In effect, the Japanese currently locating in local communities do not draw on the community and its resources. On the contrary, they frequently contribute to its economic well-being.

2. Japanese-Americans

The second area mentioned, studies on the adjustment of and American attitudes toward Japanese-Americans, also is significantly different enough not to be a major area for further reference in this study.

Many studies, books, and articles in this area relate to those Japanese either in the United States as transplanted workers from the 1920s and 1930s, or as spouses/children of American citizens, many at the time of the bombing of Pearl Harbor. The resulting internment camps, which were designed to assure the security of the United States from Japanese sympathizers, have caused many negative reactions and resulted in apologies and payments to those transferred to camps (Smith, 1990). The attitudes regarding many Japanese-Americans, as reported in these studies, are part of another era of history. These studies do not address the new view of Japan as an economic power. They are not concerned with the category of Japanese being

addressed in this research, the well-educated, financially successful, well-employed person whose company has just injected often-needed economic life-blood into small American communities.

AN OVERVIEW OF THE JAPANESE LITERATURE

Of the remaining six areas which have some relationship to any analysis of American reactions to the Japanese, the first three, which appeared to be most important when this research began, became only supporting literature as the final study emerged. They relate to the specific knowledge necessary to understand the Japanese who moved to Pleasantville. Since the study is concerned primarily with the American residents of Pleasantville, this knowledge is of secondary importance. However, it remains critical in understanding the attitudes and reactions of Pleasantville citizens to their Japanese neighbors and therefore will be detailed as appropriate in the interpretation of the findings. These three areas include:

1. Japanese/American Management Styles

There is a great deal of literature available which compares and contrasts Japanese and American management styles. The popular press is filled with articles and frequently with series detailing relationships at specific plants or in specific communities. Books have been written on the topic and new publications appear almost daily. Examples of such books include Michio Morishima's Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?: Western Technology and Japanese Ethos

(1982), Mark Zimmerman's How to Do Business with the Japanese: A Strategy for Success (1985), John Condon's With Respect to the Japanese: A Guide for Americans (1984), and David Halberstam's popular treatise The Reckoning (1986), to mention a few.

Knowledge in this area is important background information in any study of relationships between Americans and Japanese. The studies and reports in this area indicate some very specific differences which affect the way these two peoples relate to each other in the economic and employment arenas. Understanding these dynamics makes it easier to interpret why members of the Pleasantville community have certain reactions to their Japanese neighbors, or reactions in general to the presence of the plant based on perceptions of the way the Japanese do business.

2. Japanese Adjustment Problems

Publications in this area are primarily in the form of newspapers and magazine articles, particularly as they relate to recent events in the United States which result from the increasing amount of Japanese investment in this country. Only within the past three to five years have such significant numbers of Japanese been dispatched from Japan to live and work in American communities. The recency of these events is one reason for the lack of available formal research in related areas. A popular and widely quoted author on this topic is Dr. Merry White, Sociology Professor at Boston University. Dr. White addresses the very real

problem of the Japanese return to Japan after adjustment to life in the United States in The Japanese Overseas: Can They Go Home Again? Published in 1988, this is one of the most recent scholarly attempts to analyze this problem. News articles at the local and national level also address this topic.

Understanding how the Japanese adjust to America provides insights into what is happening on the other side of the adjustment -- to the Americans involved.

3. Japanese Culture and Customs

Of value in this study is understanding the motivations behind the Japanese behavior and life style to which Pleasantville community members are reacting. More than sufficient literature exists. In this area, the role of the videotape must be considered, since public television and educational television companies have produced quality productions on the subject of Japanese culture and customs.

Among the most popular publications and productions are The Japanese Mind by Robert Christopher; books by Edwin O. Reischauer; anything on the subject by Donald Richie; Ruth Benedict's classic anthropological study from 1946, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword; the works of Japanese author and social scholar Chie Nakane; and many others. A 1988 PBS production entitled Japan, a four-hour series, is masterful and well-researched. Television documentaries, as well as print materials surrounding the death of Emperor Hirohito and the inauguration of his son, Akihito, in 1989,

presented the United States with major coverage on the topic of the Japanese.

Understanding Japanese culture and customs is essential in interpreting the comments and observations made by the Pleasantville residents as they react to the Japanese in their community.

The remaining three areas of literature provide the theoretical framework for this research. They are those which relate to the structure and content of community; the concepts of and relationships between ethnocentricity and its opposite, multiculturalism; and finally, the theory and process of cross-cultural communication.

THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

Community Defined. In order to conduct empirical research in a community setting, drawing conclusions about activities, reactions and attitudes both of individual members and representatives of various community domains, an understanding of the existing theories and concepts of "community" is essential. "An understanding of the nature of community as an unit, the interrelationship of its parts, is necessary to the understanding and prediction of community behavior" (Nelson, Ramsey, and Verner, 1960, 2).

In Community Structures and Change (1960), Nelson et al. describe a dichotomous relationship which exists in the study of the theory of community. On one side, they postulate that the concept of community cannot be easily understood, since it is based on "complicated and often

mysterious" relationships among human beings, groups, and institutions (1960, 2). Basically human relationships are the subject matter for the study of community. And yet, despite these mysterious and sometimes difficult to understand relationships, the fact exists that the results of community studies often seem to be "an elaboration of the obvious" (1960, 9). My study in Pleasantville is an example of elaborating the obvious, as it looks at the very normal everyday existence of community residents, and attempts to analyze these "difficult to understand" relationships so they become more understandable.

Nelson et al. maintain that despite these two juxtaposed concepts, the study of community is to understand "how it behaves, how it can be changed to solve human problems (without creating more problems), and to furnish people information leading to some control of the community process and change for their welfare and happiness" (2).

The community, according to Nelson, similar to other descriptions to be discussed later, includes three basic parts: area, individuals, and a psychological identification. The local area is the area within which most of the basic human needs are satisfied within daily travel distance. The community is, therefore, composed of the relationships among people identifying with and living in the local area, and also the relationship between people and institutions, and among institutions.

This definition of community and the issue of psychological identification is a factor in what is

happening in Pleasantville. The question rises whether people will feel psychologically the same about the community and identify with it in the same way they did before it became home to a contingent of Japanese.

In a slightly different definition of community, Stoneall (1983, 18-21) also considers that there are three dimensions of community: 1) People. Without people communities do not exist. Some theorists argue that at a minimum, communities require families, multiple generations and multiple genders. 2) Space. Stoneall refers to localization as "the quality of being located in only one place outside of which the system has no identity" (1968, 65). 3) Time. The concept of time is implicit in what communities are. Communities last--but how long and the minimal time requirement are empirical questions. Some native communities have lasted longer than nations while some, the communes of the 1960s, lasted only a few years.

The factor of time is added by Stoneall and is important in an analysis of Pleasantville. This sesquicentennial community identifies itself through such activities as the historic walk to view its historic homes. Over a hundred years have gone into the development of the sense of community. A question for further study might be how long will it take for the Japanese to become part of that community, and will Pleasantville change, in time, to a different kind of community?

Christenson and Robinson in their 1989 work, Community Development in Perspective, summarized the work of G.A.

Hillery as he defined community in 1955 and C.W. Willis as he defined the development of community concepts since 1950. They suggest four main components for defining the concept of community. First, community involves people. Second, place or territory is an element of community. (Not all writers include place. Blakely and Bradshaw (1981) present a modern concept that community does not require a set space or territory since place is becoming less relevant, being replaced by networks based on interest and activity without implications of space or territory.) Social interaction is Christenson and Robinson's third aspect of community and describes the condition where people within a defined area relate to or are interdependent on one another. Fourth is the idea of common attachment or psychological identification.

A formal definition combining these four concepts, as formed by Christenson and Robinson is "Community is defined as people that live within a geographically bounded area who are involved in social interaction and have one or more psychological ties with each other and with the place in which they live" (1989, 9).

Christenson and Robinson's addition of social interaction as an essential component of community is significant for this study, as the social interaction between Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville was used as a major clue to determine what is happening in this small town as a result of the arrival of the Japanese plant.

Community Change Theory. Communities change through time, as a result of various influences. Some changes are massive and happen over a long period of time. Some are relegated to one component of community life and occur rather quickly.

Nelson, Ramsey and Verner (1960) describe four levels of structure where community change can occur. The first and most significant level is the total community. This change is slow and may take generations to occur. The growth in size of a community, or the arrival of major industry, may change it, over time, from one with unwritten rules and regulations to one with written laws, uniformity, and dictated institutional relationships.

The second place where change can occur is at the pan-community level, or the level where influences are exerted on a community by the larger society. Here relations change as a result of such acts as school or geographic consolidation, or tax districts being altered.

A third level of change is in the dimensions and elements of community structure, such as in the relationships between the school and the family, between the church and the school. This type of change can occur when a system changes from being homogeneous to heterogeneous, a condition currently happening in Pleasantville.

The fourth level happens in a component of the community, such as the family, or the organization of the school itself. These may not always affect the entire community, but, depending on the scope of the change, they

may be significant in producing community-wide change, such as the change in family structure caused by working mothers, as it relates to the labor force, child care needs, and school responsibilities (Nelson, Ramsey and Verner, 1960, 391-397).

Another way of looking at community change is through the concept of community culture. Brislin defines culture as "widely shared ideals, values, formation and uses of categories, assumptions about life, and goal-directed activities that become unconsciously or subconsciously accepted as 'right' and 'correct' by people who identify themselves as members of a society" (1990, 11). What is happening in Pleasantville affects these "assumptions about life" which community members have accepted as "right" for their culture or society for generations. The presence of Japanese in Pleasantville calls for community members to assess their assumptions, and decide either to change them or hold on to them despite the changing nature of the culture.

Goodenough views community change as it relates to personal and community culture, culture being defined as "the shared products of human learning...standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding how one feels about it, standards for deciding what to do about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it" (1963, 272-281). He isolates these changes in community culture in three dimensions: changes in private culture, changes in operating culture, and changes in public culture.

Changes in a person's private culture arise in connection with efforts to reorganize one's culture after new experiences, or in response to conditions which cannot be handled with the existing culture. Goodenough points out that some people will respond to a new situation by altering or expanding the private culture, while others may respond negatively and seek protection in the old culture. Often this decision is based on whether the individual feels there is an ability to learn what is necessary to expand and grow, whether there is an adequate opportunity to learn what is needed to respond to the new situation.

The second change is to one's operating culture, or the culture we all operate in outside our private person, in work or social situations. These changes occur when the group's culture changes and the resulting standards for group members are changing. Changes in one's operating culture are obvious to others since they can be observed, while changes in private culture are likely not to be as obvious.

Finally, there are changes in a community's public culture which result from gradual change in the operating culture of the community's individual members. This can be the result of major personal cultural change, or because of such community changes as size or economics. According to Goodenough, sometimes people may follow behavior which supports the public culture because they feel it is expected and there is no place in the community for the new behavior to be accepted. "Such is the case when people become aware

of new ways of thinking, believing and acting, following contact with members of other communities, and are privately attracted by some of them" (1963, 280).

Questions arise in Pleasantville regarding the individual behavior of the community members and whether the presence of the Japanese causes change to their private culture or results in a difference in their operating culture, and how these individual differences are impacting the public culture of the community as a whole.

Community Attitude toward Newcomers. In the history of this country, major migrations of people to new geographic areas have been caused either by changing employment trends, which drive unemployed workers to pack up families and move to greener pastures, or in some cases, by the arrival of large numbers of foreign nationals who locate in a particular area.

Two recent migrations fit these historic patterns. A three-part series written by the Detroit Free Press describes the reactions to the 3,600 workers from other states who arrived in Spring Hill, Tennessee in 1990, to staff the new GM Saturn plant. According to the article, "There have been some outright screaming matches with Tennessee natives who don't like unions or the northern work force Saturn has imported" (Lippert, 1990b, 4P).

This is a reverse pattern from the trend early in the century to the mid-1950s, when millions of Americans moved north to work in large factories. Now, as more and more plants "seek greenfield sites removed from the industrial

heartland's high wages, costly benefits and rigid work rules" (Lippert, 1990a, 6H), the migration has reversed itself and people are following the trend south.

As the Free Press reports, the Northerners are not well received for a variety of reasons--causing overcrowding to existing roads and schools, increasing costs of land and services, creating resentment regarding the jobs being taken away from local residents. The newcomers are viewed as taking away from the community rather than adding. "Cultures are clashing, inevitably, as the country's most advanced auto plant takes root in a rolling pasture which until now produced only Tennessee walking horses" (Lippert, 1990b, 4P).

In a different type of migration pattern, "At least one out of every six Arabs who immigrated from Lebanon, Iraq, North and South Yemen and Jordon to America since 1975 settled in Michigan" (Hamada, 1990, 10A). According to Hamada, Arabs have settled in the Detroit area in numbers estimated to be at least 100,000. These immigrants have been, in general, well received by Detroit and its various communities. Many of the refugees purchased small America businesses, either alone or in family partnerships. Over 600 large markets in Detroit with average annual sales of $1 million each are owned by Arabs. "These businesses have added life to many tough, declining neighborhoods in Detroit and its suburbs" (10A). Because of a high work ethic, caused in large part by the fact that there is no welfare in Arab countries and therefore work is survival, the large

numbers of immigrants have been an economic asset to the communities rather than a financial drain. The Free Press study reported that most of the Detroit non-Arab residents interviewed saw their Arab neighbors as "hard-working, prosperous neighbors who share many of the same values." An Arab interviewed about his new home said, "Detroit is just a good area for people of different cultures who want to be accepted. It's a true melting pot. If you do a good job, they accept you easily" (10A).

According to the theory described in these two news reports, since the Japanese dispatchees are financially stable, are producing rather than taking away jobs, and are not dependant on the community, this study should find that they meet with acceptance in Pleasantville.

A study done in 1980 in a small town in California is reported by Blakely and Bradshaw in Order and Image in the American Small Town. They describe a "new migrant," very different from the immigrants in the past. "The actual flow of new 'immigrants' to rural areas may not be as important as the characteristics of the migrants themselves. Recent evidence indicates that new migrants to rural areas tend to be better educated and enter professional and managerial occupations" (Blakely and Bradshaw, 1981, 34). Interviews were conducted with two to four people on each street who were newcomers in the past five years. The results show that there are a number of factors that made these American migrants easily accepted in

their new town. Among these factors are: 1) the motivation to move to a small town was to access a rural lifestyle; 2) they were employed on arrival or easily employable and able to make an economic contribution to the area; and 3) they were a non-dependent group, using very few unemployment or other services. "The data indicated that the new migrants were highly skilled and successful in finding a place for themselves in the new rural economy...it is clear that the newcomers form an important new economic resource for their communities" (44-45).

As life style becomes a major determinant in location, more small towns will experience growth caused by the new migrants. Already within this decade we have seen many small non-metropolitan towns and rural areas experience economic and population growth. According to Blakely and Bradshaw (1981), there is a movement afoot to identify the dynamics of this new migrant movement, its impacts on communities, and its causes. The interest in identifying this new movement indicates that the "emergence of the small town as an economic and population growth area may be a signal that new factors are shaping our economy" (48).

This study will attempt to relate community impressions about economic and personal contributions of a new category of migrant, the Japanese, both to the capacity of a small community to respond and grow, and to the community's willingness to accept these new residents.

FROM ETHNOCENTRICTY TO MULTICULTURALISM

In discussing community change as it relates to personal and community culture, Goodenough described culture as "the shared products of human learning," the learned patterns of knowledge which a group uses to establish common understandings among members (Goodenough, 1971, 258).

Each local or community group, and certainly each national, ethnic, and racial group, identifies its common understandings through its own culture and pattern of behavior. The macrocultures, i.e., national, ethnic and racial groups, and the microcultures, such as family, an office, a neighborhood, form a vast array of cultural identities which meet, clash, mesh, and somehow interact.

As our society becomes more and more technologically sophisticated, the frequency and intensity of these multicultural meetings increases. Television, air travel, and computer contact make cultures that were once considered foreign now part of our every day existence.

As we move, both individually and as cultures, to participate in a multicultural world, it is suggested by Jaime Wurzel in Toward Multiculturalism (1988) that we progress through a variety of stages, identified as "the multicultural process." Wurzel defines seven stages of development leading from monoculturalism, which includes ethnocentrism, to the final stage of multiculturalism. The seven stages are: 1) monoculturalism, 2) cross-cultural contact, 3) cultural conflict, 4) educational interventions, 5) disequilibrium, 6) awareness, and 7) multiculturalism.

It is important to note here that stage theories such as Wurzel's are one way to approach the subject of human development. Stage theorists, such as Erikson, Havinghurst, and Kohlberg, present the belief that people progress through various stages in life experience, with the necessity of successfully passing through one in order to reach the next. They argue that human beings get "better" as they move from one stage to the next, with an ultimate goal to achieve the last, or best, stage. Wurzel's seven-stage theory is one of these, since his goal is the achievement of the final, "best" state of multiculturalism.

Stage theories result in a limited view of the possibilities in human development by requiring that all stages must be passed through in order to move ahead. Other theories, such as those of Levinson and Lowenthal, hold that there are phases associated with age, time, and events, that move us through our lives (Schlossberg, Troll, and Lebowitz, 1986, 20-28).

Wurzel's seven-stage theory, while limited and certainly not absolute, seems to me to serve the analysis of what's happening in Pleasantville.

Monoculturalism, Ethnocentrism, Prejudice and Discrimination. In the monocultural stage, an individual's way of viewing the world is considered to be the universal one, the only one, or at least the best one. It is the basic way an individual's world view is developed--and is critical to the survival of a cultural group and the individual's relationship to it. A child learns the

monocultural view from parents, the environment, and traditions, and defines his or her identity through that psychological belonging. So we grow up identifying with our culture, which sustains and nourishes us in return.

The values held by individuals in a culture are considered by them to be absolute--morally right. Most people not only believe their own value orientations to be ultimately right, but others to be wrong. That leads to the basic condition of community life as ethnocentric, defined by Webster as "regarding one's own group as superior," and results in a condition which divides all people and groups into "in-groups" and "out-groups." As important as group identity is for cultural survival, it does result in a world view which perceives what is familiar as superior and what is unfamiliar as negative and undesirable. "When people come into contact with individuals from other cultures, they observe differences in dress, customs, behavior patterns, language, and more. Most people react to such differences 'ethnocentrically,' that is, they use their own ethnic group (an in-group) as the standard and judge others favorably if they are like in-group members and unfavorably if they are not" (Triandis, 1990, 34).

The existence of the "in-group" and "out-group" distinction leads to the most negative aspect of ethnocentrism, that of prejudice. Gordon Allport, one of the leading social psychologists of this century, analyzed prejudice in The Nature of Prejudice (1979), a classic study of the roots of discrimination. Allport defines

prejudice as "a feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience," and he continues to define negative prejudice as "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant" (1979, 8). Prejudices can be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he or she is a member of that group.

Allport feels that the concept of "sufficient warrant" is an important consideration. Some judgments, based on enough "warrant," may appear to be prejudice but are, in fact, justified reactions. Therefore, it can be hard to know if prejudice exists, because sufficient warrant is possible.

Other possible non-prejudicial reactions appearing as prejudice are simply generalizations and some others are simply misconceptions. However, these generalizations and misconceptions become prejudices, or are revealed as prejudices, if they are not reversible when they are exposed to new and/or correct knowledge. "If a person is capable of rectifying his mistaken judgments in light of new evidence, he is not prejudiced--just misinformed" (Allport, 1979, 9).

Prejudices, which are characterized by hostile attitudes, are grounded in a generalized negative belief which drives the attitude. These two ingredients are inseparable, an attitude and a belief, since a person could not long hold on to a hostile attitude without some basic negative belief to fuel the fire. The attitude "I don't want Japanese-Americans in my town" may be driven by the

generalized belief that Japanese-Americans are sly and tricky (Allport, 1979, 9).

A basic question for me, considering the almost all-white nature of Pleasantville, has been whether or not there is anti-Japanese prejudice in the community and, if so, what beliefs and attitudes lie behind these prejudices, and if they lead to acts of discrimination.

Ultimately, in the chain from monocultural thinking and ethnocentrism, to prejudice, the final step is discrimination, defined by Holmes as "prejudice transformed into action," where we think of a group of people in an overgeneralized, stereotypical way and then promote practices and establish conditions which reinforce our negative thinking (1970, 1).

Toward Multiculturalism. In his seven stages of multicultural process, Wurzel takes us from the first, early stages just discussed, through a progressive growth process which brings people finally to the attainment of a multicultural perspective.

The second stage, the cross-cultural contact stage, begins the process of growth as we have direct or indirect contact with other cultural groups. That leads to stage three, cultural conflict, in which two or more different cultural patterns, and as a result, two or more ethnocentric views, conflict or clash. "Cultural conflict takes place when two or more groups who think of their own folkways as unique collide" (Wurzel, 1988, 6). This is the beginning of the "we - they", "us - them" attitude.

The resulting concept of viewing the world as if "we" were right and "they" were wrong, has been humorously and appropriately addressed in the following poem "We and They" by Rudyard Kipling.

Father, Mother, and Me,
Sister and Auntie say
All the people like us are We,
And everyone else is They.
And They live over the sea
While we live over the way,
But--would you believe it?--They look upon We
As only a sort of They!

We eat pork and beef
With cow-horn-handled knives.
They who gobble Their rice off a leaf
Are horrified out of Their lives;
While They who live up a tree,
Feast on grubs and clay,
(Isn't it scandalous?) look upon We
As a simply disgusting They!

We eat kitcheny food.
We have doors that latch.
They drink milk and blood
Under an open thatch. We have doctors to fee.
They have wizards to pay.
And (impudent heathen!) They look upon We
As a quite impossible They!

And good people agree,
And all good people say,
All nice people, like us, are We
And everyone else is They:
But if you cross over the sea,
Instead of over the way,
You may end by (think of it!) looking on We
As only a sort of They!

This poetic approach to the issue of ethnocentrically viewing the world, after being aware of the existence of another cultural way of doing things, fits well into this study. Due to cultural differences, it may be easy for Pleasantville residents to think in a "we - they" attitude. As Kipling describes people who "gobble their rice off a

leaf" and "feast on grubs and clay," I immediately think of the Japanese custom of eating raw fish and using chopsticks. The "doors that latch" and the "open thatch" certainly apply to the differences in sizes and types and arrangements of homes found in Japan and in Pleasantville. And if this study were to be reversed, and the Japanese were the interviewees rather than the Americans, the last line would certainly apply, "You may end by (think of it!) looking on We as only a sort of They!"

Wurzel's fourth step, educational interventions, is based on a fundamental premise that educational interventions can ease the cultural conflict and contribute to the development of a multicultural perspective. These interventions can take various forms, including the study of self-awareness, of cultural difference themes, of the existence of ethnocentrism and prejudice and the ramifications of their practice.

In the final three stages, one moves from disequilibrium, caused by the challenging and/or invalidating of previously held knowledge; to awareness, when one begins to understand the concept of cultural differences; and finally to multiculturalism. "To be multicultural is to be aware and able to incorporate and synthesize different systems of cultural knowledge into one's own" (Wurzel, 1988, 10).

CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

In Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States: Communicative Styles of Two Cultures, Dean Barnlund (1975) describes the depth of the cultural gap between people of different cultures, using the differences between Japan and the United States as particularly disparate. His analysis of the difference is lengthy, but artfully stated and very appropriate to this particular study.

> Here is Japan, a tiny island nation with a minimum of resources, buffeted by periodic disasters, overcrowded with people, isolated by physical fact and cultural choice, nurtured in Shinto and Buddhist religions, permeated by a deep respect for nature, non-materialist in philosophy, intuitive in thought, hierarchical in social structure. Eschewing the explicit, the monumental, the bold and boisterous, it expresses its sensuality in the form of impeccable gardens, simple rural temples, asymmetrical flower arrangements, a theatre unparalleled for containment of feeling, an art and literature remarkable for their delicacy, and crafts noted for their honest and earthy character. Its people, among the most homogeneous of men, are modest and apologetic in manner, communicate in an ambiguous and evocative language, are engrossed in interpersonal rituals and prefer inner serenity to influencing others. They occupy unpretentious buildings of wood and paper and live in cities laid out as casually as farm villages. Suddenly from these rice paddies emerges an industrial giant, surpassing rival nations with decades of industrial experience, greater resources, and a larger reserve of technicians. Its labor, working longer, harder, and more frantically than any in the world, builds the earth's largest city, constructs some of its ugliest buildings, promotes the most garish and insistent advertising anywhere, and pollutes its air and water beyond the imagination.
>
> And here is the United States, an immense country, sparsely settled, richly endowed, tied through waves of immigrants to the heritage of Europe, yet forced to subdue nature and find fresh solutions

members
United
differe
two cou
the natu
long a w
directio
appropria

> to the problems of survival. Steeped in the Judeo-Christian tradition, schooled in European abstract and analytic thought, it is materialist and experimental in outlook, philosophically pragmatic, politically equalitarian, economically competitive, its raw individualism sometimes tempered by a humanitarian concern for others. Its cities are studies in geometry along whose avenues rise shafts of steel and glass subdivided into separate cubicles for separate activities and separate people. Its popular arts are characterized by the hugeness of Cinemascope, the spontaneity of jazz, the earthy loudness of rock; in its fine arts the experimental, striking and monumental often stifle the more subtle revelation. The people, a smorgasbord of races, religions, dialects and nationalities, are turned expressively outward, impatient with rituals and rules, casual and flippant, gifted in logic and argument, approachable and direct yet given to flamboyant and exaggerated assertion. They are curious about one another, open and helpful, yet display a missionary zeal for changing one another. Suddenly this nation whose power and confidence have placed it in a dominant position in the world intellectually and politically, whose style of life has permeated the planet, finds itself uncertain of its direction, doubts its own premises and values, questions its motives and materialism, and engages in an orgy of self criticism.
>
> It is when people nurtured in such different psychological worlds meet that differences in cultural perspectives and communicative codes may sabotage efforts to understand one another. (18-20)

As we will explore later in the analysis of community members on the issue of the economic difference between the United States and Japan, Barnland has here epitomized the difference which we find at this moment in time between the two countries. One has new-found prowess, unexpected due to the nature of the country and its people, and the other, long a world power, find itself "uncertain of its direction." The descriptions of the people are very appropriate in this study, being described as "modest and

apologetic" vs. "approachable and direct," "engrossed in interpersonal rituals" vs. "impatient with rituals and rules." These cultural variances, as described by Barnlund, are many and vast and are meeting on a daily basis in Pleasantville as Americans and Japanese attempt to communicate differences in meaning and experiences across cultures.

Every culture creates a way for its members to interpret their life experiences for each other. Without this ability to communicate through some type of coding system, we would be unable to share meaning with each other. This coding system for communicating cultural meaning is critical to sustaining cultures, and is handed down, generation to generation. It is taught in schools; parents train children; adults model for children; and so the processes continue on, unique to each culture, containing far more than the basic coding system of words. "One of if not the primary function of culture is to create and preserve such communicative codes because they alone make possible a universe of discourse within any community" (Barnlund, 1989, 98).

Even within the same culture, communication between two people can be difficult--sometimes impossible, despite the use of the same codes and processes. Even though we have agreed to give certain meanings to certain sounds or actions, sometimes these symbols fail to express the experience. It is therefore not surprising that people of

different cultures would have unique problems in creating meaning across the cultures.

One of the major items to be studied in Pleasantville will be if and how the Japanese and Americans have discovered and/or developed methods for communicating across their cultures and what problems they have encountered. Difficulties of social exchange and communication between people of two different cultures can arise in a wide variety of ways. Several main problem areas are 1) language; 2) nonverbal communication (uses of facial expressions, gestures, touch, etc.); 3) social situation rules, such as gifts, visiting, and eating; 4) what motivates people to achieve and to save face; and 5) concepts and ideology, ideas derived from religion and politics (Argyle, 1988).

Language is one of the most important differences between many cultures and the one most critical to the development of meaningful communication. Not only does this include the obvious process of the specific words used, but the style and degree of formality of the speech and the sequential structure of conversations. "In order to be considered intelligent and competent by members of a given culture and to avoid embarrassing or even disastrous miscommunications, a speaker must learn to use a language correctly...including such things as what subjects one may discuss and with whom, the way in which one frames a statement, question or argument, the protocol of turn-taking, when we should not talk, and so forth--which

are integral to the communicative function language serves" (Menyuk and Menyuk, 1988, 154).

Nonverbal communication plays an essential role in social interaction. Some nonverbal signals are used in similar ways by many cultures--and others can produce disastrous results when interpreted through a different code. "There is little doubt that differences in nonverbal behavior can contribute to miscommunication, misunderstanding, incomprehension, and embarrassment" (Irujo, 1988, 148). For example, the proximity of bodies during communication, including the use of touch, and the general differences in use of space in relationships can be misinterpreted. "Children are conditioned by their culture to accept varying degrees of tactile contact. Departures from the norms to which one is accustomed cause embarrassment and discomfort" (Irujo, 1988, 145).

Gestures are most often different in different cultures and can easily cause misunderstanding. For example, the gesture of forming a circle with the thumb and forefinger means "O.K." in most parts of the United States, means money in Japan, can signify extreme hostility to an Arab, and can be obscene for an Italian (Irujo, 1988, 142).

Even vocal qualities, vocalization and the use of silence are areas of nonverbal communication which cause different interpretations. "The intercultural implications of silent behaviors are diverse because the value and use of silence as communication vary markedly from one culture to another" (Ishii and Bruneau, 1988, 311). Barnlund (1989)

descril

reacti

conclu

situat

embarr

period

silenc

and B

diffi

encom

publi

criti

cultu

alcoh

givin

and

hepo

cult

(Arg

betw

purs

resu

of m

of n

198

subm

describes a study attempting to determine the differences in reactions to silence between Americans and Japanese. It concluded that Americans viewed pictures of silent social situations as signs of worry, criticism, regret or embarrassment. Japanese saw them as a neutral waiting period or evidence of agreement (142). In Asian countries, silence is considered to be "positively meaningful" (Ishii and Bruneau, 313).

Social rules in different cultures are a main area of difficulty in cross-cultural communication. These rules encompass a vast area of interpersonal activity, usually public and obvious in its potential misinterpretation. A critical area is eating and drinking, including such cultural rules as the use of certain meats, the use of alcohol, table manners, and how eating is performed. Gift giving, the meaning of time, rules for buying and selling, and the meanings of such social interactions as bribery and nepotism are only a few of the themes where differing cultural rules of behavior can prevent understanding (Argyle, 1988).

Several forms of motivation have been found to differ between cultures which means that individuals or groups are pursuing different goals for different purposes. This can result in basically different sets of behaviors. The types of motivation which drive behavior include differing levels of need for recognized achievement (Stewart, 1972; Argyle, 1988); assertiveness or dominant behavior vs. submissiveness; degrees of extraversion; and the need to

save

1986;

cultu

unde

basi

poli

to d

the

grou

and

Barr

and

Stu

Par

con

stu

rea

tho

wh

th

in

re

li

no

save face so common in Japan (Christopher, 1983; Benedict, 1986; Condon, 1984).

Understanding certain aspects of life in another culture may be impossible without an understanding of the underlying ideas, concepts and ideologies which are at the basis of the culture. Differing religions, concepts of political structure, and cognitive categories which are used to define the functions of the culture--all contribute to the ways we interpret the activities of individuals or groups. Those concepts and ideologies, as they are meeting and confronting in Pleasantville, were well described in Barnlund's earlier analysis of the differences between Japan and the United States.

SUMMARY

Two major bodies of knowledge have played an important part in the development of this research and create a context within which it is appropriate and significant to study and analyze Pleasantville and its attitudes and reactions to the Japanese.

One area of literature which will be used to interpret the findings relates to the Japanese culture itself, such as what its customs mean, how business is conducted, and how the culture is expressed. Drawing on this information in my interpretation of the "new migrants" in Pleasantville will result in new information to add to the existing literature. Empirical research on the relationships being now formed as Japanese settle in American communities should

fill a void in the current literature by addressing the way members of one American community react to and interpret Japanese culture and customs.

A second body of literature which has contributed to the rationale for this study, and which will benefit from the specific application of its theories to the American-Japanese interaction in a small community, revolves around the areas of "community," multiculturalism, and cross-cultural communication. Included are theories of what forms community and how it is defined; how community culture bonds community members; how our cultural awareness develops from monocultural to multicultural, including the role of ethnocentrism and prejudice as cultures cross; and how culture aids and/or prohibits communication.

The arrival of financially secure, educated people from a culture so very different from our own, settling in numbers in many small communities, is a situation unique in the history of this country. How we understand these events, in light of what we know about how communities act, why they change, and how they communicate, will contribute to our future theories about merging cultures in communities under the conditions set forth in this research.

CHAPTER 3

SEARCH FOR VERBAL PHOTOGRAPHS CREATES THE DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

On December 18, 1988, an article in the Sunday edition of a newspaper from a city near Pleasantville influenced the initial concept for this study. For over a year, working with Japanese "dispatchees", as they are referred to in Japanese culture, I had watched their early assimilation into the Pleasantville community and wondered how they would make the adjustment. The article on the front page of that Sunday paper described the arrival of the Japanese. According to the reporter, adjustment was well underway for the influx of Japanese families. I wondered if the adjustment was also underway for Pleasantville families.

Similar articles in the months that followed chronicled other adjustment developments of the Japanese. There were descriptions of a variety of community activities aimed at welcoming the new Japanese residents and interviews with the Japanese themselves. There was nothing, however, about the Pleasantville residents who were now sharing their community with Japanese.

A preliminary ethnographic study which I conducted early in 1989, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a course on fieldwork research, looked at the cultural change process in Pleasantville in a small downtown diner for a three-month period. Hoping to discover what was occurring between the new Japanese residents and the local

citizens, I observed both the Japanese and the Americans and noted what transpired at Cal's Corner Cafe during the lunch hour. As that project was completed and potential dissertation possibilities became more and more apparent, I found that my focus on the local community members was increasing.

The newspaper articles referenced earlier looked at the process of change and integration which the Japanese in Pleasantville were undergoing, but no one was looking at how the process of transplanting 15 Japanese families into Pleasantville neighborhoods, and up to 130 Japanese in the early stages, was affecting the community. No one was looking at how Pleasantville and its people were reacting.

Researching the literature in a more complete way validated for me that there was little actual research done from either viewpoint, with the exception of the types of articles in the popular press mentioned earlier, and virtually nothing in terms of the impact on local communities.

Despite my already-described interest in Japan, my role as a community educator focused my interests in the area of the local community, and how individuals and community representatives would react and respond to this cultural injection. I found myself wishing I had a magic camera that would take pictures of attitudes and perceptions, allowing me to photograph Pleasantville in 1987 before the announcement of the plant, in 1988 and 1989 and 1990, and again in 1991, so that I could look down the historic main

street and actually see the changes in the community and its people.

Since that camera is yet to be invented, I began to create a research design that would allow me to capture community attitudes, perceptions, activities, reactions, and interests, in a photograph of a different kind, the verbal picture possible through the use of ethnographic research. "The ideal of ethnography is to describe participants, setting, and circumstances so clearly that the image reproduced constitutes a verbal photograph" (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984, 232-245).

ETHNOGRAPHY AND THE DESIGN DEVELOPMENT

In the early stages of the development of this research, the original design plan utilized one Japanese family as informants, coincidentally the family who was featured on the front page of the Sunday edition from the nearby city newspaper. By using that family as informants to the community, identifying how they access Pleasantville and its people, I hoped to discover who were the appropriate persons and what were the appropriate domains of the community for the focus of my research. The proposed study of one family's movement and adjustment in the community, however, not only limited the validity of the study but also placed an unacceptable level of risk of exposure on the Japanese family. Therefore a method of viewing the community without these limitations by directly contacting people living in neighborhoods with Japanese was explored.

The design as it then developed existed as a direction rather than as a requirement. As is always true in qualitative research, not only is the final outcome of the research unknown, much of the direction of the study is evolutionary in nature.

> A strategy qualitative researchers employ in a study is to proceed, as travelers, as if they know very little about the people and places they will visit. They attempt to mentally cleanse their preconceptions. To state exactly how to accomplish their work would be presumptuous. Plans evolve as they learn about the setting, subjects, and other sources of data through direct examination . . . Investigators may enter the research with some idea about what they will do, but a detailed set of procedures is not formed prior to data collection . . . The study itself structures the research, not preconceived ideas or any precise research design . . . It is not that qualitative research design is not existent; it is rather that design is flexible. Design decisions are made throughout the study - at the end as well as in the beginning. (Bogden and Biklen 1982, 55-56)

The design for this research project was flexible, not structured enough to provide the final direction, but was a road-map directing me to where the clues I was seeking could be found, allowing me to take my verbal photographs along the way.

The design direction for this qualitative study utilized the constant comparative method, a research design for multi-site studies. In the constant comparative method, the research theory is developed in six basic steps: 1) beginning to collect data, 2) looking for the issues that begin to focus ideas, 3) continuing to collect data, expanding the data in the categories which are evolving,

4) beginning to write about the categories drawing on all the incidents recorded in the data, continuing to collect data, 5) attempting to bring the concepts together into an understanding of the social processes which are in play, and, 6) focusing the analysis into final observations (Bogden and Biklen, 1983, 68-70).

Originally, I was not certain, as one never is in qualitative research, whether the search being proposed, that of interviewing community members in certain neighborhoods and then using their information and responses to lead to representative community citizens, would produce significant data. As a result, I proposed a second phase, that of interviewing and observing students and educators in Pleasantville schools. In my proposal for this research, I explained, "If enough depth and richness of material is present in Phase I, then Phase II remains for someone else's dissertation." In fact, school-based research in Pleasantville remains an excellent area for further study, since the information gathered in the "Phase I" aspect of this research was more than sufficient for drawing reasonable assertions regarding individual and community response.

The original guiding design called for interviews of community members in five neighborhoods in Pleasantville. In four of the neighborhoods Japanese had either purchased or rented residences. Locating the neighborhoods to be used was guided by the personnel of the Japanese plant, since they were aware of the residential locations of all their

employees. These four neighborhoods which house Japanese were initially to be selected in an attempt to allow for the diversity of the various types of Japanese living in the community. A fifth neighborhood was to be selected where there were no Japanese residents. The original plan was to locate neighborhoods with Japanese in the following categories, in order to allow the data to address different aspects and social situations.

1. A Japanese family with children, having been in Pleasantville over 18 months.
2. A Japanese family, with children, having been there less than one year.
3. A Japanese couple without children.
4. A single Japanese male.

Once the locations of all of the Japanese were established, however, it seemed inappropriate to limit the research to five neighborhoods since all the Japanese families were located in only seven neighborhoods. The idea of identifying specific family structures no longer seemed significant enough to exclude any neighborhood. Therefore, the design was altered to begin interviewing neighbors in all seven neighborhoods where Japanese families were residents. In addition, one neighborhood with no Japanese residents was also added in an effort to determine, if possible, whether awareness and reactions differed with or without the presence of Japanese neighbors.

Once the neighborhoods had been located, interviews were conducted with a minimum of two residents in each neighborhood; in the case of one neighborhood where an energetic, eager and vociferous family of seven all wanted

to be interviewed, eight interviews were conducted. In this family, the mother was interviewed and then two elementary school children together, two middle school children together, and two high school children together. They were the final contact in that particular neighborhood, after four interviews had already been conducted there.

By sampling neighborhood residents in neighborhoods with Japanese families, I wanted to be assured that the informants would at least be aware that there were Japanese in the community. In this way I accomplished two major tasks: 1) ascertaining the attitudes and perceptions, past and present, of representative Pleasantville community members regarding the Japanese, and isolating their causes and results; 2) through the informant status of the interviewees, locating people who would represent a variety of domains of community life and their attitudes, perspectives and activities related to the Japanese.

In total, 52 people were interviewed in 47 separate interviews. Of these, 35 were residents of one of the eight neighborhoods interviewed in 30 separate interviews. Five interviews were with couples or pairs of children. The remaining 17 were those who represented the broader community, civic leaders, service providers, educators, and other spokespersons for Pleasantville-at-large. Of the 52 interviewees, 28 were women, 17 were men and 7 were children. Further description is included in Chapter 4.

In addition to formal interviews, a profile of each interviewee was collected in order to relate types of

reactions and attitudes to types and backgrounds of community residents. The profile consisted of a form for reporting such items as employment, type of work, length of residence in Pleasantville, educational level, international travel experience, and exposure to people from other countries or cultures.

The selection of those to be interviewed was a type of "detective following the clues" process. I began the interviews with a fellow employee and her husband, quite frankly, because I knew her--and I felt a real need to conduct the first interview in friendly territory. I did not know her attitudes toward the Japanese, and certainly not her husband's, but I did feel that they would answer my questions honestly and would provide a "safe" first interview experience. From that point on, I asked each person interviewed who they knew in each of the eight neighborhoods. In some cases they recommended friends, in others acquaintances, and in others simply the last name of a child's school friend.

From that point, I began to move from neighborhood to neighborhood, calling people and asking them to spend time with me on the subject of the new Japanese plant and the Japanese people living in Pleasantville. Some people accepted readily, some hesitated and then accepted, and three refused to be interviewed. I was never able to determine any pattern in their refusal. One seemed negative about the Japanese, one seemed very busy, and one seemed totally disinterested. This system of interviewing

neighborhood by neighborhood worked for the first two neighborhoods. Then this structured plan began to disintegrate as people got sick and delayed interviews, changed their minds and decided not to be interviewed, forgot and rescheduled interview times. Finally I was simply interviewing people from the eight neighborhoods in whatever order their lives and schedules allowed.

By this time, however, I had begun to realize that the neighborhood distinction, which I had originally thought might play a part in determining attitudes and activities, was not a major factor. All seven neighborhoods where Japanese had purchased homes were very similar in nature. All were new or relatively new subdivisions of middle and upper-middle class homes, with the exception being the two neighborhoods where the Japanese company vice-presidents had purchased the most expensive residences. However, there appeared to be so little difference among the types of neighborhoods and the attitudes and responses of those interviewed, that the possible use of neighborhood as a category or influence failed to materialize.

In my journal notes of mid-October, 1990, I noted, "I am finished with neighborhood number one and number three and have two interviews done in neighborhood number eight. I'm beginning to feel that the neighborhood concept really has little purpose except as a way to locate people who have had possible relationships with Japanese. There doesn't seem to be anything particularly the same or different from

one neighborhood to the other. All the neighborhoods are at least upper middle class--made up of mostly professional/ educated/executive-type people. The only thing at this point that seems to make the difference is who the people are."

The decisions to move away from the "neighborhood" construct, to interview more people in one neighborhood than another, and to interview certain people as representative of community life while not selecting others, are all examples of the inductive process essential in fieldwork methodology. In their paper defining the role of fieldwork in educational research, Erickson, Florio and Buschman (1980, 2) state "...(the researcher) pursues deliberate lines of inquiry while in the field, even though the specific terms of inquiry may change in response to the distinctive character of what is happening in the field setting and in response to changes in the fieldworker's own perception and understandings of those happenings during the time spent in the field."

Also important here is the flexibility of ethnography. Since it does not entail extensive pre-fieldwork design, as social surveys and experiments generally do, the strategy and even direction of the research can be changed relatively easily, in line with changing assessments of what is required by the process of theory construction. As a result, ideas can be quickly tried out and, if promising, followed up. In this way ethnography allows theory

development to be pursued in a highly effective and economical manner (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983, 24).

A major aspect of the original design which did develop according to my expectation was the process of having the neighborhood interviewees act as informants, pointing me to a variety of areas of community life. The 17 people interviewed outside of the neighborhood context were all referenced and/or recommended during one or more of the 30 neighborhood interviews--as the trail of the research led into various domains of the Pleasantville community.

In my proposal for this study, I stated, "It is anticipated that other areas of community life will be referenced. These areas could include adult and youth recreation, education, retail and grocery services, eating and drinking, business and employment, and avocational pursuits." In fact, each of these areas was surfaced by the study's informants as the trail was followed into the community.

GUIDING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to determine what has happened, and continues to happen in Pleasantville since the arrival of the Japanese plant, I developed an early major research question to lead this study, as well as a number of subsidiary questions to guide the data toward the main research question.

The primary information being sought in this research study originally was stated in the following major question.

How is Pleasantville, as a community and as individuals in that community, different now than it was before the arrival of the Japanese, in its attitudes, its perceptions, and its actual knowledge, as indicated through a study of selected aspects of community life?

As the interviews proceeded, however, I realized that the direction of the study was changing from one focused on the "changes" and "differences" in the community since the arrival of the Japanese, to a much more general overview of what has happened in Pleasantville, how do people feel about it, and what has transpired between Americans and Japanese, as interpreted by Pleasantville residents. I began to realize that trying to interpret the interview comments as "changes" forced me to assume a "before" situation that I could not adequately defend. Events subsequently happening in Pleasantville could eventually be interpreted as changes, possibly with this study as base-line data. At the present time, everyone seems too close to the issue to understand whether real changes have occurred. And so, in time, I realized that the research question which was guiding me was "What has been going on in Pleasantville since the Japanese arrived and how do people feel about it?"

The subsidiary questions to be addressed, in order to lead to assertions which would answer the main research question, are:

1. What are the basic attitudes, currently, of people in the community regarding the Japanese, as stated by community members?

2.

3.

4.

5.

Th
simila
small
257-25
repres
cultur
decidi
standa
for de
to det
necess
demons
"share
that
is tru
Pleasa

2. What factors do community members identify as having influenced their attitudes/ perceptions/knowledge?

3. Has there been any interaction between Japanese and American neighbors? If so, what has characterized these interactions?

4. What activities have occurred in the actual domains of community life (i.e., education, government, retail services, entertainment/leisure, etc.) during the two-and-one-half years of the Japanese presence in Pleasantville?

5. Were there events in the community which prepared people for the arrival/presence of the Japanese and therefore impacted people's attitudes, knowledge, and perceptions? If yes, what were they? If not, do people feel there should have been?

The purpose for conducting the interviews, for asking similar if not identical questions of 52 members of this small community, was, as described by Goodenough (1963, 257-259), to determine the patterns of behavior existing in representative community members. Goodenough describes culture or patterns of behavior as systems of "standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding what to do about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it" (272-281). In order to determine what is going on in Pleasantville, it was necessary to view these patterns and standards as demonstrations of shared group phenomena. It is that "shared phenomena" defined by Goodenough (1971, 36-42), that leads to the ability to describe what is going on, what is truly happening in the experiences of the residents of Pleasantville.

THE INTERVIEWING PROCESS AND THE QUESTIONS

In order to guide the interviews, a series of 12 questions were developed and used to open discussion in appropriate areas. As is always true in the ethnographic process, the questions served as guides and were adjusted to fit each interviewee. They were presented orally and, as is true in any conversation, led to a wide variety of discussion. With the exception of one interview, all the interviewees expanded on the questions and allowed the conversation to move naturally around the subject.

To determine the specific type of interview to conduct, three basic approaches to collecting qualitative data through open-ended interviewing were considered. Michael Quinn Patton in Qualitative Evaluation Methods (1980) describes three types: 1) the informal conversational interview, 2) the general interview guide approach, and 3) the standardized opened-ended interview. Patton defines the purpose of the qualitative interview as providing a framework within which respondents can express their own understandings in their own terms.

Considering my personality and the subject of the data being collected, I selected the second, the general interview guide approach. While the first type relies entirely on spontaneous generation of questions at each interview, and the last depends on each person being asked exactly the same questions in exactly the same way, the second option seemed most appropriate to me. In the interview guide approach, a set of guide questions is

prepared "in order to make sure that basically the same information is obtained from a number of people by covering the same material...thus the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a subject area, to word questions spontaneously, and to establish a conversational style--but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined" (Patton, 1980, 200).

The interview guide focuses the interaction, while allowing individual perspectives, interviewer and interviewee experiences, and distinct personalities and styles to emerge. In addition, it helps make the process systematic by delimiting the issues to be discussed.

The selection of this interview style proved very appropriate for the 47 separate interviews of 52 people which were conducted. In some cases, depending on the nature of previous answers, I decided not to ask certain questions. In the reverse, there were numerous situations where the conversational nature of the interview opened up new areas and led to new or restructured questions.

Patton cautions the reader that the interviewer's flexibility allowed in the interview guide approach can result in a difference in sequencing and wording questions which can result in substantial differences which reduce the comparability of responses. Guarding against that, I attempted to be thorough in covering all the subject areas which were included, at least as they were appropriate to the specific interviewee.

A weakness for me of the interview guide process was caused by my own enthusiasm for and interest in the information being discussed. I had to guard against allowing the interviews to become personal conversations. In other words, I had to force the interview guide to do its job of delimiting the issues to be discussed and focusing the interview on the guide questions. I so thoroughly enjoyed conducting the interviews, meeting so many new and interesting people, that I did truly have to hold reign on my emotions not to move toward developing friendships or sharing more than was appropriate in order to create the necessary level of conversation. On only one occasion, after a particularly interesting two-hour interview, did I allow myself to schedule a lunch date with the interviewee to continue our discussions outside the research process.

I noted in my journal as I neared the 30th interview, "Something must be wrong. This is too much fun. Everyone I meet is interesting, and I love the conversations and hearing all their experiences. I really have to guard against getting too involved. Sometimes I just want to sit around and visit and hear stories all evening. The topic seems to bring out so much that is personal from people that it is easy to feel close to them. I want to share too much, to tell them stories in return, and to form a friendship during this interview. Somehow I never expected that it would be so much fun. I wonder if that is okay?"

My own constant concern about my closeness to the subject is not only a personal concern, but a basis for

criticism aimed at qualitative research methods by detractors of this process for solving problems of inquiry. Borman, LeCompte, and Goetz (1986, 42-57) point out, in their analysis of the potential problems in ethnographic and qualitative research designs, that it is based on the major characteristic that the researcher is the primary research tool. Critics charge that qualitative researchers are unable to separate themselves from the data collected since the process of gathering the data requires the researcher to be "both filter for and interpreter of the data" (Borman, LeCompte, and Goetz, 1986, 43).

However, as Borman et al. provide solutions for the areas criticized, they advise strong personal and analytic discipline to help researchers avoid excessive subjectivity. It was this discipline that I called forth regularly as I forced myself to maintain the objectivity to look at the interviewees and their data without bias, and yet retain a closeness and concern for the subject. Not only was this constant surveillance of my bias necessary in the interview and data collection process, but also in the interpretation of the responses and coalescing of the data.

The twelve specific questions which acted as the interview guide and which were asked, when appropriate, to guide each interview were:

1. Do you know your Japanese neighbors? How did you get to know them? What kind of experiences have you had with them?

2. Have you personally encountered other Japanese in Pleasantville? If so, describe

these encounters. How do you feel about any encounters?

3. Is there anything else that you see or notice in the community that relates to the Japanese? What do you hear? Where? Who do you hear it from?

4. What feelings/attitudes have been shared with you, by your co-workers or friends in the community regarding the Japanese? In your opinion, what caused these feelings?

5. Before you knew Japanese were coming here, how did you feel or what did you think about Japan or Japanese? What did you know about them?

6 After you heard a Japanese plant was coming, what was your reaction?

7. What happened in the community that helped inform you about Japan or the Japanese?

8. What else could have happened and what did not happen in the community that would have supported, changed, or contributed to your attitudes or knowledge?

9. What do you know about Japan and Japanese people now that you did not know before?

10. What are the biggest differences about the community now that the Japanese have been here for over two years? Where do you see evidence?

11. Who else in the community should I talk to and where else should I go to understand more about how Pleasantville is reacting to the presence of the Japanese?

12. Do you have any other thoughts or examples or stories you would like to share?

SUMMARY

In a qualitative research process which developed over a two-year period from January 1989, through December 1990, this study of the reactions of Pleasantville residents to

their Japanese neighbors grew and changed and focused. As described by Bogden and Biklen, much of the direction of ethnography and qualitative research is evolutionary in nature. "The study itself structures the research...the design is flexible" (Bogden and Biklen, 1982, 56). In the analogy of the verbal photographs I was seeking of Pleasantville, during the two-year period I changed focus, arrangement of subjects, my angle of view, the lens, and even the camera, but never the overarching goal to photograph what was happening in the community in relationship to the Japanese.

The surprisingly simple research question, as it ultimately evolved, was "What has been going on in Pleasantville since the Japanese arrived and how do people feel about it?"

In order to answer that question, 52 people were interviewed; 35 were residents of neighborhoods where Japanese have purchased homes and were interviewed in 30 separate interviews with 5 interviews being conducted with pairs of interviewees. These 35 were interviewed regarding their own attitudes and activities and were also looked at as informants to the larger community. Their responses led to the interview of 17 additional people as representatives of a variety of domains of community life.

CHAPTER 4

THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE

THE PLACE

The slogan on the cover of the Pleasantville Chamber of Commerce's attractive color brochure is particularly appropriate in the context of this study. "Where a Town Becomes a Hometown" certainly identifies a desired attitude and spirit for this small town. The opening line follows up the slogan with the statement "Pleasantville, a point on the map that can quickly become a place in one's heart."

To illustrate the type of community which attracts new Japanese industry, it is appropriate to look at the details of Pleasantville.

With a population of 7,500 (estimated 1988), the town encompasses 4.66 square miles. There were over 2,750 housing units in 1988, but a recent building "boom" in the area has raised that number, particularly in higher priced homes (in Pleasantville that would include houses at $125,000 and up). The average home value published in Pleasantville literature as of 1988 was $57,700.

An advantage to Pleasantville residents is its location 15 minutes from the county seat which has a population of 25,000; 25 minutes to a major university community; 45 minutes to a substantial community of 350,000 with a wide variety of activities and services; and only one hour to a metropolitan area and a major airport.

Pleasantville is home to a progressive community public library, a new state-of-the-art indoor swimming pool as part of the school system but available to the public, a country club and golf course, and an active city recreation program. Nine community parks attract residents, with small parks of one acre and large recreation centers of 15 to 30 acres. Ponds and lakes in these parks provide enhanced recreation activities. In addition, a community center overlooking a pond houses senior citizen activities.

The public school system, which serves 3,100 students, includes six elementary schools, one junior high school, and one senior high school. A growing adult education program is also offered. Special educational programs for handicapped children and vocational education for youth and adults are coordinated by the near-by regional educational system.

Eighty-five clubs and organizations are listed in community literature, from Rotary, Boy Scouts, and Band Boosters to a eucre card club, square dancers, a theatre group, and a Hospice organization. A 100-bed health care center provides a wide variety of services and imports consultant specialty physicians from a nearby teaching hospital.

Pleasantville has little history of racial diversity, other than the strong anti-slavery sentiment of many of its early Quaker settlers which resulted in shelter for fugitive slaves escaping through the Underground Railroad. However, the current African-American population of the community is

less than 1/10 of one percent. The children of one African-American family currently attend the high school, and there have been years when there were no African-American students. The only significant minority is Hispanic, with three percent of the population.

Approximately 20 companies are listed as manufacturers and major employers in the area, with products ranging from banking and health care to the one Fortune 500 manufacturing company whose presence stabilizes the economy of the community. Employees of these 20 companies range from 14 to 1,500.

A weekly newspaper with a circulation of over 5,000 is the primary communication vehicle for the city, with a daily newspaper from the county seat covering Pleasantville news extensively.

The historic homes mentioned earlier are a show-case and the focus of the major event in the community, a "Stroll Through History" which occurs for two days each spring and brings thousands of visitors into Pleasantville.

There are several clothing stores, two furniture and appliance dealers, two florists, a building supply store, a number of antique and specialty shops, and a variety of grocery stores, discount outlets, and drug stores. Restaurants are few, although Pleasantville does have its McDonalds and Big Boy as well as several cafeterias, pizza restaurants, diners, and one "better" dining establishment.

It is in this setting that approximately 45 Japanese citizens, including wives and children, have found homes and

neighborhoods. The original number of 130 Japanese who descended into Pleasantville in the early phases of the plant's establishment included equipment set-up personnel, trainers, and others who returned to Japan in six months to one year after the plant was fully operational. The number of Japanese men currently employed in the plant numbers over 30, only 15 of whom actually reside in Pleasantville. The remaining numbers live within a one-hour commute of the plant, some having been reassigned from other Japanese plants who commute from existing homes. However, in different circumstances all Japanese would live in the plant community, even more significantly affecting the life of the community and its members. For example, Bellfontaine, Ohio, has become home to a major Honda operation. "Bellfontaine has scarcely 14,000 residents, but by 1990 there were fifty Japanese families living there, and there soon would be more" (Gelsanliter, 1990, p.170).

THE PEOPLE

The study was conducted by interviewing a total of 52 people in 47 separate interviews. The numbers reflect five people who were interviewed as part of a couple or a pair of school children and so were not considered as separate interviews.

Of the 52 people, 35 were interviewed in the category of "neighbor." Thirty-one are residents in one of the seven neighborhoods where Japanese live and they were interviewed in an attempt to understand if and how they interact with

their Japanese neighbors and what their attitudes are about the presence of Japanese in the community. The other four are in the neighborhood with no Japanese residents. Of the 52 people, 17 are representatives of various domains of community life. I "found" them as a result of their being referenced by one or more of the 35 neighbors. They were referenced as people I should talk to in order to find out about schools, or recreation, or banking, or shopping, or other community aspects.

An overview of the 35 neighbors, in relation to their employment or career status, shows a preponderance of people with professional careers. This can be explained to some extent by the types of upper-middle class neighborhoods where the Japanese settled and the fact that the prices of the homes can limit the people who can afford to live there.

The neighbors, as quoted in the findings, are introduced by name (pseudonyms are used in all cases) and by employment. Gene, a retired school administrator; Mary, a retired teacher; Jenny, Joyce, Donna, Jeanette, Mary Ann, Noreen, Joan, Janet, and Margo, all housewives; Jeff, a city official; Stan, a factory supervisor; Doreen, a retired nurse; Karen, a school aide; Ted, an airline employee; Margie, a school counselor; Betty and Judy, special education teachers; Gary, a fireman; Larry and Kevin, industrial salespersons; Doug, a controller; Patty, a realtor; John, an attorney; Roy, a fine arts teacher; Sheila, a home child care provider; Barb, a secretary/

administrative assistant; and Robin, Angie, Karen, Chuck, Jake, Debbie and Marie, all students. The locations of these neighbors according to neighborhoods is detailed in Figure 1.

Neighborhood #1	Neighborhood #2	Neighborhood #3
Judy	Gary	Doreen
Stan	Kevin	Karen L.
Gene	Larry	Ted
Mary	Marie	Janet
Joan		Robin and Angie
Jeff		Karen M. and Chuck
		Jake and Debbie
		Margie

Neighborhood #4	Neighborhood #5	Neighborhood #6
Doug and Noreen	Barb	Joyce
Patty	Jenny	Donna

Neighborhood #7 (No Japanese)	Neighborhood #8
Margo	Jeanette
John	Betty
Roy and Sheila	Mary Ann

Figure 1 Neighborhood interviewees listed by neighborhood.

The representatives of aspects of community life who were interviewed in relation to specific domains of the community, such as recreation, education, health care, and

retail services, suggested by the neighborhood interviewees, included the following (identified by pseudonyms): Jerrie, a dance teacher; Maureen, a librarian; Louise, a real estate agent; Jim, a school official; Marty, a representative of the Chamber of Commerce; Miuki, a beautician; Paul, an official of the country club; Barbara, the manager of a golf course; Greg, a city official; Sandy, the principal of an elementary school; Marvin, an officer of a major bank; Catherine, an official of the community medical center; Suzie, the manager of a popular restaurant; Bill, the owner of a retail establishment; Dan, the manager of a large grocery store; Christine, the manager of a day-care center; and Sam, a member of the American Legion and former World War II veteran.

The total number interviewed included 28 women, 17 men and 7 children. Although I did not ask their ages, I attempted to place all of the adults in an age range. By my estimate, 21 are in the 21-40 range, 20 in the 40-60 range and 4 over 60 (see Figure 2). The larger number of those under 60 made sense since all of the neighborhoods where Japanese live, with one exception, are in areas of new, larger homes, occupied primarily by families with children.

Number of interviews: 47

Number of people interviewed: 52

Adults: 45 Men: 17 Women: 28

Children: 7 Boys: 2 Girls: 5

Number reporting previous cross-cultural experience: 44 out of 52

Figure 2 Demographics of interviewees

Of the 45 adults, 11 were long-term residents of Pleasantville, living there over 20 years. Fifteen had lived in the area 10 years or more and 14 under 10 years. Five, all people interviewed in one of the community domains, do not live in Pleasantville (see Figure 3).

The seven children included five girls and two boys, two in elementary school, three in middle school and two in high school.

	Age			Length of Residence in Pleasantville			
	21-40	40-60	60+	Under 10 years	10-20 years	Over 20 years	Live elsewhere
Women	14	12	2	9	11	5	3
Men	7	8	2	5	4	6	2
Total	21	20	4	14	15	11	5

Figure 3 Age and length of residence of interviewees

Of the 52 people interviewed, a surprisingly large number, 44, or 84 percent, reported that they had previous cross-cultural experiences. One explanation is that Pleasantville has a long-term educational exchange program with France whereby elementary children from the two countries visit each other for a three week period each year. The foreign children spend the three weeks in Pleasantville homes, and, in return, Pleasantville children visit in homes in France. This program, now in its sixth year, has given lots of community residents the opportunity to experience contact with people from another culture and with another language.

Other reasons given for having experienced cultural difference include:

-traveling in Europe and other countries;

-grandparents from other countries;

-family members marrying people from other countries;

-living in other countries in military or corporate service;

-college roommates from other cultures;

-neighbors or friends from other cultures;

-exchange students living in home;

-born in another country;

-foreign born students in classes;

-work in a company owned by another culture and/or with lots of visitors from other cultures; and

-married to someone from another culture.

The reason most commonly given, both by the students and by adults, was being exposed to exchange students, either in the classroom or in the home.

SUMMARY:

These people of Pleasantville, as just introduced, for the most part were welcoming and willing to share their feelings and their stories of life with their new Japanese neighbors and community members.

The results of their experiences are detailed in the following three chapters, looking specifically at their attitudes and feelings about the Japanese plant and its Japanese employees, at what happened in the neighborhoods, and what happened in the larger community and some of its domains.

CHAPTER 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AND THE JAPANESE PLANT

INTRODUCTION

In order to better understand what happened in Pleasantville neighborhoods and in the community as a whole, it is necessary to analyze the 52 interviewees' general beliefs about and attitudes toward the Japanese.

The purpose of this study is to attempt to determine not only what is happening in Pleasantville, but how people are feeling about it. Obviously, how people feel about something determines what actions they will take. In Chapter 6 I will examine what happened in the neighborhoods where Pleasantville residents and new Japanese residents encountered each other. In Chapter 7 I will look at what happened in the community-at-large, as interpreted from the responses of 35 neighborhood interviewees and 17 community representatives.

Some insight into how people report that they feel about Japan as a country, about racial prejudice as it relates to the Japanese, about the left-over feelings from World War II, about the new and growing economic progress of Japan, and specifically about the existence of a major Japanese manufacturing facility in their community, will aid in understanding the later findings.

In The Nature of Prejudice, Allport (1979) explained that prejudices, positive or negative, are grounded in beliefs which drive attitudes. Without some basic belief in

place, one could not support, defend or hold on to an attitude. In Pleasantville, people interviewed described many beliefs and attitudes toward the Japanese, more of them positive than negative. I hadn't expected to find Pleasantville a hot bed of rampant racism, but I had expected to find more negative beliefs and attitudes than were revealed to me.

As noted earlier, Pleasantville has little experience with racial diversity, and was described by those interviewed in ways which would lead one to expect to find racial concern, at least, and possibly prejudice and even discrimination. Examples of those comments about Pleasantville, not directly quoted but as closely word-for-word as possible, are:

Mary: Pleasantville tends to be not terribly welcoming in general to newcomers. An element doesn't want growth.

Joan: It's so lily white.

Miuki: Pleasantville is tight--they don't take to outsiders. Some people are good to outsiders but not the whole community.

John: Plesantville is a nice compromise community, a great town to be in.

Louise: We have people who are prejudiced because we have a small, cloistered town.

Margo: A lot of people don't want change here. People want this town to stay the same.

Jeff: It's a white community and it wants to be a white community. There is a hidden prejudice, but maybe not against anyone in particular, but just at keeping the community white.

Gary explained something about the attitudes he experiences in Pleasantville as he shared with me a story which I had heard before, and which is accepted as fact by some people in the community. The almost total absence of African-Americans in Pleasantville is, according to Gary, a result of the actions of a local community leader. As owner of a major manufacturing plant, he would hire black people but give them such terrible jobs that eventually they would quit and leave the area. Finally one family didn't leave and the employee became a valuable worker. The owner still didn't want a black family in town, so he built a home in the country and gave it to the family so they would not be living inside the city limits. Gary said, "He wanted it to be an all white community and he had the power to do it."

True or not, that and similar stories travel throughout the community. Based on such stories and reactions, which, having lived near Pleasantville for many years, did not surprise me, I expected to hear some very strong opinions voiced about the presence of the Japanese. The following findings describe a more accepting and welcoming attitude, and describe many people who appear to be moving toward or are already multicultural in their world view.

MOST PLEASANTVILLE RESIDENTS REPORT POSITIVE ATTITUDES

Of the 52 separate individuals interviewed during this study, only one described himself as being angry about the Japanese in the community. The other 51 ranged from extremely positive, to accepting, to passive or

disi

othe

resp

hone

sele

and

whom

is a

wante

my b

incli

inter

prese

Pleas

It is

the m

feeli

so ma

enthu

their

Annie

their

interr

can to

disinterested. However, most interviewees did describe some others who had expressed to them their negative feelings.

I am not sure why I heard almost nothing but positive responses. I sincerely believe that people were being honest in describing their feelings. It is possible that my selection process led me from one positive person to another and that people did not suggest others to be interviewed whom they knew to be vocally unhappy about the Japanese. It is also possible that people only said what they thought I wanted to hear. Despite the fact that I tried not to show my bias, it might have seemed that I would be favorably inclined toward positive attitudes.

For whatever reason, most Pleasantville residents interviewed reported they have positive feelings about the presence of a Japanese plant and Japanese people in Pleasantville.

Describing these attitudes is insufficient in writing. It is here that audio or video tapes would better describe the manner with which so many people discussed their feelings about having Japanese neighbors or associates. In so many cases, there was a level of excitement and enthusiasm that is hard to convey on paper.

For example, the Frye family described events between their children and their Japanese friends. Eight-year-old Annie and eleven-year-old Eileen stayed in the room with their parents throughout our interview, constantly interrupting eagerly to add some piece of a story. Annie ran to her room to bring me Japanese gifts which she had

received, and at the end of the interview the family shared a video tape of the children playing together, described more fully in Chapter 6. They described it as having been "so much fun." Sarah Frye explained that they haven't really thought about the Japanese in Pleasantville as any kind of economic issue, or trade deficit issue, or World War II issue. "We just see it as a kind of fantasy come true of future relationships and wonderful cultural experiences--and we're loving it." Roy Frye added that they have never heard a negative comment from anyone.

Karen and Chuck, high school students living next door to a Japanese family, said they are impressed with the Japanese "high standard of values, honor and integrity," and that these standards should help our whole society. Karen, a very bright and articulate senior, added that it has rounded out her personality to have Japanese neighbors. "I know now that Japanese aren't just in history books but are people too."

Other Pleasantville residents made the following types of observations.

Donna: It didn't bother anybody on these streets that they were Japanese. They saw it as interesting and international.

Marty: Most people think it's really exciting and a chance for people to learn about a different culture.

Karen M.: It was viewed as positive by our family.

Dan: They have some of the best work ethics. I'd like to have 100 Japanese working for me, the way they work.

Christine: This has given me lots of respect for them. They are very nice people and very polite. They always take time for a nice word.

Joan: People think it's a good idea--something different.

Jerrie: For people who know someone Japanese it's only been positive. It's good for us to see each other's countries and cultures.

Jeanette: I have a warm feeling about them.

Bill: They are excellent citizens--good to deal with.

Greg: It has given me the opportunity to see that people are the same around the world. They are warm people and very enterprising. If we'd sit back and learn from them we'd be in better economic shape.

Karen L.: I have a positive image of Japanese as good neighbors. I've not heard any neighbors in this neighborhood say anything against them--and they would!

Barb: I don't see any negative things. They've been wonderful neighbors.

In addition to these positive attitudes, others described a kind of acceptance, but without the outspoken enthusiasm.

Doreen, who now has a positive relationship with her neighbor, Mrs. Kobiyashi, told me that when the Japanese first came, she thought it was great but she thought she didn't want a Japanese next door to her--"in the neighborhood, maybe--but not next to me."

Karen and Chad's mother, Janet, explained that she accepts the Japanese because her background taught her to accept people. "I want them to accept my culture, so I have to accept theirs."

"I haven't heard anything bad. I think they're well accepted," Betty said.

Doug described the attitude in his neighborhood where two recent events have been noteworthy, the arrival of two Japanese families and a pre-fabricated house being built in his custom-designed neighborhood. "There's lots more uproar in the subdivision about a family who built a manufactured house than about two Japanese families. If you keep your house decent and are easy to live next to, then it's O.K."

According to Gary, one of the reasons for the high acceptance level of the Japanese in the community is "the class of people here from Japan." He described them as the upper class. They live in good neighborhoods and don't need anything from the community. There are no ill feelings--"so we don't have any problems with them."

Gary described his personal feelings, "I see them as struggling, frightened. I have empathy for them."

Not only is there acceptance in the neighborhood, but in general in the community. Maureen, the librarian, said that she hasn't seen anything negative in people's acceptance of the Japanese and has not heard of or seen any problems among any age group.

Speaking about parents, Christine, who manages a day-care center, thinks from her observations that the parents of Pleasantville children have no reaction other than "isn't he cute" or "isn't she cute" when they see the Japanese children all dressed up at day-care. Christine said she has never received any derogatory comments about the Japanese

children. She thinks it may be because all of the parents of the daycare children are young parents with no anti-Japanese history affecting them.

A third level of comments which I categorize at the lowest level of acceptance are those which are basically indifferent. For some there is a feeling of lack of involvement which results in a passive or apathetic attitude.

Jeanette explained it when she said, "Most of the attitudes I hear or feel are indifference. I haven't heard that they would hurt the community." She went on to add that the indifference is not just toward the Japanese but toward anyone new in general. She feels people are too lazy and treat any new neighbor indifferently.

According to Patty, most people just can't be bothered. The attitude toward the Japanese is "so they're here--so what?"

Suzie, who manages a local diner, said, "I haven't heard one negative thing in the past year--or positive for that matter. It's just nothing."

As I interpreted these comments, and others, I found them to be more multicultural in general and less ethnocentric than I had expected. Most people viewed the Japanese presence as at least acceptable and for many, as positive and even exciting.

However, I did hear about some negative feelings. Negative comments about the Japanese from the interviewees were few, although many people talked about others who have

negative feelings. In general, most negative comments described were based on specific complaints or attributed to specific types or groups of people.

For example, Karen told of standing in line in a neighborhood market when she overheard a comment made by a man in the line. She described him "in a muscle shirt with some beer or union logo on it, jeans, you know the type." She heard him say, "We could show these Japanese a thing or two. My union guys can do it better than they do." Karen felt the comment was no reflection on anyone or anything racial, but more a work-related comment defending union workers. It was the only negative comment she has heard.

Her husband, Ted, had a discussion with a neighbor who didn't like the idea of Japanese moving into the neighborhood. The one blatant comment he heard against the Japanese was from a man who had just been laid off from an American plant, "so he saw it from a different vantage point than I did." The man asked Ted how he felt. Ted thinks the neighbor expected him to have a negative reaction, too. Ted told him he thought it was positive for lots of reasons, one was that the Japanese would be fastidious neighbors. "So he just stopped talking about it to me."

Jenny overheard a discussion at an adjoining bridge table. She quoted one woman as saying, "We don't need a bunch of foreigners coming here and buying our land." Jenny described the woman as "covered with gold chains and four diamonds on each hand." The woman continued, "I don't know why they want to do this. This town is fine just the way it

is." Jenny concluded that someone who has everything is in no position to think things are fine, when Pleasantville obviously needs the Japanese plant to bring in jobs.

Gary thinks that there really isn't anything basically negative in the community, as a whole, just in some individuals who don't like it. His brother doesn't like it, because his brother-in-law married a Japanese and brought her to Pleasantville. "He doesn't like her and he doesn't like Japanese."

Barb told me that a few of her neighbors are not happy that there are Japanese in Pleasantville. They tell Barb that they are upset because the Japanese were able to pay the high prices for houses that they bought and because they can afford to always be buying things. But Barb added, "I don't see how anyone could not like them."

Marty said, "I thought everyone would be glad to have them come--guess that isn't true." She heard some people say that the city was bending over backwards for the Japanese and it doesn't bend over backwards for them. But she added that the people she hears that kind of thing from are the ones who complain about everything.

Finally, Barbara referenced the negative feelings she encountered at her golf course, but she feels that the negative comments are less now than they used to be. "It used to be 'the Japs' this and 'the Japs' that--now its 'a group of Japanese out there.'"

In addition to these specific people who are unhappy because of perceived threats to their jobs or job

performance, or a change in the status quo, several people mentioned that older people in the community are unhappy about the Japanese. George said that older people "hate them" and will never get over it, but that others don't feel that way.

Mary, who is 59, said that people older than she is are "very, very distressed" that there are Japanese in the community. They handle it by telling degrading and demeaning jokes about the Japanese. Joan also has a sense that there is animosity in older people. She couldn't think of anything specific--"just things I hear third or fourth hand."

In general, it appears that far more people have positive attitudes about the Japanese than have negative feelings. Almost all the negative comments which were reported either belong to some unidentifiable "they," to people who are discredited by type, or are feelings and attitudes which are described as abating over time.

One area where negative feelings were reported by a number of those interviewed related to experiences on golf courses and in bowling alleys, particularly in the first year of the Japanese presence. These feelings and attitudes are described in Chapter 7.

As I listened to negative feelings, I was waiting to discover if a typical enthnocentric attitude about one's race, culture or community would lead to or be expressed as actual prejudice. There were a variety of comments about prejudice, ranging from Judy's "I was brought up that there

really isn't much difference between people," to Mary Ann's "My husband is very prejudiced against the Japanese, very prejudiced."

None of the interviewees reported personal feelings of prejudice against the Japanese, but told of others who did. There were some people who did discuss their own personal prejudices against other groups and there were those who indicated that others had made comments to them which contained prejudice toward the Japanese.

An example is Janet, who thinks she must have grown up with feelings of prejudice having been raised in an large multi-racial city. She remembers watching Japan-America war movies and thinking of the Japanese as "the bad guys" when she was a child. She received no parental influence or prejudice against Japanese, but lots against blacks.

Doug told me that he didn't have negative feelings about Japanese. In fact, he said he "catches it" from some of his family for driving a Mazda. He added, "My dad wouldn't like them moving in. I just listen to him. That's his own opinion."

Jenny reported hearing someone in her neighborhood say "there goes the neighborhood" when he heard there were Japanese moving in. He used the term "Japs," a term which Jenny hadn't heard used since she was a child. She felt the neighbors comments reflected a prejudice against the Japanese.

The Martin family, in three separate interviews with the mother, the high school children, and the middle school

children, described an attitude which they perceive exists in the neighborhood. High school freshman, Chuck, said, "There seems to be real prejudice there." Chuck quoted his friend as saying "Japs, I wish they wouldn't move here." The father of the family being described as prejudiced is a car dealer who doesn't like Japanese here because their auto-related plant is affecting his business. Chuck told me that the son's prejudice was "passed down from parent to child as a resentment against Japanese." Although Chuck thinks that the obvious issue is an economic one, he feels the prejudice is based on race.

The middle school daughters, Robin and Angie think there probably are some prejudiced kids, but they don't know any. Their mother, Janet, told me "With the other neighbors around, I don't hear any bias. I hear acceptance."

Mary Ann, whose husband is very prejudiced, said she and her husband do not share his feeling about the Japanese. Brian's father was in World War II and he grew up inheriting his father's feelings. "Brian got a strong subtle statement against the Japanese--that was his reality." Mary Ann sees Brian's anti-Japanese sentiment as a statement of protection for his dad. He wears his father's Marine jacket, won't buy a Japanese product, and is very vocal about his feelings with friends who own products made by Japanese.

Mary Ann pointed out one irony in her husband's strong prejudice. Although he won't buy Japanese products and is very vocal in his negative feelings, he was very eager to

secure a contract with the Japanese plant for his company, which he successfully did. She wonders what he would do if tested. The test she suggests is making money on property. She knows a family who were offered twice the market value of their house by the Japanese, but the woman's prejudice against the Japanese was so strong that they wouldn't sell, even to make that kind of money. Mary Ann wonders what Brian would do. "If they'd come along and offer him twice what his house was worth, would he sell?"

Many people interviewed report that they are not racially prejudiced against the Japanese as they report they and others are against blacks or Hispanics. While few people admitted to prejudice against the Japanese, numbers of people discussed their own and other's feelings about blacks and/or Hispanics.

Karen presented an interesting situation about her father, who served in the Pacific during World War II. Despite his World War II involvement, her father is not prejudiced against Japanese, but is very prejudiced against blacks. His twin brother was wounded by the Japanese, but Karen's dad "didn't seem to carry any of that on into life." He doesn't talk much about his war experiences or feelings, "but his feelings about blacks, well, that's another story."

Barbara, describing Pleasantville as "ethnically pure--they don't even have any Jewish people," said that black people scare people in Pleasantville. The blacks from nearby big cities are associated with things that scare

people: drugs, guns, murder. As she sees it, the Japanese, on the other hand, don't scare people.

Doug and Noreen do not have much of a personal feeling about the two Japanese families in their neighborhood. "Not that it isn't O.K.--it's just no particular event." However, they feel that if the families were black, the neighborhood would be very upset. Noreen said that people don't view the cultural difference of the Japanese in the same way they consider the racial difference of blacks. "I don't consider myself a bigot. I really feel terrible with what I'm saying," as she went on to admit that if it were a black family rather than a Japanese family down the street, it would have bothered her. She didn't like hearing herself say that, and then acknowledged that as long as everyone keeps up their property, that's what people are worried about. This suggested to me that Noreen and her neighbors feel that the Japanese will keep up their lawns and houses and black people will not.

Doug and Noreen then disagreed about the neighborhood reaction if a Hispanic family moved into the neighborhood. Doug felt the reaction to a Hispanic family would not be as strong as it would against a black family. Noreen countered with "I think it <u>would</u> be something--it would too be noticed. We don't have any in the subdivision."

Jeff, a city official, succinctly stated his view of the community. "I sense a lot of bigotry toward blacks, but Japanese came in with money and bought expensive houses."

Gary, a fireman and retired factory worker, said that his kids tell him he is prejudiced against blacks--and he admits to some personal social problems with blacks as a young person that have colored his view. But he admitted "there are bad whites too--bad blacks and bad whites--but the Japanese who are here are O.K." Gary described the Japanese as "not lower class" as compared to "lower class whites or blacks" and added that the Japanese are fitting in to the community.

Joyce presented an interesting analysis of why black and Hispanic people would be less welcome in Pleasantville than the Japanese have been. She blamed the attitude toward these different racial groups on the media. The media presents nothing but negative reports, at least as she views it, about blacks and Hispanics. The views reported in the media, of "murder, rape, drugs and mayhem," set up fear of blacks and Hispanics. "You never hear good things except in unreal situations like the Cosby Show."

On the other hand, when you hear about the Japanese in the media, you hear about excellence in education, intelligence and hard work, people striving to be on the top of the heap. "The country is so educationally advanced."

According to Joyce, no wonder most people feel accepting of the Japanese presence and would feel very concerned and resentful about the presence of blacks or Hispanics in their neighborhoods.

Since there was little expression of real prejudice from those interviewed, it follows that I would hear little

about discrimination. Holmes defined discrimination as "prejudice transformed into action" (1970, 1), and since I heard of little prejudice, I was not surprised that there was only one example reported to me of possible discrimination.

I had heard, as you might expect, that the people most upset about the Japanese were the veterans of World War II, and other veterans, in support of their fellow military. The sites for the most concentrated anger and prejudice reported were the American Legion Hall and Veterans of Foreign Wars Post. <u>There was no evidence of potential discrimination except at the American Legion Hall and Veterans of Foreign Wars Post</u>.

I heard one story which was hearsay and I was never able to validate it, about two Japanese being steered, as a joke, to the American Legion and then being badly treated. When I heard it a second time, it was attributed to the original storyteller--and no one else could confirm it.

Toward the end of the interview process it was suggested by the city official that I interview Sam, a veteran of World War II, very active in the American Legion and very vocal about his anti-Japanese sentiment. I was eager for this interview, hoping to determine the truth of the story of discrimination at the American Legion, and finally to hear first hand from someone who not only was angry and resentful about the Japanese but could speak for the World War II veterans in Pleasantville.

I have to admit here that I expected to find the interview a difficult experience. Dealing with someone so outspoken in his dislike of any group of people had to be distasteful. To my great surprise, I liked Sam very much. I certainly did not agree with his attitudes, but I couldn't help liking him and felt empathy for his obviously very deep and emotional feelings on the subject.

Twice during our lengthy interview, sitting at the kitchen table in his modest Pleasantville home, Sam cried. Once the interview stopped for a moment while he buried his face in his hands and wept, so personal and emotional were his memories and his reactions, even after 50 years. However, his tears were not ones of sorrow or regret, but were based on emotions of pride and loyalty, which our discussion provoked, particularly as he described a recent reunion of fellow soldiers with whom he served in the South Pacific.

Sam was 18 in 1942 when he joined the army. His father had recently died and a hurt and lonely young man eagerly joined his country's fight. He spent much time on an island in the South Pacific, where Japanese were holed up in caves in the inner part of the three-mile-wide span.

I asked Sam about the story I had heard concerning the American Legion. Sam had never heard the story and doubted very much that it had ever happened. However, he said the guys at the Legion have talked about what would happen if Japanese ever did come. They joke and say, "They'd never get out of here alive. They definitely wouldn't be welcome."

Some of the younger men in the Legion are not as set in the anti-Japanese sentiment as Sam. He told me that sometimes when the guys are talking, some will tell him that the people who are at the plant and living in Pleasantville weren't even born when World War II happened. For Sam, it's not these particular people, but they represent the country. It's where they come from. "But damn it, they come from Japan."

Sam goes out of his way not to be where there are Japanese. If he goes in a restaurant where Japanese are eating, he leaves, unless he is with his wife. For her sake, he will stay, but he feels very uncomfortable. "Maybe I have a bad attitude." For Sam, his attitude is based on "what I went through." He says he wasn't ever in a direct Japanese confrontation, but he saw what "they" did to our troops, "especially the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor."

According to Sam, he is mild in his feelings compared to the men who were on the front lines. "You don't even mention the plant or the Japs to them."

It's difficult for Sam and others who spent time at the Legion and VFW Post to have Japanese in Pleasantville and to have the community leaders so welcoming and eager to have a Japanese plant. "It bothers me if people think it's great. Those people didn't have to go through what we went through."

WORLD WAR II AND ECONOMICS PLAY A ROLE IN PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES

While Sam described the only area of potential discrimination which I heard about, many people discussed the influence of World War II and Pearl Harbor on their beliefs and attitudes about the Japanese.

Earlier, older residents were referenced as being a group of people negative about the Japanese. Some older Pleasantville residents view Japanese as historic war enemies and resent their presence. In relationship to World War II, older people were singled out by the interviewees for their negative attitudes.

Stan: Older people in the community are still bitter over World War II. They resent most any older Japanese that might have played a role in the war. I would be bitter, too, if I had lost a parent.

John: The guys around here in their 60s were affected by World War II. They were the ones I know of that were upset. It was hard for them to stomach it--having Japanese in the community.

Gary: A lot of old guys still have animosity because of the war. Older people say they fought those people in the war and don't want to have anything to do with them. The Japanese who are here now had nothing to do with it--same as I didn't. But some older people still have animosity against them.

Greg: There are really divided reactions--two factors. The old factor are the World War II vets. For the most part they have bitter feelings and express it. The younger generation has no reason to be part of the older era, and have accepted them personally.

While many people described others' war related feelings, some people told of experiences as children that formed fear and negative attitudes. Mary, now 59 and a

retired school teacher, talked about how afraid she was of Asians as a child and young adult. She had seen graphic war newsreels and she was sure that if she ever saw a Japanese she would be killed. As a young woman, she took her daughter to nursery school and there was a Japanese boy in the class. As Mary and her daughter walked in that first day, the boy, using a piece of wood as a gun, pointed it at them, shouting "bang, bang." Mary was terribly frightened, even of a little boy with a stick gun. She said, "I thought they were evil." As an adult, Mary told me, "Now I know that the common people aren't 'the country,'" but she still is confronted at times with her early negative feelings from the 1940's war newsreels.

Early memories continue to haunt Greg, whose uncles all fought in the South Pacific. As a child he was living in a very small town south of Pleasantville. In 1945, at the end of the war, a soldier from the town returned, bringing a Japanese uniform. He stuffed the uniform with straw and hung it from the single stop light in the center of town and burned it in effigy. Greg remembers that night and the crowd of yelling people. "I don't have any animosities against the Japanese," was Greg's reaction, but he has memories tinged with anger and fear.

While most interviewees said they did not have negative attitudes about the Japanese based on World War II, they discussed those feelings as reported by others. Additional comments on the subject included the following:

Jenny: I've heard a comment or two from World War II vets that aren't exactly happy. They won't have anything to do with them. They're still fighting the war.

Marty: I've heard from World War II vets that it's hard for them--and they know it's hard and a lot of them don't want to feel the way they do. But they do--because they were there.

Jim: There are still lots of World War II vets in town who speak strongly resenting the presence of the Japanese.

Barbara: I have lots of older people who golf in their leisure time. Lots were involved in World War II. They haven't been happy about it. They say things like "I'd like to shoot them all."

Even though lots of older people have real difficulty with the Japanese living in Pleasantville, and still others carry painful memories, two people expressed a more accepting point of view about this 50-year-old war which is still a part of our national psyche.

Jeanette expected to have negative feelings about the Japanese because of World War II. After a recent trip to Hawaii where she and her husband toured Pearl Harbor, she was surprised that she didn't. "I treat each person as an individual. I don't think of them as part of World War II."

Margie also went to Hawaii several years ago and visited Pearl Harbor. Her reaction was, "I realized that we were all just victims of our leadership--we're victims just as they are." Margie felt sorry for the Japanese and wondered about all the stories they have to tell of the things we did to them. "They had people shot and killed by us."

An interview with Ted in the early stages of the study began to clarify for me that there were really two "wars" related to the Japanese being reacted to in Pleasantville. According to Ted, "The feelings about the Japanese are dependent on a person's age." The people who fought in World War II have feelings against them as the old war enemy. Ted thinks people his age see them from the viewpoint of the blue collar worker, taking away jobs, as the economic enemy.

Maureen made the same distinction. She pointed out that people's early negative fears were based on two main factors, World War II prejudice and the economic fear that the Japanese are taking over. She added that she heard those comments in the first year, but she's not hearing much any more.

During the course of the interviews, I was surprised to hear more concerns about the economic issues than the World War II issues. I heard it from every age group, including from Chuck, a high school freshman, who told me that the kids in school see what's happening between the United States and Japan as an "economic war." Economic concerns about the present and future relationship between Japan and the United States appear to be the strongest issue affecting attitudes toward the Japanese. Sam sees it almost as a continuation of World War II. "We go over there and blow them to hell, and now they're coming over and going to take us over." Sam blames our government for letting it happen. He hopes he won't live to see the take-over, but his

impression is, "Unless our government does something, they're going to take us over without firing a shot."

While Sam sees it from a very negative point of view, most people had mixed feelings and some tended to go so far as to give Japan credit for their new-found world status and even to hope that our country will learn from the Japanese.

Gary thinks the Japanese have figured out how to do it better and our manufacturers better listen to them. Gary's friend Bill joined us at the fire station mid-way through the interview. He added, "The Japs know how to do it right. They have for years." Bill described the quality cars made by the Japanese, where everything works. "The doors shut perfectly. Ours, the snow blows in till you had a blizzard inside." Bill said our cars were falling apart and we knew it, so no wonder other countries didn't want to buy our cars. He concluded with, "Why would anyone buy a piece of crap?"

Gary picked the interview back up at this point and added that he would rather have Japanese plants here employing our people than have plants in Japan with Japanese labor selling cars over here. "They have helped our economy," was Gary's opinion.

Others who have concern about the economic issue but have opinions which still support Japan are:

> Larry: You hear they're taking over the U.S. They're investing in the U.S. They're creating jobs. They're not taking over the U.S. They're getting involved in business--showing people how it should be done.

John: The best thing that happened to the American auto industry was the Japanese auto industry. When I think about the quality of cars we made in this country ten years ago! In many ways it's terrific that the Japanese do what they do. We need this competition to make our products better. Maybe we'll learn from the Japanese and do something about it. I'm pretty awed by what the Japanese are doing. I'm really impressed by their success. There's a feeling of quality and a solid sense of doing business.

John is like a lot of the Pleasantville residents I interviewed. They give Japan credit for its economic success, but are still afraid of what it means for the United States. John went on to describe his concern. He chose to buy a John Deere lawnmower. It had a Japanese engine and he was glad. He wanted to buy it because of the Japanese engine. He said, "It's terrible when you go out of your way to avoid buying products from American companies and seek out Japanese products."

John isn't afraid of the Japanese owning a lot of things, but he doesn't see it as positive for our country. He thinks the Japanese will be sensitive to the communities and do a good job, but there's something else troubling him. Since Japanese headquarters for everything are in Japan, the profits are going back to Japan, not to our major cities and local communities. He worries that "maybe it could result in a decline in our quality of life."

Many others suggested similar concerns without really being angry at or blaming the Japanese.

Ted: We've switched roles with the Japanese from the time when we occupied their country. They don't occupy our country, but they are buying it up. Even though I like the idea of

them being here, it scares me what is happening to our country. I'm leery about where it's heading. If it were equal purchase, us and them, it would be O.K.

Bill: They do dominate the world market. I have mixed emotions about that--about them buying up the country. The Japanese have our credit card. They're going to control the world with their banking. But if we could do it, if we had the money, we'd be over there buying them up.

Maureen: I still hear lots of comments about the Japanese buying our buildings, our antiques, our major art works, and golf courses. I hear it less often in the local context but from a broader range of feeling. It comes from all types, not just auto workers. It's the whole concern about America losing its status as number one power in the world. I don't think it's based on prejudice. It's not unfounded anymore--it's real--and people are afraid.

Barbara: There were several reasons that people were negative--the war and the fact that they're buying us up went hand in hand. But most people blamed our country more than the Japanese. People say our country let it happen--let them buy us up.

Jerrie: I think most people feel it--the economic side--and don't feel it positively. What will our government do about the open trade issue. Really, how much of the country can the Japanese buy? I didn't feel too bad about it 'till they bought Rockefeller Center and other similar places. Then it was something to worry about. I've always thought as a liberal, but this is scary.

Gene: For me the basic fact is they've beat the hell out of us mass producing quality cars--so now we're all competitive again. We're just fanning up old prejudices through this car competition.

While some people fear the economic realities of Japan's new world-power status, and primarily older residents still react based on 50-year old emotions caused by World War II and Pearl Harbor, most of the Pleasantville

residents still report primarily positive feelings about the presence of the Japanese people and plant in their community.

The positive acceptance of this very different cultural group called to mind the work of Blakely and Bradshaw as they described the "new migrants" (1980). Although Blakely and Bradshaw's study was not about foreign immigrants, it seems applicable here. The study indicated that there are many "new migrants" settling in America's small towns and these migrants are very different from the immigrants of the past. They are employed on arrival or easily employable and therefore are a non-dependent group, not accessing the community's financial and support services.

In Blakely and Bradshaw's study, the new migrants are most often "city" people moving to rural areas for a quality of life. No studies have been done on the Japanese in that regard, but the Japanese contain all the characteristics of the "new migrant" described, with the exception that their company, rather than they, selected the small town for a certain quality of life. Blakely and Bradshaw's study indicated that there is a need to identify the dynamics of this new movement and how it affects small towns. This study responds to that need and adds the new dimension of the Japanese.

In the 1980 study, these new migrants were easily accepted in their new town; that acceptance, and the reasons described, being self sufficient and employable, seem to fit the Pleasantville situation. This acceptance is easy to see

in the attitudes of the citizenry toward the Japanese individuals and even toward the manufacturing plant itself.

JAPANESE PLANT IS WELCOME AND WELL RECEIVED

It was a real surprise to me that most people interviewed had such positive things to say about the Japanese manufacturing plant itself. This general positive attitude and acceptance of the plant appears to me to have a real bearing on their views of what happened in the neighborhoods and in the community as a whole. People's attitudes about the Japanese as neighbors and as customers and clients had a base in an early positive attitude about the plant itself. I had not expected an almost unanimous acceptance and in many cases, excitement and happiness about this new facility. There was a positive attitude about the presence of the Japanese plant in Pleasantville reported by almost every person interviewed. Even those who told me about the negative attitude of others toward the Japanese in general had few stories of people who were unhappy about the presence of the plant. Exceptions included two people who wished the plant were not Japanese, but admitted that they would rather have it be Japanese than not have it at all. Even Sam, with all his years of anger at the Japanese, was glad there was a new plant. "Pleasantville needed another manufacturer for workers." And Sam reported that many of his friends say it's a fine place to work. He too wishes, however, it were not Japanese.

While a few people reported some early doubts or concerns about having a Japanese plant, those concerns dissolved over time. Louise, a realtor, told me, "I feared it would hurt the town, especially sitting there at the entrance. I think now people are convinced they (the Japanese) are going to do well for the community."

The presence of the Japanese manufacturing plant is viewed as economically good for the community. Some attitudes were based simply on being pleased that there would be a new plant in Pleasantville; some saw long-term, overall economic benefits; while others saw it simply in terms of jobs.

The city official whom I interviewed, Jeff, was heavily involved in negotiating with the Japanese for the selection of Pleasantville as the site for the $100 million plant. He told me that he went after it aggressively. "I wanted it here." He said he had some early concerns about bringing lots of Japanese into Pleasantville, but felt that with the generally high socioeconomic status of Pleasantville residents, the community would be generally accepting. He also felt that the existence in Pleasantville of one national-level company already involved in international trade meant that people would be more tolerant of an international company.

Marvin, a banker, saw long-term benefits for Pleasantville from the plant. This included a more stable work force and more people living in the county.

Dan Greene, manager of a large grocery story catering to Japanese clients, reported real excitement on the part of lots of people. He related that to the impact on the general economy and the fact that the new plant would help the community recover from the closing several years earlier of a large manufacturing facility.

Other comments which people attributed to themselves and others regarding their feelings when they heard a Japanese plant was scheduled to be built at the entrance to Pleasantville include:

Sandy: People were real positive. We needed that plant to bolster the economy. No one I heard said it wasn't O.K. Maybe some people were afraid that Japanese cars were going to take over, but no one was upset about the plant.

Jenny: My reaction was "great." To me it sounded like a good thing for the town. But I heard one lady say Pleasantville was fine just the way it was.

John: When the new plant came in, I knew it was going to be good. I knew they were here to stay. I knew they'd do things well, treat workers well, be solid members of the community. When the first word came out, I was jumping for joy. I'd read so much about the Japanese, I had confidence that they would do a quality job with everything: landscaping, a well-maintained plant, quality treatment of workers. I knew it would be a first class operation.

Bill: It's the plant that adds to business. The plant is very good for us in lots of ways. A dozen families spend $2,000 in our store over a year. It's not a lot--not like 50 families would, but it doesn't hurt!

Patty: There was a kind of excitement. I don't remember hearing many bad things. We were "up" because it was coming. There were economic reasons to be glad.

Donna: I welcomed the plant, for the community. It didn't really directly affect anyone I know, but I don't know anyone who was opposed. I'm aware that there are people who do resent it, but I don't think anyone I know feels that way.

Margo, the librarian, summed up for me the mixed feelings that some people had, happy and concerned at the same time. She told me that from an economic standpoint, people were glad to have the new plant and a chance for jobs. And people also had the feeling "We rated. We were selected." However, there was still concern that it was a Japanese plant, for a variety of different reasons: "World War II, race, economics." For some it was the fact that the thing they kept reading about in the papers and hearing on television, the Japanese buying up America, was happening to them. As Margo explained it, people were thinking "The Japanese are here now; now they're knocking on our door, too."

For those who saw the economic benefits of the plant, the issue of jobs was a critical one. The creation of new jobs was an important factor in the acceptance of the plant. Greg stated it very directly when he said, "I was pleased. I didn't care if it was Japanese or Indian or where it was from. It meant jobs for the community." As he remembered it, when the plant was announced, there wasn't much reaction about it being Japanese.

Gary, a local fireman, told me that most people were glad, because they knew it would bring jobs into the area. Jobs were especially important since there had been the

plant closing several years before. Since the younger people, those who would be working at the plant, didn't have any World War II feelings, Gary felt it didn't matter to them if the plant was Japanese. "The overall feeling is that it's good for the area--it produces jobs," was Gary's response.

Janet said, "When I heard a new plant was coming, my only reaction was 'new jobs.'" Marty, who is associated with the Chamber of Commerce, said that most of the people she deals with in the Chamber are trying to keep Pleasantville and the county vital, and the Japanese plant helps to do that. She said, "It's good for Pleasantville. It brings jobs."

Even Sam's reaction was that the plant had created jobs for many people he knew. According to him, "The guys like working there." They tell him it's a clean place to work and they like the fact that everyone, the secretaries and even the president, all wear the same uniform, "like they're all on one team." But Sam would never consider accepting one of the many new jobs. "I would go out and dig ditches before I'd go out there and work."

For some, it was not only a matter of being pleased that the new plant was coming to Pleasantville, <u>the fact that the Japanese selected Pleasantville over other communities was a matter of pride</u>.

It was John, an attorney, who characterized this feeling of pride. "There's a real community pride in having this Japanese plant here," he began. As he explained it to

me, Pleasantville residents recognize that not everyone got picked. The Japanese could have gone anywhere. "When the Japanese choose you, you've got something going for you." John said he knows, from what he's read, that the Japanese do endless research and checking into a town before they choose it. "Having a Japanese plant in your town is like having the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval."

John continued to explain that if the Japanese put a $100 million plant in Pleasantville, it says to the world that it is a great community to put in a business. The Japanese have done the research for anyone else to follow. As a business man, John feels sure that if another company wants to know whether to come to Pleasantville, the Japanese have proven "we're a top community, worthy of a major international company."

Other people described it similarly.

Jerrie: When the plant was announced, most people were pleased they chose Pleasantville. It meant that there were qualities here that were better than other communities. I had community pride.

Louise: It was a compliment to Pleasantville for them to come here. They had the choice of anywhere to go.

Ted: I was immediately pleased that it was coming to Pleasantville. It was inevitable that it was going to be built somewhere, and how wonderful they chose to be here.

Margo summed it all up for me when she told me she had three basic reactions to the arrival of the plant. First, she thought "Hooray for Pleasantville and our economic developers and our economic base." Second, she thought, "It

really does happen. This is 'Gung Ho' right in my own neighborhood!" She realized that the articles she had read and TV shows and movies were right, that the Japanese really are building plants in American towns. And third, she was impressed. "Gee, they really know what they're doing." She found it all to be "incredibly controlled and disciplined." And since they know what they're doing, and chose Pleasantville, it could only be good for the town. "They are everywhere--where they can be economically successful."

As evidenced, most people, for a variety of reasons, reported that they welcomed the arrival of the plant. When asked how they feel about the plant now that it has been in operation in the community for almost two years, community members interviewed view the plant as supportive, financially and personally, to the community as a whole.

Marty explained it well when she said, "Pleasantville Manufacturing is a good employer, a good member of the community." She went on to detail the reasons why they are a good member. According to Marty, they have given money to the city, to the parks, and to the community. They encouraged their employees to give to the United Way and had a very good response. They are active members of the Chamber of Commerce, with an employee on the Chamber Board. Marty told me, "They are a participating member of the community, not just sitting out there making money and going home at night."

Margo thinks that the executives at the plant figured out what they needed to do to be accepted. "In

Pleasantville, everyone pitches in. In this town the best thing you can do is help out." So Margo thinks the Japanese found out who was important and what was important, and then did the right thing.

There were many similar comments about the supportive nature of the plant. To name a few:

Greg: The city has benefited from their presence. They are excellent people to work with, very giving people. It's been good for the community. We've been introduced to another culture. They're very strong in their culture. We've benefited.

Jim: In the early days, I sent tickets to the travelogs to Mr. Wada. Then he started promoting the travelogs. Now Pleasantville Manufacturing is a big supporter of the travelog series. They take out a half-page ad each time.

Karen: I can remember a large contribution to United Way from the plant. The image of a good neighbor was definitely coming through.

Jeff: The positive thing is that they have come in and tried to fit into the community. People think they kept their promises--they provided jobs. In fact, when the union tried to come into the plant, they were defeated.

Doug: They've given monetary contributions. They gave money to fix up a park. They should put some kind of sign on it and people would see a new park and know the Japanese plant gave it.

Gene: Lots of positive things are coming out of the plant. American workers are loyal. I haven't heard anything negative from them about the Japanese. That helps since the Japanese plant is reinforced by Yankees--our own think it's O.K.

Jerrie: The existence of the plant does a lot for the community. The Japanese plant has very civic-minded people.

Jeff and Louise both added a slightly different dimension to the sense that the Japanese have worked to fit

in and be good community citizens. Jeff spoke from the experience of being involved with the early negotiations. Jeff had always heard that Japanese were "cut-throat" in business, "would put the screws to you." But he said the Pleasantville economic developers didn't find that to be true. "I never sensed they were going for the jugular." Jeff told me that they originally felt they had to be scared of the Japanese, "But we didn't. They were so good to us."

Like Jeff, Louise reported that people started out with one idea but changed their mind. She described some people who were veterans, involved in World War II, who said, "Never trust a Japanese," and those people were very distrustful. Some of them were on the Planning Commission and they wanted everything to be double checked. But the Japanese did far more than they needed to, according to Louise, to assure people. They even did more than they were asked in order to prove that they would be good for the community.

As was discussed in the Blakely and Bradshaw (1981) study, in their description of the "new migrant" as contributing to the community rather than being dependent on it, the Japanese plant and its employees are seen as adding to the community of Pleasantville.

Other research on migrating populations describes a similar reaction, positive if the migrants add and negative if they appear to take away. In the case of the Arab population in Detroit (Hamada, 1990) and the North to South migrants to Smyrna, Tennessee (Lippert, 1990b) described in

Chapter 2, the Arabs are seen as contributing and are therefore generally welcome. The Northerners are seen as taking away jobs from Southerners, depleting housing, crowding the roads, and are therefore not welcomed to the community.

A final observation about the general acceptance level of Pleasantville Manufacturing is based on an individual Japanese person. The president of Pleasantville Manufacturing is highly regarded in the community for his communication skills, his friendliness, and his appropriate responses to community needs, and that reflects positively on the plant and on all the Japanese.

Mr. Wada, company president, has taken the American name "Henry" rather than force local community members to pronounce his complex Japanese first name.

Many people commented that Henry somehow always remembers their name and how he knows them, a fact that astounds them. Marvin met Mr. Wada shortly after his arrival, since, as a banker, he was eager to do business with the plant. He described the president as "hand picked--and super suitable for it." During a series of lunch meetings, they discussed many things about America culture. According to Marvin, Mr. Wada "is more well versed about our country than most people who live here."

Many others reacted positively to Mr. Wada and to other Japanese executives as well.

> Jim: I'm impressed with Henry Wada. He's not a flashy guy. He doesn't try to impress you with being CEO of a big operation. He's

very down to earth. He's been very well received. So have the other executives. Obara has been well received, also Iguchi.

John: Mr. Wada always remembers who I am. He's a real pleasant guy. In fact, they have exceptionally pleasant people there. Everyone thinks so. They say, "Have you met so and so--he's a great guy."

Bill: You couldn't ask for a nicer guy than Henry Wada. A young man who worked at the plant got killed. Henry himself went to the funeral home and the funeral, to represent the plant. That's the Japanese attitude of loyalty.

Jeanette: There was a reception for a man in town, and Mr. Wada came. I didn't expect he would. He hardly knew him. They really try.

Gene: Henry's fluent in English and that really helps.

Catherine: One night at the emergency room they brought in one of the Japanese employees. Suddenly there was Henry Wada. How did he know to show up? He always knows where to be. I gave him my card that night and he gave me his. Since that time he always knows me and calls me by my name.

It appears to me that in many ways, the general perception of the plant as positive and necessary to the economic well being of the community, as something which makes people proud of Pleasantville, and as a supportive community institution has contributed to overall acceptance of the presence of Japanese in Pleasantville.

SUMMARY

As I approached Pleasantville to conduct this study, I anticipated a variety of reactions, but I did not anticipate such strong positive reactions from those interviewed.

Most Pleasantville residents interviewed reported they have positive feelings about the presence of a Japanese plant and Japanese people in Pleasantville.

Almost none of the interviewees indicated that they personally had negative feelings about the Japanese. It is possible that people only referred to me those whom they felt had positive attitudes, or they only told me what they thought I wanted to hear. For whatever reason, negative comments about the Japanese from the interviewees were few, although many people talked about others who have negative feelings.

Some of those negative feelings attributed to others appeared to exist for a variety of reasons, but few were truly intolerant. None of those interviewed reported feelings of prejudice against the Japanese, but told of others who did. Those interviews which did mention prejudice did not direct it at the Japanese, whom they seemed to see as more culturally different than racially different. Many people interviewed report that they are not racially prejudiced against the Japanese as they report they and others are against African-Americans or Hispanics.

While there was some minor report of Japanese-directed prejudice, and a significant amount of African-American and Hispanic prejudice, there was little discussion of actual discrimination. There was no evidence of potential discrimination except at the American Legion Hall and the Veterans of Foreign Wars Post.

The reported response of veterans and many older Pleasantville residents to the Japanese is often a negative one. Some older Pleasantville residents view Japanese as historic war enemies and resent their presence. Even those who do not carry anger about World War II, and who report that they are happy to have Japanese in Pleasantville, do express some concern about the economic complications. In fact, economic concerns about the present and future relationship between Japan and the United States appear to be the strongest issue affecting attitudes toward the Japanese.

The first attitudes of people in Pleasantville, even before the Japanese moved into the neighborhoods and became part of the community, were in response to the Japanese manufacturing plant itself. There was a positive attitude about the presence of the Japanese plant in Pleasantville reported by almost every person interviewed.

A major reason that people felt acceptance about the arrival of the $100 million facility was that the presence of the Japanese manufacturing plant was viewed as economically good for the community. There were significant economic benefits of this new enterprise. The creation of new jobs was an important factor in the acceptance of the plant.

In addition to the economic impact which it was anticipated the plant would bring, some people were simply pleased that Pleasantville had been chosen as the site for this plant. The fact that the Japanese selected

Pleasantville over other communities was a matter of pride. The positive attitudes were reinforced in the time that followed by the way the plant established itself in the community. Community members interviewed view the plant as supportive, financially and personally, to the community as a whole. While many of the plant's Japanese executives were mentioned favorably, the company president was most often referenced. The president of Pleasantville Manufacturing is highly regarded in the community for his communication skills, his friendliness, and his appropriate responses to community needs, and that reflects positively on the plant and on all the Japanese.

As demonstrated, people interviewed and those they referenced have accepted and even welcomed the Japanese plant and its employees, despite some existing feelings of concern and, for a few, even anger. Looking more closely at life in Pleasantville, it is possible to see how these attitudes and beliefs about Japanese are visible in the neighborhoods and in the community in general.

CHAPTER 6

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE NEIGHBORHOODS

INTRODUCTION

As I started out gathering the data for this research study, moving into various neighborhoods in Pleasantville, I was very quickly struck by how many beautiful upper-middle and upper class neighborhoods there are in such a small town. Pleasantville has always prided itself that there are no slums in its 4.6 square miles and that the majority of its 7,500 residents live the "good" life. That is certainly the Pleasantville which the 15 Japanese families living here found, since they are all located in very pleasant homes in new and well maintained neighborhoods. Despite the fact that I have lived near Pleasantville for 18 years, I had never been in the majority of these neighborhoods, and have never been in so many attractive homes in any given period of time.

I report this fact to lay the groundwork for the findings to be reported in this chapter. The 35 Pleasantville residents interviewed in their homes in neighborhoods shared with Japanese appear to be middle class at the lowest and upper class at the top. I hesitate to use these rather elitist terms, but it is necessary in order to describe the economic status of those being interviewed, since it impacts the findings.

The homes being described range from $90,000 to over $200,000. The average home in Pleasantville, according to

the city assessor's office, sold for $78,000 in 1990, in a county where the average home, according to the county Board of Realtors, sold for $59,000. Therefore the people responding to this research are, for the most part, people with a large enough income to afford to own homes in the highest range in the area.

Pleasantville realtors report that the Japanese were not interested in looking at older homes and were interested only in new homes in "nice" areas. This fact is not limited to the Japanese in Pleasantville. Gelsanliter reports on the Japanese settling in Belfontaine, Ohio: "The Honda families preferred to buy new. They didn't want a house that had been tramped through by strangers, nor one that had been lived in by a dog or cat. They didn't appreciate the broken-in feeling some Americans cherish in an older home. Anything pre-war in Japan is rarely attractive, and so much was destroyed during the war. Their dream home would have a cathedral ceiling, with floor-to-ceiling windows, and a foyer where shoes could be removed" (1990, 158).

As a result, the Pleasantville residents being interviewed, while not necessarily representative of the community at large, may be representative, on a national or at least a regional level, of those who live or will live in neighborhoods with Japanese. While the economic status of those interviewed in neighborhoods may limit the ability to generalize about the findings to the community as a whole, it may allow a broader generalization to those specific

types of neighborhoods where Japanese choose to live in other communities.

COMMUNICATION IS A MAJOR PROBLEM

It was during my second interview that Stan told me a story beginning a pattern which appeared in many of the interviews to follow. It had to do with the fact that he was afraid to communicate with his Japanese neighbors for fear of miscommunicating. This fear is only one aspect of the most common thread which appeared in all the interviews: Most people interviewed view the problem with communication as the major factor inhibiting the development of relationships with Japanese.

Stan's story highlighted one aspect of the communication problem, the fear of miscommunicating. As we were talking that summer afternoon in his sunny Florida room, Stan was drinking a beer and was very enthusiastic about our discussion. We were talking about his early experiences having a Japanese neighbor, and he was explaining to me why he has not been more involved with his neighbors. As he told me his story, he jumped up and began to act it out for me. Stan is a big man, a supervisor at a large, successful manufacturing firm--someone whom I'm sure has the reputation of not being afraid of anything. He started by saying, "I'm afraid to talk to them because I think they won't understand me, and I'll make a fool of myself, like I did before." The "before" happened shortly

after Stan and Judy moved into their new house, next to Japanese neighbors.

On the eventful day, Stan and Judy's daughter, Tracy, was playing in the house. The little girl next door, Taieko, regularly walked in and out of the house uninvited. They were never surprised to look up to see Taieko's little four-year-old face staring at them. That morning Stan noted that Taieko had arrived and she and Tracy were playing in the living room. As he looked out the front window, he saw Taieko's mother walking up and down the street with a concerned look on her face, and Stan was sure she was looking for Taieko. Stan had never spoken to Taieko's mother except to smile, nod, and say hello. As he realized that she was concerned for her daughter's welfare, he decided he would be brave and begin a conversation.

By this point in the story, Stan was dramatically acting out what had happened. It seems he went to the front door and out to the steps. Taieko's mother was walking on the sidewalk in front of the house about five steps down the embankment, looking for her daughter. Stan waved at her to catch her attention and motioned for her to come toward the steps. However, she just waved back. So he went down the steps toward the sidewalk and very slowly and very loudly explained and gestured that Taieko was in the house. Assuming she spoke no English, he used elaborate gestures as he explained about Taieko, including rocking a baby in his arms, trying to demonstrate the meaning of the word "little girl" by pointing to his own head while demonstrating long

hair and then pointing out someone of short stature. Then he pointed to himself and to his house.

At this point in the story, Stan was laughing, saying how loud, how long, and how elaborate this speech was as he stood, like an actor on the stage, on the front steps of his yard. After he finished all of his shouting and gesturing for Taieko's mother, she was silent for a moment, then looked up at him and, in what he says was perfect English, responded "Thank you, Stan," turned and went back to her house. Stan said "I came back into the house red as a beet--so embarrassed."

He concluded this interview, sometime later, by saying that he would like to get together and do some things with his neighbors. He is pleased that his daughter is having the opportunity to meet people of a different culture and have a playmate from another country. In fact, he and Judy both indicated that they hope Taieko will stay around long enough for Tracy to form some kind of relationship which she remembers. They even hope someday Tracy will have a Japanese friend whom she can visit in Japan, but for Stan, the possibility of a relationship with Taieko's parents is unlikely. "It's hard to make the first move; it's just fear."

Stan told me this was his first experience dealing with people from another culture. His lack of experience trying to communicate across the cultures leaves him uncomfortable and, after having felt foolish, afraid to extend himself again.

Gene lives down the street from Stan. Gene is older and more experienced dealing with unusual situations, but he too struggles with a fear of miscommunicating. When his Japanese neighbors moved into the house next door, he sought out their name by asking the people in town who were working with the Japanese families, and asked if it would be alright to take them an apple pie. He and his wife Mary called one day to deliver a pie and shortly thereafter received a brief visit returning the kindness of the pie with two Japanese pizzas famous in Hiroshima, the home of these Japanese, and two large Japanese chocolate bars. He was very excited about this exchange and took one of the pizzas and one of the candy bars to share with people in his office. However, as things moved ahead, the relationship did not progress. Gene talked about how difficult the communication was, and that he could never remember his neighbors' name. Finally one thing happened that made Gene so cautious that he indicated he was not going to try to communicate with his neighbors again.

Gene had not seen Mr. Iguchi in the yard in a week or two and began to wonder if he were ill. Mr. Iguchi frequently worked on the lawn, and it was on those occasions that he and Gene attempted to communicate. Finally one day when Gene was in his yard he noticed Mr. Iguchi pull into the driveway. Gene went over to him and asked if he had been well. As Gene explained, by speaking very slowly and carefully, he asked Mr. Iguchi if he had been ill, since he had not noticed him in the yard and had noticed that his

wife and daughter had been mowing the lawn. Gene was uncertain about whether or not Mr. Iguchi understood him, and that concern was validated when almost instantly Mr. Iguchi returned from the house, got on his riding mower and began to mow the grass, which incidentally had just been mowed the day before. Gene knew then that he had been misunderstood.

Later in the week he was at a community function and noticed Mr. Iguchi in attendance. Mr. Iguchi was talking to a translator whom Gene had used, shortly after the Iguchis arrived, to explain to them about a common sprinkler system which the two yards shared. Gene took the opportunity to go up to the translator and to Mr. Iguchi and explain what had transpired in the yard. The translator spoke with Mr. Iguchi and responded that, indeed, Mr. Iguchi had misunderstood Gene's question and thought that Gene was reprimanding him for not mowing his own lawn and for having the women in his house do it instead.

Gene is a very kind-hearted and sensitive man, and he was very troubled by the misunderstanding that he had caused. The result was that he didn't want to try to communicate anymore. He concluded the story by saying that he is concerned about the fact that the Japanese don't understand him, and so he feels that they try to be agreeable, regardless of what he says and even if they do not want to be. I could see his concern when he said, "I feel I make them uncomfortable; so I avoid them." He said he is not motivated to talk to Mr. Iguchi "because I don't

know what to say and I might be misunderstood and make him uncomfortable."

Whenever he goes over to their house for any reason, he feels that the Iguchis wish that he wouldn't come over. Since they can't communicate with him and because they want to be agreeable, he thinks that they will agree to anything he says rather than attempt to dialogue. He said, "I feel like I force them to say yes to me again." Despite the exchange of ethnic foods and yard information, it is unlikely that Gene and Mr. Iguchi will develop any type of relationship, at least in the immediate future. Gene's concern is, "I strain him when I try to talk to him."

While Stan's concern was his own embarrassment and fear of feeling foolish, Gene's concern was making his Japanese neighbors uncomfortable. Gene's wife, Mary not only worries about offending her neighbors, but also worries about the possible fear of miscommunicating which the Japanese must have.

Mary's comment about communication was, "I don't want to say or do anything they will misunderstand. Better to not communicate rather than miscommunicate." She said she worries about offending her neighbors in some way, unknowingly. But she also reports that she feels sorry for them, because in a country where they can't communicate and with the culture so different, they must worry about the possibility of offending the whole community.

Mary told me about collecting for the cancer drive. Mrs. Iguchi came to the door and Mary tried to explain her

purpose, to no avail. Then the Iguchi daughter came to the door to help. Mary ended up explaining to the daughter. "I felt bad talking to the daughter when I was really talking to the mother."

Wurzel, in his seven stages of the multicultural process, identifies miscommunication as one of the early characteristics of the cultural conflict stage when two or more ethnocentric views confront each other (1988, 6-7). It is almost inevitable at this stage, and the ability to move beyond depends on the individuals involved.

Porter and Samover explain that "The chief problem associated with intercultural communication is error in social perception brought about by cultural variations that affect the perceptual process...grave errors in meaning may arise that are neither intended nor really the fault of the communicators. These errors are the result of people with entirely different backgrounds being unable to understand one another accurately" (1988, 30).

Although not all Pleasantville residents reported feelings of fear, enough responded in that way to allow a conclusion to be drawn that <u>fear of making mistakes and being misunderstood keeps some Pleasantville neighbors from developing relationships with their Japanese neighbors</u>.

Although not everyone reported feeling fear, everyone interviewed mentioned some type of language problem which made communication difficult and hindered the development of

relationships. Some of the comments were humorous, some were sad, and some contained concern for the Japanese. Every person interviewed reported some type of communication problem caused by language difference.

Stan's wife, Judy, is very outspoken and easy to know. She shared one of the humorous stories of a language encounter involving her parents who work at a downtown retail establishment. Whenever her father waited on a Japanese customer, he always spoke loudly. One day, after he had been particularly loud, her mother said to him, "Why are you shouting? The guy wasn't hard of hearing; he just doesn't speak English."

Doreen voiced similar concerns about her Japanese neighbor, even though Mrs. Kobayashi speaks better English than most Japanese wives. Doreen reported feeling embarrassed trying to talk to her--that it was just so much more difficult. "You talk too loud and too slow. It's just harder." Many neighbors supported Doreen's feeling of the difficulty of making conversation.

Joyce has several young children, as does her Japanese neighbors. She told me a story about a language problem her children encountered in attempting to play with the Japanese children and communicate with a Japanese parent. Shortly after the Japanese family moved in, Joyce's children and a few other neighbor children went to the door to see if the oldest daughter could play. The daughter opened the door and they all started to talk at once, scaring her, and she started to cry. The mother came to the door and, according

to Joyce "carried on and on in Japanese, as if the kids did something wrong." The children tried to explain, but obviously, neither understood each other. It was a bad beginning for neighbor relations, because since then Joyce has felt hesitant about attempting to communicate. She said, "That is how the language barrier can really get in the way."

Betty is also hesitant about trying to cross the language barrier with her new neighbors, but she is eager to have her daughter play with Japanese children, despite the language barrier. "I told her, 'It's O.K., even if you don't speak the same language,' but I wouldn't have been so eager!"

Betty's first meeting with the Kato family was facilitated by a translator, a Kato family member who had lived in the United States and spoke excellent English. When they called on Betty and her husband, they brought the cousin along and he translated for both families. "Having a translator for the first visit helped a lot. I was able to tell her things that I couldn't possibly have explained otherwise."

The Kato family also visited another neighbor, Jeanette, and brought along the family translator and a gift of a beautiful Japanese fan on a display stand. The translator quoted Mr. Kato as saying, "We hope you will be friends with us." They presented Jeanette and her husband with Mr. Kato's business card with all the family members' names written on the back.

The use of translation was mentioned frequently as very important when it was present, and very necessary when it was not present. A later discussion of things neighbors "wished" for will describe their interest in using translators to ease the early language differences.

Earlier I mentioned that Gene had used a translator. Gene and his Japanese neighbor share a sprinkler system which was installed in the years when Gene and the previous owner were good friends. Gene, knowing he had to explain the system to Mr. Iguchi since it turns on in his yard, called the plant and asked for a translator to interpret the discussion. Gene felt the meeting was quite successful and his Japanese neighbor was very agreeable regarding the sharing of the sprinkler system and told Gene, through the translator, that he should come into the yard anytime he needed to. Gene told about the meeting which was held at his neighbor's house, and how he was made to feel very welcome and was served a coke and cookies while the translator conducted the meeting.

This meeting was held in the first month after the Iguchis' arrival. Gene now reports that his neighbor's English is still a major barrier in their communication process, which contributes to Gene's continuing fear of communicating. Gene said that 16 months after the arrival of his Japanese neighbor, his English is "really not functional" and it is still very hard to communicate. A translator is helpful in emergencies or for major

conversations, but daily communication must be conducted alone.

Also sharing the feeling that language is a major problem was Jeff, who as a city official has worked a great deal with the Japanese executives. He spoke about his and his family's relationship with their Japanese neighbors. He said that the kids get along fine together. The kids play; "Play is play!" But he said that he and his wife can't communicate beyond the basics and formalities. "The language barrier is too great."

Some neighbors manage to conduct basic communication, but feel limited beyond that. Janet, a very easy-going woman whose seven children have become friends with the neighboring Obara children, reported that she has done many things to be helpful to Mrs. Obara, but she voiced real concerns over the limitations which the language problem places on the development of a friendship. She said she likes Mrs. Obara but "the language really makes a barrier in being close friends." She reported, as did many other Pleasantville neighbors, that the adults do not pick up the language like the children do. Janet said that Mrs. Obara isn't picking up English like her children are. "It would help if she spoke as good English as her children. I'm still not sure if what I'm saying is getting through." She talked about the Japanese habit of saying yes and nodding (she demonstrated by vigorously nodding her head and smiling) and how that can mislead, because it really doesn't mean that they understand. You think at first that you've

been understood--and then you realize that maybe you haven't been. "You never know," she said. "I think she (Mrs. Obara) is trying to make efforts, but I don't always understand what she means--or what it means."

Many writers, and many neighbors, used the custom of nodding and smiling as if in agreement, as examples of nonverbal communication processes which lead to misunderstandings among cultures. According to Condon, "Most just listen quietly, nodding and seeming to agree. It is irritating when you later hear that the Japanese you were talking to had doubts and disagreements but didn't say them at the time" (1984, 38).

Janet tried to befriend Mrs. Obara immediately after they arrived. At first she took Mrs. Obara with her to meetings of a women's organization. According to Janet, Mrs. Obara's English was so poor that she didn't seem to be understanding anything. In fact, she fell asleep in one meeting. "So I stopped asking her to go. It was too hard for her." This failure to communicate has kept several of the Obara neighbors from forming the relationships they would have liked.

Margie is also a neighbor of the Obara family, living across the street on their quiet cul-de-sac. Margie said that she would be very interested in knowing the Obaras better. "If I could speak to them, or if I knew they could speak English, I'd be over there." She talked about how much extra effort it takes when you don't speak the same language. "It just takes too much time. And what can I talk

to her about? If I spoke Japanese or she spoke English, it would be different."

When the Obaras moved in, it was October and Margie took apples as a welcoming gift. "It was awkward as can be. None of us knew what to say." She went on to explain that they used facial gestures, hands mostly, and other forms of nonverbal communication including pointing and laughing. The Obaras returned at Christmas time with origami ornaments which Mr. Obara had made. Each of the four ornaments had one of their names on it. Margie said she keeps them on the refrigerator. "It's the only way I could remember their names. I couldn't pronounce them if I had to."

The idea that most Pleasantville neighbors cannot remember or pronounce even the last name of their Japanese neighbors was a surprise for me. I had not expected so many people to be blocked in the relationship at such a basic stage. A few of those interviewed used the names as casually as American names, but most stumbled, at best, or wouldn't even try.

Doug and Noreen have two Japanese families as neighbors. Both families have been in the neighborhood about the same amount of time, over a year and a half. Neither Doug nor Noreen can handle the families' names, "They are so long and hard to remember." Noreen said, "I just can't get them. Only Kevin, our six year old, can remember them." They called Kevin in and asked him to tell

ne their names, and sure enough, he gave me the family name and children's names with no hesitation.

Gene and Mary have called and asked community people for the names of their neighbors several times. According to Mary, "I can't call them by name. I don't know what to call them."

These are not the only Pleasantville residents who admit to not being able to pronounce or even remember the names of Japanese neighbors. In fact, many Pleasantville neighbors were unable to pronounce the names of their Japanese neighbors even after two years.

Joyce is another Pleasantville resident who doesn't know her neighbor's name even though they have lived next door to each other for over a year. She reported the neighbors speak "very little English." As she said this, she spoke in a staccato, high-pitched attempt to imitate her neighbors. She reported that speaking to them is "almost like using sign language." She found her inability to communicate with her neighbors most frustrating during a recent episode with the cable company in her neighbor's lawn. Her neighbor had spent many weeks weeding and then seeding his lawn. She reported watching him hand planting the seeds "one by one." One day, the cable company came in and dug up his yard to lay television cable. Her neighbor came home and saw it. Joyce looked out the window and saw him sitting in the yard looking very sad. She went over to try to explain to him what had happened. "He understands certain things, but I think most of what I said to him went

over his head." She came back into the house feeling very frustrated that she had been unable to explain to him why somebody had been digging in his yard. She was somewhat relieved when later a translator from the plant came over and explained it to him.

Even when the Japanese attempt to speak English, most Pleasantville neighbors find it hard to understand. Joan said that even though her neighbor speaks some English, she cannot understand it. Her neighbor has been very kind to her including giving her daughter some beautiful dresses which her own daughter had outgrown, but Joan feels unable to reciprocate in the relationship, "The biggest roadblock is communication. She has learned some English, but even if she speaks English, it's so hard to understand."

Communicating in person presents a tremendous problem to neighbors, but communicating on the telephone is even more difficult. Jerrie, who teaches dance, talked about communicating on the telephone. She said that frequently the mothers will call to ask her about something, like what type of dance shoes their daughters should buy. They talk on the telephone and very slowly she explains it. After they talk on the phone, the Japanese mothers hang up and then, "I guess they figure it out." The mothers then call back, and tell Jerrie it is alright to order the shoes. Jerrie thinks they have called some of their Japanese friends in order to try to understand what she explained. "How brave they are! It's one thing to try to do it in person, but to do it on the phone is very hard."

Karen, a high school student and neighbor of the Obara family, also talked about the difficulties of speaking on the phone. She said, "Talking on the phone is hard because you don't have any other resources. You can't draw and no using your hands to make gestures."

Karen also shared with me her experience when the Obaras first moved in. She said they tried to talk to the Japanese family, and the only one who could speak even broken English was the Dad. She explained that it was kind of exciting, "like trying a new ice cream to get a taste. You wanted to try the Japanese culture and find out what it was about." She and her brother also talked about how hard it is to communicate with Japanese friends. "You have to say it two or three times and then you have to overlook the nodding and the 'yes.'" As they explained it, it means they hear you, but "it doesn't mean that they understand what you're saying."

Of all those to whom I spoke, almost all blamed any lack of relationship between neighbors on the communication problems, rather than on personalities or attitudes.

However one neighbor, Larry, is one of the few who spoke negatively about his Japanese neighbors and lays only some of the failure to develop a relationship on communication problems. Larry said that right after his neighbors moved in, he went over to welcome them. The Japanese man came to the door and tried to explain to Larry that he couldn't speak English, so Larry left. He went back several more times in ensuing months and basically the same

thing happened. He decided that his Japanese neighbors really didn't want to mingle. He called them "cold and stand-offish." He says that he and other neighbors went out of their way to say "hi" or to help, but that the Japanese have been cold. They are concerned that the neighbors have been so disconnected that no one in the neighborhood would know what to do or how to respond in the case of an accident or a problem at the house. "They haven't connected with anyone in the neighborhood; we wouldn't know know who to call or anything." Larry feels that a possible cause of this must be the communication problem, but he wonders if the neighbors are simply unfriendly.

An interesting addition to this discussion of the role of communication and language in Pleasantville neighborhoods was brought to light in an interview with Miuki, a Japanese woman married to an American and living in Pleasantville for the past 10 years. Miuki works in a local beauty parlor, hired specifically because she assured the owner she could bring in the Japanese business (which, by the way, she has done). Miuki adds a dimension to this analysis by reporting what she feels her Japanese customers want from their neighbors, and how they see the communication problem. Miuki told me that most Japanese want to have conversations with Americans, but they can't start it. They wish so much that they could talk to Americans, "but the words don't come. I see these Japanese trying to talk to Americans, and they do the same things Americans do--misinterpret." Miuki said that the Japanese get part of what's being said, they

get the idea, but they don't know how it fits. They don't know if it's information or a question or what. "They don't know what to say, so they just keep smiling."

Miuki specifically mentioned Mrs. Kato, Betty's neighbor who brought a translator to their first visit. According to Miuki, Mrs. Kato told her that she was afraid she wouldn't be able to talk to her neighbors. Now, because her children play with neighborhood children, she is associating with her neighbors. Miuki reports, "She is very happy about it."

Ironically, Mrs. Kato, who is also a neighbor of several other people I interviewed, is reported to have the best English of any Japanese woman in Pleasantville, and even she was very worried about her ability to communicate with her neighbors. Concern about communication is on both sides of this cross-cultural situation.

In Beyond Language: Intercultural Communication for English as a Second Language, Levine and Adelman (1982) give advice to foreigners about forming relationships with Americans. "With foreign visitors, Americans may not always be the first one to begin friendships. It is possible that some Americans, because of their linguistic and geographic isolation, are hesitant about interacting with foreigners. Don't be passive when it comes to making friends with Americans. Begin conversations, extend invitations and make the first move" (1982, p.70). It appears that in most Pleasantville neighborhoods, based on my interviews with so

many people who have not formed friendships with their neighbors, few are making the first move.

SOME PEOPLE RELATE DESPITE COMMUNICATION

Some of those interviewed in Pleasantville seem not to have been deterred by language, or lack thereof, or by fear, or cultural differences. At one point in the analysis, it seemed that the data was leading to an assertion that people who had former Asian relationships or interest were more likely to persevere and create their own type of communication process with their Japanese neighbors. That was true in the case of Doreen, who had such a positive relationship with Mrs. Kobayashi. Doreen's husband works for a Japanese-owned plant in a nearby city and they have traveled to Japan. Jeanette, who was visited by the Kato family and their translator, later spent lots of time with Mrs. Kato. She has visited Hawaii a number of times and has had a Korean doctor as a neighbor and friend. Barb, who has the only real friendship with her Japanese neighbor, works with lots of Japanese visitors as the administrative assistant to the president of an international company in another city.

However, these three women were not enough to defend that assertion, considering that people without any Asian background also managed to find a way to interact as neighbors.

It appears that some of those who wanted to form relationships, be somehow involved, or at least be

neighborly, however that term was interpreted, did manage to some extent to overcome the communication barriers.

Some Pleasantville neighbors were not deterred by the language differences and found ways to work around the language difficulties.

There is a lot of evidence that some residents of Pleasantville neighborhoods wanted to communicate and be helpful and "neighborly" enough to cause them to overcome any language barriers and develop their own techniques of communication. Others, who also sincerely wanted to communicate, were unable to conquer the language difficulties.

In time, some Japanese neighbors did, in fact, develop adequate English communication skills that allowed relationships to operate very comfortably. However, in only one case, Barb and her family, did a real friendship develop to the extent that the Pleasantville neighbor and the Japanese neighbor actually socialize outside of the neighborhood context.

Doreen was one of those interviewed who was most excited about having a Japanese neighbor and who kept working on the communication process. She described her first visit to Mrs. Kobayashi's house. She took brownies over and stayed to visit. It seemed to her that Mrs. Kobayashi wanted to understand, and maybe could understand a few things. She would try a few words and then a few more. If Mrs. Kobayashi couldn't understand, she'd try writing out the words. Since the study of English is required in

Japanese schools, most Japanese have some ability to read and, to some extent, write English. However, their studies do not include much experience speaking the language (Condon, 1984, 76).

"We just struggled through," explained Doreen. "I was comfortable doing it." But she talked about how uncomfortable she was when there was a lull in the conversation. Japanese are comfortable with silence--a fact not true of most Americans. While Americans tend to view silence as the interruption of communication, Japanese "endow silence with immense power" to communicate. "The capacity of silence to provoke diverse interpretations makes it one of the highest forms of communication and one of the greatest sources of misunderstanding" (Barnlund, 1989, 142).

Doreen continued that she and Mrs. Kobayashi would attempt to talk about many things, including topics as difficult as the differences between Buddhism and Christianity. "I don't know if she understands what I say. I don't always understand everything she says, but I pretend I do." Doreen tried to explain all our holidays and her neighbors tried to celebrate them. "At Easter we explained about the bunny rabbit and then tried to explain about Jesus. They celebrated but they didn't really understand."

Doreen was very happy with the relationship and disappointed that the Kobayashi family would be returning soon to Japan after only two years. "I don't know if she understood what I was saying half the time, but I kept trying."

While Doreen tried for two years to build a relationship with her neighbors, in some families the children took the lead. Janet's middle school aged children, Robin and Angie, described their first encounters with the Obara family and their early techniques for communicating. As they explained it, Mr. Obara knew a little English and Mrs. Obara knew none. When they would visit, the Obaras would point to things. "We'd tell them the words when they'd point." Each Obara family member had his or her own Japanese/American dictionary, which was also used by Robin and Angie and their family as a means to communicate.

Joyce, whose relationship with her neighbor has not developed beyond formal and required interaction, said that, if you have to, somehow you figure out how to communicate. "If you really need to talk to your neighbor about something, you can just sit down and figure it out."

Noreen said much the same thing as she described trying to talk to her neighbor about asthma, since her neighbor was concerned that her son was unwell. "It was very difficult to talk about something like asthma. But we just used key words and tried to tie it all together."

While both Joyce and Noreen described communication as difficult but possible, neither of them have pursued the relationship with their neighbors beyond conversation in passing or in necessity.

Barb, on the other hand, has a relationship with her neighbor which includes both husbands and has extended into

a social relationship. Barb explained that in the beginning no one could communicate with the Kojima family except her 11-year-old son. "Tim was really the one who got it going. Somehow he was able to communicate."

The Kojimas took Tim everywhere with them. He communicated for them. He ordered the pizza; he went to the store with them. "It was hard to keep him from going over there everyday." Tim would even answer the phone at the Kojimas when Mr. Kojima wasn't home.

Barb tells a wonderful story about an early incident when she thought Tim was at the Kojimas, since he always was. She called and carefully asked Mrs. Kojima to send Tim home for dinner. It took two tries before Mrs. Kojima said "O.K." A few minutes later Tim came in, very upset. It seems he had left the Kojimas earlier and was playing in his own driveway. "Mom, why did you do that--send her all the way over here to tell me to come in?" Mrs. Kojima had come across the street and said, "Mama. Dinnertime." Mrs. Kojima didn't know how to explain to Barb that Tim wasn't there. It was easier to find him and tell him to go home, even if he was in his own front yard.

Today the two families are good friends. As the Kojimas' English has improved, so has the relationship. They entertain each other for dinner. Barb said, "It's like going to a Japanese steak house." Barb takes Fumiko golfing and her husband golfs with Mr. Kojima. The first time Barb suggested the two women golf while the two men babysit, Mr. Kojima was almost indignant. His response was, "What? Me

babysit?" But they did babysit while the women golfed. In Japanese tradition, the children are the responsibility of the woman. The man is seldom if ever available for domestic responsibilities. Most children never have babysitters as the mother or grandparents are with them always.

The two families golf together on couples' night and have dinner out. They all went trick or treating on Halloween this year. According to Barb, "They loved it." Barb plans to continue the relationship when the Kojimas return to Japan in a few years. She has no interest in visiting Japan, and says the relationship will probably just be letters occasionally after the Kojimas leave.

Jeanette also has a neighborhood relationship with her neighbor, whom she likes a great deal. She said that she doesn't think it would have worked if there had been a serious communication problem. "If I didn't have a neighbor who spoke good English, it wouldn't work. It's who I have here that makes it work. She's a marvelous woman." Jeanette and Sachiko teach each other to cook, particularly since Sachiko wants to learn American cooking. Jeanette says it's almost like family. "She thinks of me as a mother image. And the little kids call me 'Auntie' in Japanese."

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AFFECT COMMUNICATION

As we have looked at the various examples of people who moved beyond the communication barriers to be neighborly and to develop relationships, all of the interviewees quoted were women, speaking primarily about their relationships

with Japanese women. There is an often-reported feeling among the Pleasantville residents that Japanese males are seldom at home, always at work or golf, and only minimally involved in the lives and activities of their families. As a result in Pleasantville most relationships with male Japanese neighbors do not develop beyond formal acknowledgments.

There are numerous examples of this feeling. Following are responses from several neighbors regarding their perceptions about the absent husband/father and the primary responsibility of the mother.

Jeff: I don't ever see him. He's just not around. We don't see the man.

Robin: It's the mom who has all the responsibility.

Joan: He's never home. I've spoken with him only once.

Mary: He's always gone, and I never see them go anywhere together.

Stan: I only see her. He always stays on the golf course.

This reaction fits with the Japanese custom, where men relate as much or more to their work place and the people there, as they do to their family. Work includes many additional hours socializing with fellow workers. "The structure of the family is based on the central core, mother and children, to which the man attaches...Relationships between families are very weak: hence, the husband has very few social obligations as the household head, and finds it all the easier to concentrate his attention on the affairs of his place of work" (Nakane, 1972, 129).

The only place where most Pleasantville and Japanese men connect is in their lawns. While in some Japanese families the women also do the lawn work, in most the men are somewhat or primarily responsible. This probably makes sense since in Japan there are no yards, and as a result, no age-old social directive of responsibility. Therefore when the Japanese come to this country, each family works out the lawn responsibilities individually. Communicating about and sharing lawn responsibilities was a basis for early contact between Pleasantville and Japanese neighbors.

Most of those interviewed shared a lawn story as an example of some early association or contact with the Japanese family, and many of these stories were about the Japanese husband. Because the Pleasantville families are very involved in maintaining their lawns, and American tradition has one of a child's first jobs as mowing the lawn, it seemed incredible to the interviewees that the Japanese come from a culture that doesn't know even the basics about lawn care.

Examples of comments about the yard work include:

Noreen: The only time I see the men is out mowing grass. They're not cutting shrubs. It's like they don't know how, and don't even know that they're supposed to.

Angie: Mr. Obara wanted to work on the lawn. They both did, because they don't have a lawn in Japan. They have a house with a small yard in Japan, but the lawn is all rock.

Doreen: We don't see the husband often. We talk to him when he is mowing the grass. It was so funny the first time he went out to mow his lawn. He had on a suit and tie and his dress shoes. Now he knows better.

Gene: When they first started mowing their lawn, they would cut it in pieces or sections. The wife would cut a piece in one part of the yard; the daughter would cut another piece. Now they mow in rows.

Doug: They have a power push mower. He didn't even know how to start it. They didn't know how to cut the lawn. For days they went over and over the same spot. They'd do just a little bit at a time, here and there in the yard.

Joan: I have spoken with him only once. When they first moved here, their grass got so long and I figured they didn't know what to do. My mower wouldn't work in it because it was so long, so another neighbor came over and helped cut it with a rider mower. They said "thank you" so often.

Judy: We helped him trim his trees. My boys helped cutting his grass. My husband showed him how to use his rider mower. He had questions all the time. He didn't even know he had a pump--and he had water in the basement. We showed him how to turn it on.

Gene: He didn't understand his lawnmower. He didn't know it was power. I saw him struggling to push it; he was sweating. I went over and showed him how. As he understood, he went "ah ha" and hit his forehead with the palm of his hand. Later he bought a riding mower. He was mowing one day when the grass was wet and the chute was getting plugged. I went over and explained. He was very grateful and said lots of thank you's.

Jenny: He has a big lawn and he wanted to water it. So he went out and brought 10 sprinklers and miles of hose. He had seen my husband going out and moving our sprinkler from place to place and he didn't want to do that. So he set up these sprinklers all over the yard. When he turned it on he didn't have any water coming out of them. My husband explained what was wrong--that he didn't have enough water pressure to force water into 10 sprinklers. So my husband helped him pack them up and took them back to the hardware store.

Without the existence of the lawn, it appears that most Pleasantville neighbors would never have any contact with Japanese males.

The primary area where some communication occurs in the neighborhoods is between the wives, particularly as the Japanese wives seek information and assistance in interpreting confusing information. Pleasantville women neighbors often interpret school notes, messages, requests, and community events for Japanese wives.

Betty's neighbor, Sachiko, comes over often with notes from school she wants explained. She usually has figured most of it out and has her own notes of things she doesn't understand and vocabulary words she can't find. One such note said that her daughter was limited in language; however she could go on to first grade in the Fall. Sachiko didn't understand "Fall" and thought the note meant that her daughter was "falling" behind because of being limited in language. Betty provided great relief when she explained, in her own limited way, the meaning of the note.

Betty said she doesn't see Sachiko often unless she's out in the yard or there are school notes. She did invite her to a Discovery Toy party, although she was hesitant at first, not wanting Sachiko to feel she had to buy something. As she extended the invitation, she very slowly and carefully explained the process of demonstrating special children's toys at a party at her home and then some people ordering the toys. As Betty finished her lengthy and difficult explanation, Sachiko said, "Oh, like Tupperware!"

She did come to the party and, as Betty reported it, had a good time--and did buy something.

The Pleasantville women who shared their examples feel glad that they are able to explain notes and events to their neighbors. Janet says that Noriko Obara really needs her help, since she thinks that each note from school is a mandate for her to do something. One day she came over to see Janet, very confused by a note from her daughter's elementary school, asking for help on a fund raiser. Each family was to bring a "white elephant." Janet's response to me was, "Can you image what she must have thought, to send a white elephant to school!" Janet has also explained such events as potlucks, or shared dinners, which are regular events in Pleasantville schools for end-of-the-year sports banquets.

These all seem to me to be examples of people from both cultures whose desire to communicate overcomes the communication barriers of language and cultural difference.

There is one aspect of cultural difference that I heard often enough to feel it should be reported here. In all my personal experience with Japanese, one of the cultural attitudes of Japanese which I have found so appealing is the giving of gifts. For Japanese, the giving of gifts entails a very complex set of cultural guides dealing with obligation and repayment of obligation. There are rules which dictate when a gift is given, what gift is given in return, the cost of the gifts, and more. Condon describes Japanese gift giving in a way which, ironically, can also be

used to explain the reactions Pleasantville residents feel about the gift-giving process. "Keep in mind that gifts are expressions of relationships and quite literally tokens of gratitude. To spontaneously give a Japanese something because you just saw the item and thought the person would like it causes all sorts of confusion and usually requires the recipient to 1) figure out why the gift was given, and if there was some ulterior motive, 2) determine the approximate value of the gift, and 3) find something reasonably appropriate to give back in order to restore the balance" (1984, 84). While Japanese might react in these ways, most of the Americans interviewed have the same reactions when gifts are given to them by their Japanese neighbors.

What has happened in Pleasantville, as a result of all the gifts that have been given as expression of gratitude to local neighbors, is that gift giving by Japanese neighbors confused and frustrated Pleasantville neighbors and they do not know how to respond.

Janet explained that she is not afraid of communication problems, and the fact that she doesn't have any experience with Japanese doesn't make her feel intimidated. "It's only when I get a gift I didn't expect and I don't know why that I don't feel O.K. I want to know what I'm supposed to do in return."

The Obaras brought things back for Janet's family when they went on a trip to Japan. "It makes you feel so guilty because she does so much." Janet went on to say that she

knows it's an expression of Noriko's thoughtfulness--that it's part of the cultural difference, but she added, "I wish I had thought of bringing back something for them on my vacation. We just don't think to do that, to bring gifts back to our neighbors."

At Janet's son's birthday party, the Obara boy brought a gift of a pair of shoes, not just ordinary shoes, but "high top teenage-type Ninja Turtle shoes--what more could any kid want?" Janet was overwhelmed at the size and expense of the gift and the fact that she felt it placed her under an obligation which she cannot repay.

Later in our discussion she told me that one of her biggest concerns about her relationship with Noriko Obara is that she still doesn't understand what the culturally polite things are in the Japanese culture, so she feels she doesn't always know what she should be doing. She said that the Japanese are in America and she thinks they should try to do it the American way--but she still wants to know "what are my obligations as a neighbor, in her eyes? Like when should I give her a gift, and how big a gift and why does she give me and my family gifts?" Janet told me she felt that Noriko will probably return to Japan before she has begun to figure out what she should have been doing all along.

Another person who expressed concern about not understanding the Japanese gift-giving process is Betty. The Katos have brought over lots of gifts, particularly for Betty's daughter, Kim. The Katos bring candy often for Kim, and Mrs. Kato recently brought her a sweatshirt when they

came back from a trip to Japan. "I enjoy it, but I tell her not to do it. I wonder why she's doing it, and I don't know when to expect it." Betty truly sounded frustrated as she explained her inability to understand when and why gifts arrive, and what she should do in return.

Not all neighbors express as much frustration and concern as Betty and Janet, but most are aware that the gift-giving is more frequent than is the American custom. Typical comments include:

Doreen: They always do anything they can for you. They can't repay you enough. You can't do anything for her that she won't do back.

Jeanette: Every time I make cookies and take them over some, she runs off and buys me candy. They brought me a scroll from Japan when they went back this year.

Jeff: They are so grateful. Every time you do something you get a gift.

Robin & Angie: They give us lots of things. They give us lots of Japanese food to try. They order things from Japan and share with us.

Only Larry, who earlier indicated that his neighbors were not responsive, had no feeling that Japanese are grateful and gift-giving. He explained that his family sent over a pineapple upside-down cake as they always do for new neighbors. "We never heard a thing. No thank you, no return visit, nothing."

As I could best interpret what is happening, the Japanese, who always repay an obligation in some way, frequently feel obligated to their new and helpful neighbors. Japanese consider obligations as a burden and culturally are driven to relieve themselves of this burden.

As they need help in their neighborhoods, regardless of how insignificant that help seems to the Pleasantville neighbors, they immediately repay that help with some type of gift, appropriate in size to the nature of the help given. The Pleasantville neighbors are used to "neighbor" activities, which are part of being neighbors, and do not expect gifts. Upon receiving them, often they then feel the burden of the very obligation of which the Japanese have been trying to relieve themselves.

Here is a case where one group's cultural norms and means of identity cause misunderstanding and cultural misinterpretation in the other group. It is ironic that the discomfort is caused by something as basically kind, relatively simple, and normally acceptable in our culture as the giving of gifts. As Argyle points out, typical areas where problems occur in social exchange and/or communication are in the areas of social rules, such as the giving of gifts, and in motivation, what motivates people to do certain things (Argyle, 1988). The Pleasantville response to the Japanese giving of gifts is a perfect example of Argyle's point.

CHILDREN PLAY ROLE IN THE CROSS-CULTURAL PROCESS

Throughout the course of the interviews, I found that children played an important role in the relationships between Pleasantville and Japanese residents.

The Frye family were all visibly excited as I sat in their cozy living room and talked with them about their

Japanese friends. I had contacted the Fryes as representatives of Pleasantville who live in a neighborhood with no Japanese. Surprisingly, the interview was full of "adventures" they have shared with Japanese friends whom the children met through school. Annie is 8 and Eileen is 11. The primary friendship is between Annie and Masako who met when Masako was seated next to Annie after arriving in First Grade. Sheila Frye shared with me Annie's excitement that first day when Masako arrived. She wanted her parents to help her know how to act and what to say. "I just told her to smile often, and to take her hand and lead her wherever she needed to go."

After the first year, when Masako moved to a different school, she and Annie wrote notes and called each other, and with the pick-up and delivery service of the two mothers, played at each other's houses. Annie told me about her first visit to the Kobayashi house, about taking her shoes off at the door and putting on slippers. What she would be expected to eat for dinner had been a worry for her, but to her relief they had pizza--"and the mom used chopsticks to pick off some of the things I didn't like." When the play time was over, Annie received gifts, her own pair of chopsticks and a package of origami paper. At this point in the interview Annie ran to her room and returned with the chopsticks, some samples of origami, and the remaining pieces of colorful folding paper.

The Fryes shared many other stories, including Masako's first overnight at their home to celebrate Annie's

birthday. Throughout the interview they kept telling me that they would show me a video tape taken one night when the Fryes watched all three Kobayashi children, ages 3, 7, and 9, while the parents went out for the evening.

It was fascinating for me to watch in the video the kind of intimate children's activities which I had had no opportunity to directly observe. A number of particularly interesting things happened during the 10-15 minutes which Sheila Frye had taped. There were so many examples of the sharing of cultures.

At one point, Keiko, the oldest Japanese child, sat down at the piano and started to play--and I suddenly realized she was playing "My Old Kentucky Home."

Then Annie and Masako began a game of singing and clapping each other's hands--and they were both singing the song in Japanese. Sheila told me that Annie learned the words from Masako on the playground.

Toward the end of the tape Keiko was humming a familiar sounding song. Sheila recognized it and found a record of it which she began to play. All the children started a circle dance to "It's a Small, Small World!"

At the end of the tape, 3-year-old Jun was sitting on Annie's lap as Masako and Keiko squeezed next to her on either side. Annie looked up at the camera and said "Ohayo," Japanese for "good morning," the wrong greeting for the time of day but certainly in the spirit of this cross-cultural evening.

The children on the tape had played together, not as if there were no differences in their cultures, but as if they had easily assimilated the difference into one common area of understanding and appreciation.

Many parents spoke about the fact that their children were the ones who formed the first relationships, or in some cases the only relationships. A few examples of these comments include:

Betty: We know them because of the children. Otherwise there's not a lot of contact.

Donna: My only personal contact came through my daughter.

John: The only way we have any contact with them is that our kids ride a shuttle bus with some Japanese kids.

Joan: We have a good relationship, but it's basically through the kids. Kids seem to make the difference in people mixing. I think the Japanese kids make it a little easier.

Joyce: My kids have Japanese friends from school, first and second grades. They call each other and ask if they can play, either here or there.

Jeanette: Young people with children fit in more easily. Our summer car pool included one Japanese child.

Not only do the Pleasantville neighbors talk about how much easier the children are forming relationships than the adults, <u>many parents are pleased that their children are having the opportunity to experience a different culture</u>.

Margo coordinates a neighborhood service which delivers preschoolers to a specialized day-care program in a nearby

community. One Japanese mother and daughter are involved in this program.

Margo sees an important influence for her sons in the experience of knowing their friend, Junko. "I see this as affecting my children. Every experience they have is changing them." It seems strange for her to hear her young sons saying the name "Junko" as they talk about their friend, and, "as young as they are, understanding that she's from somewhere else." She knows that her sons will regularly go to school with Japanese children and is glad they are having this opportunity.

John told me about a friend who, years ago, said to him, "Are you a citizen of the U.S.A. or the world?" John wasn't sure exactly what he meant at the time. Now he understands much better and wants his children to have more of a world view as a result of the Japanese presence. "I'd like my kids to be a little less parochial. I'd like them to have a world view--a sense of the global village. I don't want them only to know a small town view of the world."

Other typical comments from parents who are pleased that their children are having the opportunity to experience a different culture include:

Stan: I encourage my daughter to play with Taieko. It could change her whole life.

Roy: It has been such a great experience for all of us. It makes the kids see that there is a big wide world out there.

Mary Ann: I'm happy that Paul and Tetsuo are friends. I hope they stay friends. I hope they stay here long enough for a real friendship to develop. Then when they go back, they could

write--and then go visit. I hope my kids go over there.

Margo: My friend is really fostering a relationship with a Japanese boy who goes to school with her son. She's someone who really wants to take advantage of having Japanese here, for her kids.

Joyce: This is good for the kids. It gives them exposure to difference. But the kids don't see it as terribly unique.

Several children either reported, or were quoted, as being very casual and undisturbed about the unique situation of having Japanese children in their Pleasantville schools. Joyce went on to explain that her son Eric came home from school one day and very casually said, "I have a new friend and he taught me to say a word in Japanese." Other words followed very naturally as Kazuhiko and Eric became friends and playmates. Joyce added, "If kids grow up with it, they can accept it." She continued that parents can make a real difference. If Eric came home and said he had a Japanese friend and she said, "You can't play with those kids--they're not nice," then it would teach him to have negative feelings. This response seems to directly relate to my earlier discussion of the monocultural stage in which a child learns a monocultural, ethnocentric view from parents, but can begin to be supported in the process of moving to a multicultural view.

In general, all of the families interviewed in Pleasantville were interested in and many even eager to have their children experience the cultural opportunities made possible by the presence of the Japanese. Even Larry, who

had been so negative about his neighbors, wanted his children to be friends with the Japanese children and was particularly disappointed that his daughter had been unable to form a relationship with the neighbor girl her age.

To conclude this discussion of children and how much more easily and casually they adapt, being younger and less rigidly formed in their ethnocentric patterns of thinking, I share a brief story of my interview with Jake and Debbie, Jeanette's third and first grade children.

After hearing so many adults discuss how impossible it was to handle the language and even the names, I was interested to see how children dealt with the Japanese sounds. I expected these younger children to have a very difficult time with the unusual and complex Japanese names, names that have no sound reference for young Pleasantville children.

As we were talking about their Japanese friends, I asked Jake and Debbie if they found the Japanese names hard to pronounce. Jake, in the third grade, looked at me, as children so frequently look at adults, as if they cannot imagine that the adults could say anything so stupid, and responded "You mean Kazuhiko and Taieko and Masako? SIMPLE!"

Debbie, the 6-year-old, responding a little less indignantly to my ridiculous question, said, "Well, I do get a little mixed up with the last names and the first names." And then she proceeded to explain, in perfectly pronounced Japanese, the fact that there's a Masako and a Mitsuko and

two boys named Takashi, and then a girl whose last name is Takahashi--and that does get confusing!

MOST NEIGHBORS WISH FOR MORE CONTACT WITH JAPANESE

As Stan so clearly stated, after he explained about his embarrassing moment acting out and shouting his message to Taieko's mother on his front steps, "I'd like to get together and do some things with them. It's hard to make the first move. It's just fear."

Many of the Pleasantville neighbors interviewed expressed what seemed to me to be a sincere desire to have some type of relationship with their Japanese neighbors--a desire which has been blocked by fear of miscommunication, language barriers, lack of comfort with cultural difference, and even lack of time. Many people talked about what I refer to as "neighbor wishes," or expressed interest in more contact and communication.

Goodenough's theory regarding individuals responding to new situations by altering or expanding their private culture seems appropriate in this context. According to Goodenough (1963, 272-281), some expand their private culture while others respond negatively and seek protection in the old culture. I found more people either expanding their culture actively or at least their wishes for more cross-cultural contact, rather than acting negatively.

Joyce told me she wished she could find out more about the Japanese culture. In particular she wants to see inside her neighbor's house. She thinks it may be decorated in

Japanese style. "I'd love to see it and learn about it, but unfortunately, the language..." Joyce thinks her neighbor seems "sweet," and wishes she could speak English.

Jeff had hoped that he would have a relationship with his neighbors, but it hasn't happened. "I wish I could communicate so I could socialize more."

Ted lives several houses down from the Obara family. "I looked forward to seeing them come into the neighborhood. I wanted to meet and know them." When Ted and his wife took flowers to welcome the Obaras, they were not home. When the Obaras later returned with a gift, Ted was not at home. Nothing has happened which would easily allow a next exchange.

While Ted simply wanted a better chance to meet his neighbors, and Joyce had a specific wish to see her neighbor's house and learn about Japanese culture, Gene had an even more specific wish which he doubts would be fulfilled.

Gene is an avid fisherman. He told me he would like to take his neighbor fishing before the summer is over. He feels that maybe fishing would be something they could share, but he is concerned about how it would work--what could they say to each other for hours. He offered an only slightly facetious suggestion. "I know what I'd do. I'd have him face the other way in the boat so at least we didn't have to look at each other without being able to say anything."

While most of the people who expressed wishes for more contact blamed the language and communication issues, several people blamed it simply on lack of time in busy family schedules.

Margie explained that in order to develop a relationship, she would have to just go over and sit and visit. As an educator and mother, she just doesn't have the time. During the summer when school she was out she planned to try to get to know her Japanese neighbors, but the wife and children had returned to Japan. "I just haven't done it. I wouldn't have done it with any neighbor--nothing to do with them being Japanese. I just don't have the time anymore."

Margo lives in the neighborhood with no Japanese but relates through a shared day-care transportation for her three pre-school aged children. One Japanese child rides the bus and her mother shares responsibility for supervising the bus ride. Margo feels that she would like to say to Keiko, "Just come over and let me give you an American welcome." She wants her to "just come over and sit and visit." She just doesn't know how to do it--feels it is too "personal" and wonders if maybe someone should facilitate the meeting. She ended the conversation about Keiko by saying, "I want to invite her over. But there just isn't time. The issue is really time, not lack of interest."

The fact that some people blamed lack of time more than concerns about communication raises a question for me. Was time, and the possibility that maybe people do not take time

to form relationships, really the issue for more people? Was the problem of communication almost an excuse for not pursuing relationships, when in reality the reason really was lack of time and interest? In fact, communication problems may have been a mask for simply not wanting anything beyond a superficial relationship. These questions would require further study of our modern life style in order to be adquately answered.

However, Margo's husband, John, said he is sorry that they do not have a social relationship with any of the Pleasantville Japanese and wonders if they lived in the same neighborhood, if they would be more inclined to be social. "When I first heard that Japanese would be living here, I thought it would be nice to develop friendships."

These episodes and quotes are only examples of the frequently-heard wish for more contact. Most Pleasantville neighbors want to have more experiences with their Japanese neighbors but are held back by fear, lack of communication, and time.

In addition to wishing for more opportunities to get acquainted with and socialize with their neighbors, many interviewees suggested that community leaders, representatives of the Japanese plant, or specific individuals, could have facilitated activities which would have made contact easier. Particularly in the area of communication, neighbors wished for help and for methods to ease the introductory process.

Several people wished that an initial gathering, a party or a tea or a housewarming, had been organized by someone. Gene suggested that an interpreter should have come to a get-together to help the neighbors get acquainted.

Both Joan and Janet also asked for something where the neighbors could have gotten together and, through a translator, exchanged personal information with their new neighbors. Barb wanted more information before her neighbors moved in. She wanted to know something about each of them, when they were coming, likes and dislikes, language ability--so she could be ready to welcome them.

Larry suggested a block party, with neighbors bringing a "dish to pass," so all neighbors could get involved and meet the Japanese. He felt an interpreter was essential and said that as a result "we would see a little more intermingling."

Mary wished for a social get-together once a month, with a translator, so the relationships would have an opportunity to develop. She wasn't sure who should have arranged it. "I could have organized it myself, but it was just too hard."

Like Mary, Doug and Noreen felt someone should have arranged a housewarming. Doug said, "I guess it's people's nature to wait and see what happens"--and Noreen added, "and hope that someone else is already doing it." Noreen thinks that when the two Japanese families in their neighborhood moved in, someone already living in the neighborhood should

have been responsible for each family, assigned to help them. She knew that didn't happen in her neighborhood but felt certain that the city leaders probably did arrange something like that for most new Japanese residents. It seemed so necessary to her.

In fact, the city hadn't made any such arrangements and Jeff, a city official, wishes they had done more to create neighborhood involvement. He included the need for translators at community functions, to facilitate for people who want to communicate with the Japanese. He also suggested that there should have been workshops specifically for community members who were going to have Japanese neighbors, helping them understand the culture and customs which seem so different.

While numbers of people wished for ways to help them get to know the Japanese, Jenny went the next step and wished there was a way to help the Japanese know how to live in an American community. She has lived next door to a Japanese family for two years. She would love to sit down with her neighbor and an interpreter and say, "Look, there are some things about our culture that I think you'd like to know." Jenny is frustrated because "no one is interpreting American life to them." No one, according to Jenny, tells them the things they should know, and their English isn't good enough to catch all the things about living in the United States.

Jenny feels that no one explains the little details of living and of getting involved in the community--things like

American family life; caring for houses, wells, and septic systems; recreational activities and classes; and community events. She doesn't have the communication skills or the time, or even the awareness of what is needed, to provide all the information, but feels it is essential in order for the Japanese to begin to fit in to Pleasantville neighborhood life.

In numerous ways and from various points of view, many Pleasantville neighbors wish there had been more assistance and more activities to facilitate interaction with their Japanese neighbors.

SUMMARY

A major finding in this study of a selected number of Pleasantville residents is that most people interviewed view the problem with communication as the major factor inhibiting the development of relationships with the Japanese.

There are a number of factors directly related to people's willingness and ability to deal with communication problems. One problem reported by a number of neighbors is that fear of making mistakes and being misunderstood keeps some Pleasantville neighbors from developing relationships with their Japanese neighbors.

Even for those who did not report fear, the issue of the language difference was raised in every instance as a barrier in communicating. Every person interviewed reported some type of communication problem caused by

language difference. In many cases, this problem, caused by the perceived difference in complexity and sound of the language, is so basic that many Pleasantville neighbors were unable to pronounce the names of their Japanese neighbors, even after two years.

Relationships in varying degrees did form in Pleasantville neighborhoods despite the universally reported problems with language difference. Some Pleasantville neighbors were not deterred by the language differences and found ways to work around the language difficulties.

Most of the relationships were established between the women in the families. Pleasantville residents perceived that Japanese males are seldom at home, always at work or golfing and only minimally involved in the lives of their families. As a result most relationships with male Japanese neighbors do not develop beyond formal acknowledgements.

There were several areas which provided opportunities for Pleasantville residents and new Japanese neighbors to interact. Communicating about and sharing lawn responsibilities was a basis for early contact between Pleasantville and Japanese neighbors. The relationships between Pleasantville and Japanese women were easier to develop. Pleasantville women neighbors often interpret school notes, messages, requests and explain community events for Japanese women.

One particular area of cultural difference presented a problem for many Pleasantville families. Despite the fact

that most people reported pleasure at receiving many beautiful gifts, gift-giving by Japanese neighbors confused and frustrated Pleasantville neighbors who did not know how and when to respond.

Another area where communication of varying types did happen despite language difference was among the children of the families and often it was through the children that some elementary relationships were formed. Children played an important role in the relationships between Pleasantville and Japanese residents. One reason why the role of children was important in Pleasantville is that many parents are pleased that their children are having the opportunity to experience a different culture and therefore encouraged relationships among the children.

Most Pleasantville neighbors want to have more experiences with their Japanese neighbors but are held back by fear, lack of communicating and time. The failure to develop these relationships is blamed primarily on communication problems, particularly language, time constraints, and the lack of assistance from someone outside the neighborhood in developing initial contacts. Many Pleasantville neighbors wish there had been more assistance and more activities to facilitate interaction with their Japanese neighbors.

In terms of my own personal reactions to what I found in the neighborhoods, I did have some surprises. As is always true in ethnography, the purpose is not to prove already-determined hypotheses, but to allow the findings to

develop. In spite of that fact, I did have a few expectations of my own regarding what I might find.

In the area of neighborhood life, I expected a wider and more extreme range of feelings and activities. I anticipated that more people would express concern about having Japanese neighbors, based on racial or cultural prejudices or historic bias. In the neighborhood, however, these negative feelings were rare, at least as the interviewees revealed them to me.

On the other hand, I anticipated the existence of more social relationships between Pleasantville and Japanese neighbors, involving entertaining each other, attending community events together, activities which would be evidence of friendships formed. With one exception, I found no social relationships in the people I interviewed, nor did they report knowledge of any such relationships.

I did not expect the communication issue to be as pervasive nor as frightening and relationship-defeating as I found it to be, especially considering the length of time that has lapsed since residents and Japanese newcomers began to share Pleasantville neighborhoods.

As a result of interviewing these residents of local neighborhoods, I was not only provided with insights about what was going on in their respective neighborhoods, but what they perceived was happening in the larger community.

CHAPTER 7

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In addition to identifying what was happening in the personal lives of Pleasantville residents with their Japanese neighbors, there was another reason for conducting interviews in these neighborhoods. I hoped that the interviewees would share their views about life in the broader community and would lead me to representatives of various community domains, such as recreation, business, and retail services. In this way I would be able to make assertions and draw conclusions, from both the neighborhood and the community interviews, regarding broader aspects of community life.

In fact, that did happen. The 35 neighborhood interviewees commented on many aspects outside of neighborhood life and led me to 17 people who represented a wide variety of services and activities in the Pleasantville community.

Early in the planning for this study I had hoped to be able to identify "changes" caused by the Japanese presence in the community. Nelson, Ramsey and Verner's (1960) discussions of community change indicated that many real changes are massive and happen over a long period of time. As they describe change to the total community, they report that these changes may take generations to occur.

This was the conclusion I drew from the interviews. As a result I am only able to report changes in components of the community, changes which in time may be viewed as part of overall community change. At this time I felt it was premature to identify them as anything other than minor changes or adjustments to the presence of the Japanese. Those interviewed did not identify them in the broader context and most often reported that while some aspects of the community had changed, Pleasantville was still the same.

While many of the neighbors described in Chapter 6 did report a personal impact from the presence of Japanese in their neighborhoods, none of them seemed to see the Japanese presence as having affected the community in any significant way. Even those people to be introduced in this chapter, who adjusted businesses and services to accommodate the new Japanese residents, did not report any major change in the community itself as a result.

Personally, I find it hard to believe that the presence of a $100 million auto-parts plant and 15 Japanese families in a community the size of Pleasantville could fail to create significant community change. The fact that few residents reported feeling a significant change in the community must be explained by the theories of Nelson et al. (1960) and Goodenough (1963,) regarding the length of time change takes to impact the sense of a whole community.

It would be fascinating to look at Pleasantville again at the turn of century, and see if significant change can be identified and defended.

PLEASANTVILLE IS STILL PLEASANTVILLE

In general, a major assertion which can be drawn regarding the presence of the Japanese in the community of Pleasantville, based on the following comments both by neighbors and by community representatives, is that Pleasantville residents interviewed do not report a great deal of community change as a result of the presence of the Japanese.

Sam summed up a lot of the comments when he said, "It doesn't feel different. Pleasantville is still Pleasantville." Later he told me that he had moved here when he was eight and it's always been the same. "I don't think it (the Japanese) will make any difference to Pleasantville. Most people don't have anything to do with it."

Others, those from neighborhoods and those from the community domains who reported similar feelings, said:

Karen: Nothing feels different at all. I feel only minimally aware that there are Japanese here.

Doreen: It doesn't feel like a different community.

Greg: There's nothing much to let you know Japanese are here, other than seeing them shopping.

Gary: I haven't seen them much. I hardly ever see them around town.

Marvin: I think it will raise cultural knowledge for a certain number of people but not have the general community impact we thought it might.

Dave: An outsider wouldn't be aware of it. Nothing has changed noticeably.

Jerrie: There's really no big change--nothing major.

Patty: I don't think there are really any changes, not in the general community. You don't see them much. I don't know what they do. You don't see them outside or anywhere.

Maureen: There's not really as much of an impact as I had expected either positive or negative. We haven't been affected as much as I thought we would.

Gary, who was interviewed in a neighborhood with Japanese, made an observation which reflected many people's reaction about the lack of impact. "Are there Japanese living in my neighborhood? If they live in my subdivision, I didn't even know it."

While the general reaction was that there was less impact than expected, both by the interviewees and by me, some reasons for the lack of personal impact seemed to be that Pleasantville residents who do not live in a direct neighbor relationship with Japanese, do not have children in school with Japanese, do not work at the plant, or do not have close friends or family in any of the above categories, are only minimally aware of the presence of Japanese in the community.

Ted's comment supports this contention: "There aren't enough Japanese to really make an impact. If you don't work with them or your kids don't go to school with them, you don't ever see them."

Jerrie, the dance teacher, felt the same way. "I don't think people really see them. If I didn't have the Japanese girls in my class, I don't think I'd be very aware of them. I don't really see them. But people who know someone

Japanese, it's only been positive. It's good for us to see each other's countries and cultures."

A few people, however, wonder if possibly the reason why there seems to be little impact felt is because part of the change has already been absorbed or assimilated.

Jenny, who lives next door to the Kojimas and has lived in other countries herself, said that she thinks there is no real difference obvious in the community. "People don't think about it anymore. You don't hear much about them. They've just melded in." She wonders if that is true, or is it "acceptance or just passivity?" Have the Japanese been accepted and no longer seem so different, or is the community in general simply passively ignoring their existence?

Barbara, who manages the golf course, thinks that the community members are just used to it. "It used to be that you would walk into a restaurant and you would do a double-take when you saw Japanese. Now you don't even notice that they're there. Maybe we're all used to it now."

Others, like Mary Ann, feel that the Japanese are being ignored--or just tolerated, rather than being accepted and being part of a change in the community. "The difference now that they've been here a while is that now I never see them anymore. It's not like friendships were forged," Mary Ann said. She says that with other new neighbors, frequently friendships happen and newcomers become part of

the community. With the Japanese, "they could have been friends--but it didn't happen."

Jeanette said, "We're used to it--it's the second year now," and Marty said, "They're part of the community now--it's not new anymore."

Doug remembered being in Cal's Corner Cafe for lunch shortly after the plant construction began and seeing a group of Japanese enter the restaurant. He thought, "Times are changing." But it's different now. "You don't even take a double look anymore. It's no big deal."

It is possible that all of the small changes and adjustments which have been made over the past several years amount to greater change than community residents realize. The fact that some people see the presence of the Japanese as no longer unusual certainly reflects a degree of change.

At this stage in the cross-cultural process it is not possible to determine exactly what is happening in terms of change in Pleasantville. Most people still do not see the presence of the Japanese plant and its Japanese employees as causing a significant impact on the community as a whole. Certainly the neighbors feel the presence of the Japanese, and those providing services to these new residents feel some change, but in general, none of them see these specific impacts as influencing the sense of the overall community.

Even if people are unsure of the current cross-cultural status of the community, individuals appear to be at differing stages in Wurzel's (1988) seven stages in the process from monoculturalism to multiculturalism. Some are

in the early stages of cross-cultural contact, and possibly cultural conflict, while many are at the disequilibrium stage and/or moving on to awareness, the last step before acquiring a multicultural outlook. After the Japanese have been in Pleasantville for a few more years, there will have been more opportunity for individuals to have made these changes in the multicultural process and then possibly for that growth to have impacted the larger community.

While most interviewees reported less overall impact or change than expected, some people did report specific differences. Differences in the community which were reported by some residents are the presence of Japanese faces and Japanese cars. The most frequently mentioned was the presence of Japanese cars, the specific brand for which the Japanese plant provides parts. Many people mentioned how many Japanese cars were seen on Pleasantville streets and in parking lots.

Judy said she goes for days without thinking that there are Japanese in the community, and then she walks out of the store and sees a number of Japanese cars--and then remembers that Pleasantville is now home to a Japanese plant.

Gene said it still feels different to him to go into a restaurant and see a group of Japanese eating together. He also commented on the presence of so many Japanese cars.

Judy also commented that even though there may not seem like a lot of Japanese in Pleasantville, any addition of difference is noticeable. She told me that, as a Pleasantville native, in her whole life there was only one

black family in the community and a few Hispanics, so "it does seem different to see Japanese faces." According to Judy, "A day doesn't go by that you don't pass someone on the road with a Japanese face."

As a city official, Jeff rides in the parade which celebrates the tour of historic homes which brings many visitors to Pleasantville each spring. He sees a difference. "As you ride in the parade, you look out now and see lots of oriental faces. Two years ago it would have been lily white."

Although Mary thinks there is not much noticeable difference, she said her daughter thinks it is very obvious. Her daughter no longer lives in Pleasantville. When she comes back for a visit, she notices the difference, particularly at the grocery store where she sees Japanese foods and Japanese shoppers.

More specific changes related to community services, businesses, and schools will be discussed later in this chapter.

While most people mentioned that there was less difference in the community than had been expected, some Pleasantville residents suggested that there would be noticeable community change, in time.

Catherine, an officer in the community's health center, thinks that Pleasantville is definitely going to feel a change caused by the plant and Japanese residents. "We're going to be different; we can't help it. Every small thing causes change. We're going to be different for the good."

Mary Ann hopes for more change. She told me that with the Japanese plant, and a second international manufacturer on its way, Pleasantville will have to change from its small town, white, conservative outlook. With employers from other countries and other cultures, things will be different. "I hope in the future it will be different, but change is very slow. The world is getting smaller and smaller. The days of Americans owning the world are over."

Bill, the owner of a local furniture and appliance store, also said it is just too soon for there to have been real acceptance and resulting change. "I don't think there's really much resistance to them, or to socializing with them. It's just too soon." Bill's theory is that most of the families have been here a relatively short time, and in time, acceptance and friendship will happen. Now it is too difficult. He gives the example of neighbors talking to Japanese. Now it is too hard. They might try it for a short time, but with the language problems, long visits are too difficult. But he feels that in time the Japanese will be a real part of the community.

The role children will play in the future changes for Pleasantville was a prediction for Louise, a local realtor, and for Greg, a member of the city council. Louise has grandchildren in the school system, attending classes with Japanese children. "It's going to be a long time before we see any real changes. Maybe it will happen for the children in school. Maybe it's most beneficial for them." According to Louise, you can't change a lot of adults, but for

children this is a great opportunity. She hopes it reaches a time when families will exchange Japan/America visits throughout the years.

Greg wants parents to let the children create the future. "We're going to have kids who have a different view. Kids are our future and we can't spoil it for them. Let them change the future." Greg's children attend the Pleasantville schools and he feels that they will learn about Japan and other countries and then set the way for a new future. "The community will change if parents allow it, because the changes will come in the kids."

Marvin, a local banker, anticipates changes that are much more pragmatic and business-oriented. Marvin feels that with the presence of a Japanese plant which practices just-in-time management, other Japanese plants are sure to follow the original company to the Pleasantville area. Marvin told me that "the just-in-time concept could mean countless companies in the future."

In concluding this section on the overall impact felt by members of the community as a result of the Japanese presence, it seems appropriate to look at a few people who stated strong wishes for more community involvement or sense of change. Some Pleasantville residents are disappointed that there has not been more impact felt from the Japanese presence and that they have not had more opportunity to be personally involved.

Suzie manages Cal's Corner Cafe which has serviced Japanese customers from the first arrival of the Japanese.

It was at this small restaurant that I did my preliminary study of the interaction between Japanese and Americans over the lunch hour. Suzie has personally been involved with events surrounding the arrival of the Japanese, and she is disappointed that there is not a stronger Japanese sense in the community. "If I didn't know they were here, I wouldn't know they were here. It's very different from what I expected. I thought something would happen." She hoped there would be more interaction with the Japanese and more sharing of culture. "I find it disappointing that it doesn't seem more. I don't know know what 'it' is, but I thought 'it' would happen." She attributes the absence of what she expected to the fact that there may not be enough Japanese in Pleasantville to make an impact, "and those who are here are so low-keyed."

Marty, who works for the Chamber of Commerce, thought there would be more things happening that were Japanese. "I thought it would feel more different. I wanted more Japanese cultural things to happen."

For Margo, the disappointment she feels, and change she wants to see, is a more personal one. "I have a sense that I haven't met them yet. I realize that they're not just passing through--they live here. But I still haven't felt it." Margo thinks that many people feel as she does, that the presence of the Japanese just hasn't been real for them yet.

Finally, Louise thinks Pleasantville hasn't taken advantage of having Japanese in the community for cultural

and international enrichment. Whatever early activity there was when the Japanese first arrived has died down. "I wonder if we need more integrating activities, especially now that the initial enthusiasm has worn off."

BUSINESSES AND SERVICES ADAPT TO THE JAPANESE

While the general sense in Pleasantville is that the community as a whole has not felt the anticipated impact from the presence of the Japanese, representatives of specific businesses and services do report that they have adapted to their Japanese customers. There have been some changes in businesses, retail operations, and services, caused by the presence of the Japanese.

Welcome Signs. The most frequently referenced difference or adjustment to the Japanese was the presence of "Welcome" signs, in Japanese, in many downtown stores. As the story is told, Suzie of Cal's Corner Cafe worked with Mrs. Barber to prepare some Japanese food for a community presentation on Japanese culture and customs. Mrs. Barber, a Japanese woman married to a Pleasantville resident, helped the community from the beginning in making Japanese food for early receptions and presentations. Suzie wanted to put a sign in Cal's to welcome the Japanese and Mrs. Barber made it for her. Other downtown merchants saw her sign and wanted their own. Mrs. Barber hand-lettered the two-foot-high signs, the school system laminated them, and they were sold by the Chamber of Commerce or at Cal's Corner Cafe.

For many months, in some cases the entire first year the Japanese were in Pleasantville, these signs were in the front doors and windows of many downtown establishments and their presence there seemed to many the most obvious notification that there were Japanese in the area.

Grocery Stores. The second most frequently referenced change in any physical or visible sense in the community was the availability of Japanese food in the two largest grocery stores in town, particularly at Greene's Groceries, a large family-owned chain store located in a number of communities in the state. Almost every person interviewed commented on the Japanese section at Greene's as a major difference and a sign that the community was being responsive to the Japanese. Jim, a school official, told me that the Japanese food section at Greene's was "my first vision, publicly, in terms of commerce and day-to-day living, that Japanese were here."

An interview with the manager of Greene's, Dan Greene, indicated a real commitment to meet the needs of all local customers and a sincere effort to provide appropriate supplies. "It's a kind of a policy of our stores to adapt the store to the community it's in. So when the Japanese came to Pleasantville, that's what we did."

In order to provide what the Japanese would want, Dan got a list from his suppliers of the Japanese food that was available. With list in hand, he met with the president of the plant, then the only Japanese executive who had moved to Pleasantville and spoke English. Mr. Wada reviewed the list

and suggested what would be essential. According to Dan, "We started with the basics and over a period of five to six months we added to it as they wanted more things."

Those interviewed were particularly intrigued by the large bags of rice, which some indicated they now use and prefer to American rice, and the variety of fresh fish which became available after the Japanese arrived. Mary talked about the availability of things like fresh ginger, bok choy and other unusual vegetables. She reported that community members buy the vegetables, as well as the Japanese. "I had a wok but hadn't tried it. Now with all the Japanese vegetables around, I use it all the time."

There were a number of adjustments which had to be made, in addition to providing different types of food. As Dan told me, "We learned to expect that they didn't do weekly shopping like we do. It was daily shopping." Most Japanese live in small homes with small appliances and little storage. Shopping is usually done on a daily basis, in order to assure freshness.

The cashiers figured out how to communicate. They used lots of gestures, lots of pointing and acting out the types of foods and locations in the store.

Dan told me about something unusual that occurred as the Japanese began to establish themselves. In the early days of the plant, for a six to nine month period, there were 125 Japanese men in Pleasantville, setting up the plant and training new employees. These men shopped each evening and they did not speak English or understand American

money. They would select their purchases and then just open their wallets and let the cashiers take the money out. As Dan said, "In Pleasantville that's not a problem, but in a city, that's a problem and they would be taken advantage of."

Most Japanese had no local identification nor experience with checking accounts. Mr. Wada asked Dan if the cashiers would assist the Japanese in the check-writing process and if the store would honor their checks without local identification. Mr. Wada assured Dan that the plant would honor all checks, and that he would handle it personally if there were any problems, because it would be a disgrace if a Japanese caused any financial problem.

Dan is glad that the Japanese food is meeting the needs of the Japanese residents but said that he is surprised that many Japanese buy so much American food and that they seem to want to experience American ways of eating. "They bought lots of beef. I ordered Japanese beer--but it's 'Bud' they want. In fact, more Americas buy the Japanese beer than the Japanese." Other local "party stores" have added several brands of Japanese beer and a number of interviewees mentioned liking and purchasing it.

Library. Third in the list of area businesses and services most frequently mentioned by interviewees as having changed or adjusted to the Japanese presence was the library. Many people mentioned the books in Japanese, the display of books about Japan, the story hour for Japanese children, and programs about Japan.

In talking with Maureen, the librarian, I learned about a variety of things the library did to assist in the process of making the library responsive to all Pleasantville residents.

In preparation for the arrival of the Japanese, the library ordered books on Japan and merged them with books they already had, into a display of books about Japan and Japanese culture and customs. Maureen reports they have been very popular. The books from the business end, how to do business with Japanese and how Japanese business works, have been very much in demand by Americans. Maureen thinks that local business people have wanted to understand how to work with the Japanese plant. "It encourages one to see that kind of response--that kind of interest."

In addition to the books, the library sponsored a New Year reception to introduce the Japanese to local businesses. At the reception, local business people set up displays of their products and services to introduce themselves to the new Japanese residents. The plant cooperated and sponsored a large display of Japanese arts, crafts, and foods. Local restaurants also provided refreshments to go along with the Japanese cakes and cookies. Champagne and saki were used to toast the New Year, a time of celebration as significant in Japan as in the United States. Business people interviewed mentioned the reception as an important and enjoyable event. Several neighborhood people interviewed mentioned knowing it had happened and wishing they had been invited.

Several other informative events were sponsored by the library, including a brown-bag lunch presentation by a young American man who grew up in Japan, a workshop on Japanese customs and business practices attended by 60 local business people, and a Japanese lunch and presentation on Japanese culture for community members.

Once the Japanese families arrived, the library started bringing in a monthly collection of books in Japanese from the nearest large library. However, Maureen reported that they are not used often, only 10 to 12 each month, but she continues to provide the service, particularly for adults.

For children, the library provided children's books in Japanese and, with the help of a Japanese wife, offered a story hour in Japanese to coincide with a regular, on-going story hour for local children. According to Maureen, the story hour was very popular, but this year the children are speaking English so well that they now attend the regular story hour and the Japanese story hour has been discontinued. Maureen says lots of Japanese children use the library "but they're integrating so well they're not here for Japanese books. They're using the books in English."

In order to provide service to the new Japanese customers, Maureen did some staff training about the Japanese. "I also taught them some basic language. We haven't used it much, just an occasional 'ohayo' (good morning), but we wanted to be prepared."

She told the staff that if they were having problems and couldn't understand the Japanese, they should write it down and try to communicate in writing. Maureen has seen that work with the staff and Japanese customers, and she has resorted to writing things out herself. She says that the staff were very excited and interested. There was no resistance to the training, but some apprehension. They wanted to give good service and did not want to be put in a position of not being able to serve because of a communication problem. Maureen feels that despite the fact that the Japanese customers are hesitant to approach and ask questions, eventually everyone is taken care of. She thinks the Japanese are afraid they won't be understood and avoid having to ask questions. "The staff hasn't reported any real problems--all the time everyone is smiling--and O.K."

Banking. Other Pleasantville establishments reported some impact from the presence of the Japanese. In an interview with a local banker, I was told that the Japanese plant and its employees made a real financial impact on the community. Marvin told me that "their philosophy is to shop local, as individuals and as a company." According to Marvin, Henry Wada made contacts with lots of Pleasantville businesses which later resulted in Japanese customers for real estate agents, insurance brokers, opticians for safety glasses, furniture and appliance stores, and the bank itself.

In order to respond to the possibility of a new clientele, bank officials attended workshops on understanding Japanese customs and business practices. They

summarized what they had learned and distributed the information to all their employees. They hired a firm to translate the brochure describing their services into Japanese and arranged for it to be given to all arriving Japanese. They entertained Japanese executives at golf and dinner. They had their own "Welcome" sign in the door and were available to work closely with the Japanese to help them understand the American way of handling money, very different from the Japanese custom. Ultimately, this extended effort on their part resulted in Marvin's bank acquiring approximately 95 percent of the Japanese accounts. Marvin told me that there was only one negative response to the bank's public wooing of the Japanese business. A woman in the community called him and he quoted her as saying "I've been a customer here for many years. You spend so much time with the Japanese that you don't have time for my account."

Marvin considers Henry Wada a friend and indicated that he is pleased with the Japanese involvement, not only for the bank but personally as well. He feels, however, there is still an undercurrent with Pleasantville people in general that says, "They're Japanese. They're different--and so people don't try to understand them."

Other stores and services. The major furniture/ appliance store reported lots of business when the Japanese first located--major purchases of refrigerators and TVs. However, since they settled, Bill reports, "We see very little of them--less than we expected." He said the reason

for that is a basic difference between Americans and Japanese. "American people are constantly shopping. Japanese are more savers. They buy what they need and then use it."

Bill admits that the store did business differently for Japanese customers. "Sometimes we did more for them because it was easier to provide extra service than explain to them how to do it." As a result, Bill and his employees would take time to set up furniture or other services that are not usually included in the price.

Bill likes working with Japanese customers and also socializes with them at a local pub. He referenced one Japanese from the plant in particular, with whom he has visited at the Fireside Lounge after work.

Suzie said that the Japanese have become regulars at Cal's Corner Cafe. "They have been here so often, we have seen their faces so often, we know who they are and what they want." Communication is still a problem. Usually at least one in each group interprets for the rest. The fact that Cal's has a cafeteria service allows the non-English speaking Japanese to point to their meal selection. Suzie said she never sees American and Japanese eating together--and seldom hears the Japanese use any English.

A local beauty parlor recognized the possibility of a number of new clients for their services, and quickly hired a Japanese beautician, an eight-year resident of Pleasantville, who assured them she could bring in the Japanese business.

The men's store in the downtown area reported that their main response was to order new stock in smaller sizes. In the early days when over 100 Japanese men were in the town, they did lots of business, particularly as men purchased things prior to their return to Japan. The store ran out of the size "small" items and quickly re-ordered to meet the need. However, they now have less business from the remaining Japanese than they had expected.

Health Services. One of the most interesting interviews was with Catherine, an officer with the medical center in Pleasantville. Catherine's presence in the community and in her position when the Japanese settled in Pleasantville gave the medical center a special resource in determining ways to prepare for and service their new customers. At an earlier stage in her life, Catherine worked as a nurse on an Asian island and the result of that experience prepared her well to help the medical center make the necessary adjustments.

Among the steps which the medical center took to adjust to the Japanese were:

1. sending nurse managers to programs at the library to learn about Japanese customs;

2. hiring a specialist in transcultural nursing to work with and train the nursing staff;

3. acquiring a translated medical history record and distributing it to all staff and Pleasantville doctors to use with Japanese patients;

4. offering presentations by Catherine to nurses and other staff, talking about cultural differences and ways to give appropriate service.

Catherine was very clear in her determination that the Japanese patients would be treated in a way consistent with their own culture.

She explained to me how difficult it is for people to be in a hospital or an emergency room, and how much that anxiety is increased when there are language barriers. Frequently at the medical center those language barriers were resolved by a Korean doctor in the community who spoke enough Japanese to be able to communicate when necessary. Catherine explained that most patients came with a translator, or in emergencies the plant sent a translator immediately, which alleviated many problems.

According to Catherine, most of the nurses were agreeable about the changes. In fact, "there was some fascination and intrigue." The hospital has had lots of growth and change in recent years and Catherine thinks that the nurses' positive reactions were "that all this was just one more part of our growth and change process."

Housing. The housing of the Japanese was a subject raised in the majority of the interviews. There were lots of opinions, many negative, regarding the high prices paid by Japanese and the resulting effect on appraised values and property taxes in the neighborhoods in question. This one area caused many negative comments about the presence of the Japanese and seemed to me to be the most misunderstood issue which exists in the community. Although I think I understand what happened, after 65 specific references and

comments made on the subject during interviews, I am still not sure I can accurately interpret what happened.

In order to attempt to explain it, one other factor must be added to the picture. Pleasantville had been in a flat real estate market for years. Little construction had been undertaken and housing prices were stable and in many cases below the market for surrounding areas. Then, at about the same time the Japanese discovered Pleasantville and chose it as a site for their plant, so did many residents of nearby urban areas looking for a simple quality of life and more value for their real estate dollar.

According to a 1989 article from a large city newspaper, Pleasantville has become a haven for refugees from more urban areas. The article quotes bankers as saying that property values have shot up 30 percent in the past three years. The article goes on to propose that the real estate boom was not fueled by the Japanese factory or the second newly announced international plant, but by families and young professionals from urban centers whom it describes as seeking tranquility and small-town qualities at a price they can afford within commuting distance of their jobs.

It is in this context that the Japanese arrived in Pleasantville and began to buy homes. As referenced earlier, they wanted new homes with yards, and they had the money to purchase them. With land in Tokyo selling for $6,220 per square meter (1.2 square yards), an average apartment in a new 26 story building not far from the Imperial Palace in Tokyo renting for $12,460 per month, and

a typical four-room condominium in Tokyo selling for $530,000 (Berger, 1990, A3), the price and size of property in Pleasantville was like a dream, according to Patty and Louise, the two realtors interviewed.

A number of issues resulted from all of this. First, the general feeling is that the Japanese paid too much for houses. This resulted in 1) some resentment of the Japanese themselves; 2) some resentment of the homeowners for vastly increasing the asking price if Japanese were interested; and 3) some resentment of realtors for assisting in inflating prices.

Despite the fact that housing prices were beginning to increase in general, there is a consensus among those interviewed, as interpreted by John, an attorney, that "there's no question that Japanese paid higher prices than anyone was used to around here. The perception is that they paid top dollar when they bought houses." John explained that the result was that lots of people suddenly got the idea their house was worth lots more. Other comments to that affect include:

Gary: They didn't quibble about the price. If you wanted $150,000 for a $75,000 house, they paid the price without even questioning.

Larry: Houses have sky-rocketed. They just paid the price that was asked. I think Americans usually try to haggle about the price and the Japanese didn't.

Jim: The plant bought 10 to 15 houses and really inflated the market. People were trying to sell their houses to the Japanese.

Jerrie: When they started buying homes for such high prices, everyone jumped on it. People got

greedy about what they could get for their house. Anyone with the "right" house made big bucks.

Jeanette: The house behind us was sold to Japanese. They made lots of money. They sold the contents and all.

While it is true that most of the Japanese homes purchased were for high prices, it is also true that those prices frequently included most, if not all, of the contents. I heard stories of people selling everything in the house, including dishes, vacuum cleaners, and towels, in addition to furniture. So in many cases, what seemed like highly inflated house prices also included total furnishings.

Still, for many people interviewed, there was the feeling that homeowners and realtors took advantage of the Japanese for their lack of knowledge of Pleasantville property values by asking very high prices for homes. Others blamed the Japanese for not knowing what was fair. Some people feel that realtors and property sellers took advantage of the Japanese by inflating prices of property and household goods.

Jeff: Some realtors took advantage of the situation. Some people jacked up the prices of the houses.

Doreen: People said to me, "You want to make money? Sell your house to the Japanese 'cause they'll pay anything."

Greg: They bought houses and paid higher than market price. It's not the fault of the Japanese. It's the fault of the people who set the prices. People would laugh like hell that they'd sold their $40,000 house for $120,000.

Jerrie: The Japanese became the scapegoat for some people making lots of money for their houses.

Jenny: The Japanese made a mistake. Maybe they didn't think there were greedy people out there who would take advantage of them. They were a little at fault for not understanding property values. They should have checked it out first and learned what reasonable prices were. People were putting houses on the market, if they were in the area where the Japanese had shown interest, at $50,000 more than they would have the day before.

Marvin, the banker, explained that in truth, there were four houses which were seriously "overbought." These were houses already in the highest-priced neighborhoods, on the golf course or with a pool, and they were purchased by high level company executives. Marvin feels that the rest of the houses may have been sold at higher prices than people in Pleasantville expected, but the prices were in line with prices beginning to be paid by the new "urban refugees" who had started to move to Pleasantville.

According to John, later transactions began to agree with Japanese prices. As people started moving out from the cities, they paid the same kind of prices. "The Japanese arrival coincided with the increased prices. The market was just there." John predicts that housing prices would have gone up even if the Japanese hadn't bought their 15 houses.

Greg supported the feeling that the Japanese did not cause the large increase in property values in Pleasantville. According to Greg, people from nearby cities could buy a house in Pleasantville for $80,000 that was worth twice that much in the city. So they would offer

higher prices to secure a bid on a house--and everyone was happy. "And the Japanese came and paid high prices. It was easy to blame the Japanese, so they took a bum rap on the higher taxes."

In fact, that is exactly what happened. People blamed the Japanese for the large increase in property taxes. Japanese are blamed by some residents for the increase in property taxes due to the high prices they paid for houses, while others feel that Japanese are not to blame but are scapegoats. Mary Ann reported that in her neighborhood "lots of people had heart attacks when the taxes came out. They blamed it on the Japanese." Jeanette reported the same in her neighborhood. "The only negative things I heard were about the impact on taxes. Some people said, 'Because of them my taxes went up 68 percent.'"

Some other resentments surfaced during this process. Jerrie heard from her friends that they resented the fact that the Japanese can afford to buy big, expensive houses and they cannot. Louise, the realtor, reported that there is still some racial prejudice "but really there's not as much of that as you might think." There were people who told her they would not sell their house to a Japanese.

The most extreme reaction was from Sam, the World War II veteran. He told me of his disappointment at a friend, also a veteran, who sold his house to a Japanese family. "It was all just the money. I gave him hell. I said, 'You're a good one--selling your house to them slant eyes.' My wife gives me hell when I call them that."

A final issue on the subject of housing was the reaction of many people to the way the Japanese located throughout the community rather than all settling in one area. Many residents feel that locating the Japanese families throughout Pleasantville in different neighborhoods was good for the Japanese and good for the community.

Examples of comments include:

Ted: I don't think it would have been good to put them all in one neighborhood. I think they handled it well by spreading them around the town. This way they have a chance to really live in the town and get assimilated into the community. Whoever decided to spread them out made the right decision.

Joyce: If they were all in one neighborhood, they'd never become part of the community. Living all over town gives them a chance to meet other people. Now they stick together because of the language, but they are having experiences with American neighbors.

Margie: I like it that they moved into lots of different neighborhoods--that they mixed in, but it's much harder on them.

Still, two years after most of the purchases of the 15 houses in question, there is a great deal of discussion regarding what is the truth about what happened to property values in Pleasantville as it relates to the Japanese. While it appears to many, and to me, that the property boom in Pleasantville coincided with the arrival of the Japanese and was not caused by it, for many the Japanese arrival is to blame for their higher property taxes.

Although I cannot prove it by any collection of comments, I wonder whether those who blame the Japanese are

exhibiting some form of ethnocentrism, or even some prejudice against people from another culture. It is not possible to make an assertion to that affect, but the question surfaces for me and is left unanswered.

Recreation. One thing I found during these interviews is that some people become very protective of their recreation time and places and defend them almost as strongly, it seemed to me, as they would their families and homes. The primary subject here is golf. Although a few other sports were mentioned by interviewees in relation to the Japanese, golf is the topic that caused more emotional outbursts and complaints about the Japanese presence in Pleasantville than any other. Even those people who said they were pleased to have Japanese neighbors, and happy to have the Japanese plant in the community, didn't want the Japanese on their golf course.

As I gathered together all the comments and stories about problems around the topic of golf, I realized that one of the problems at the heart of people's concerns was caused in the first six to nine months of the Japanese plant in Pleasantville. In those early months when there were 120 Japanese men in this small community, men who were used to paying $200 for a round of golf if they could ever get an appointment on a course, local golf courses were very popular. At $11 a round, the Japanese flocked to play this popular sport. Courses were crowded, people could not get their "regular" tee time, and anger surfaced. Both in individual interviews and in an interview with the manager

of the golf course, I heard about problems which caused some early negative reactions to the Japanese. Failure of the Japanese to understand the rules and etiquette of golf and bowling resulted in negative reactions to the Japanese by Pleasantville golfers and bowlers.

The attitude of some is well stated by Gary who told me that he feels the community as a whole is very accepting of the Japanese. The only times he heard people be angry or unhappy was in the first year. There were big groups of Japanese at the golf courses, the driving range, even the bowling alley. Gary bowls, and he would go in before league play "to get in shape and roll a few balls, and you couldn't get a lane--the place was full of Japs." He also described seeing lots of them on the golf course last summer. "They're a real pain in the fanny."

In relation to both bowling and golf, Patty described it when she said, "They violated the rules, did things wrong and made people angry. It was just common consideration and etiquette."

Jim described experiences when the Japanese would arrive in large numbers, having raced to the course immediately after work, still in uniforms. They spoke no English so they could not ask or be told anything. They would go out in fives or sixes, instead of the standard fours. Finally someone called the plant and asked that they be told that they cannot go out on the course in groups of more than four. Then according to Jim, they came always in

fours, and stayed in groups of four for everything, including sitting in the lounge.

Many people complained that the Japanese were slow; they did not know the rules; they would not let small groups play through; and they did not extend the expected courtesies. Some people reacted to this with real anger. Sam, who served the South Pacific in World War II and has a great deal of resentment against the Japanese, told of playing golf with his son. There were five Japanese playing ahead of them. They did not offer to let Sam and his son play through. Sam said, "I told my son, 'We can't wait for them to putter around all the time.'" His son, whom Sam said has picked up his Japanese attitude, said, "Watch this," and drove a ball right into the Japanese group. "They got the hint. They motioned for us to go ahead."

Much of the problem was golf etiquette, complicated by large numbers, according to Barbara, who manages the golf course. She explained that it was "a little tough at first to get golf etiquette across to them." It made her realize that a lot of them hadn't played much golf before. She thinks most Americans have this idea that all Japanese men play golf all the time--"but a lot of these men just didn't know the rules."

Barbara understands one reason why they love golf. "It's something to do. They can't understand movies or T.V. There's nothing to do, so they play golf."

However, due to the large numbers involved, the lack of communication possible to explain the rules, and the lack of

knowledge about the rules of golf and bowling particularly, some negative impressions of Japanese were formed by Pleasantville residents. These impressions, made two years ago, are still being used by some to negatively describe the Japanese today, although Barbara says she did not have a single complaint all of last season.

The auto-parts plant has a golf league team made up of Japanese and Americans. The first year Barbara scheduled them in front of a regular league team. At the meeting where she explained positions, she had lots of complaints from the group about being behind Japanese. In fact, three dropped off the regular team and left the meeting immediately. But by the end of the season, the regular league members apologized to Barbara about their early negative attitudes. She told them they would have the same placement next year, and they all agreed--a sign to her that things between Japanese and American golfers have really improved.

Barbara shared other stories about her attempts to communicate. "We did a lot of sign language. People always say I talk a lot with my hands. It came in real handy." She often wrote things down, and used lots of gestures. Sometimes it took so long to figure out what was being asked or told, she was afraid the Japanese would be frustrated with her. "But they continue to smile and nod that I'm getting through to them." It was a difficult type of communication. "It takes 20 minutes to have a 5 minute conversation." Her major concern about the amount of extra

time it took was that it could further anger or frustrate others waiting their turn or waiting in line. She felt torn between keeping her regular customers happy and taking care of these new customers. "Patience is the word. It needs to be used a lot. If people have patience, they can make it work."

On the golf course and in the bowling alley were obvious cases where failure to understand each other's culture and the inability to communicate resulted in lots of misunderstandings. The Japanese did not seem to be aware that they did not know the rules and were thereby causing problems for people and creating anger. Many Pleasantville golfers and bowlers decided that the Japanese were simply rude or selfish, rather than questioning whether or not they understood the rules of the game.

The results of this anger on the part of Pleasantville residents allowed them to form a belief that Japanese are rude, or inconsiderate, or unwilling to follow rules. This type of belief can then underlie an attitude about not wanting Japanese in the community. This did happen, according to Barbara and according to several interviewees, although after a second sport season with fewer problems, the negative attitudes seemed to be abating. Barbara shared several stories with me of people who had positive experiences with Japanese during the course of the summer which changed their negative attitude.

Schools. It had been my hope to draw conclusions about what was happening in schools, as one of the domains

of community life. However, the extent of information available in a study of schools is so significant as to make it the subject of its own entire research study.

Many of those I interviewed made comments about the schools, about their children's experiences in the schools, and about their perceptions of the schools' attempts to respond to the Japanese. I feel that I have touched only the tip of the iceberg on this subject, however, and am uncomfortable drawing any conclusions or identifying any findings related to the schools. It is such a vast subject and needs to be individually addressed. If I had reason to do two research studies, that would be the next to absorb me. Since I do not, I highly recommend this topic for someone else's research study and assure them of my guidance and support.

SUMMARY

The 35 neighbor interviewees commented not only on what was happening in their neighborhoods but expanded into their observations on and perceptions about life in the community as a whole. Further, they led me to 17 individuals who represented a wide variety of aspects or domains of community life.

While I had hoped to identify broad changes in the community itself, I found that it was too early in any change process for individuals to see any major impact on the community in general, but they were able to identify many changes and adjustments and reactions to specific

domains as a result of the presence of the Japanese plant, its 15 Japanese families, and the over 100 Japanese in Pleasantville when the plant was being established.

Overall, Pleasantville residents interviewed do not report a great deal of community change as a result of the presence of the Japanese. Those who live next door to one of the Japanese families or who have other reasons for contact, report a variety of experiences and personal reactions. But the majority of the community, as I was able to gather from those representative community members interviewed, feel untouched. Pleasantville residents who do not live in a direct neighbor relationship with Japanese, do not have children in school with Japanese, do not work at the plant, or do not have close friends or family in any of the above categories are only minimally aware of the presence of Japanese in the community.

Many people interviewed did feel that there were a few things which they could see that were different. Differences in the community which were reported by some residents are the presence of Japanese faces and Japanese cars.

While most people felt there was no significant or noticeable change in the community or in overall community life as a result of the presence of a Japanese plant and Japanese residents, some Pleasantville residents suggested that there would be noticeable community change, in time.

Of interest was the fact that many people seemed sorry that there hadn't been more difference felt because of a new

culture in the community. Some Pleasantville residents are disappointed that there has not been more impact felt from the Japanese presence and that they have not had more opportunity to be personally involved.

While most people interviewed were not able to identify any major changes to the community itself, there have been some changes in businesses, retail operations and community services caused by the presence of the Japanese.

Interviewees identified adjustments to and reactions from a variety of businesses and services, including grocery stores, the library, banking, miscellaneous retail establishments, health services, housing, and recreation. Education was such a major area for a study chronicling events which have transpired that it was too vast to be included in this research and remains a separate topic for another study.

Of significance in this study and worth separate discussion here is the topic of housing. Some people feel that realtors and property sellers took advantage of the Japanese by inflating prices of property and household goods. Because of these suggested higher prices, and due to a surge of other newcomers to Pleasantville, Japanese are blamed, by some residents, for the increase in property taxes due to the high prices they paid for houses, while others feel that the Japanese are not to blame but are scapegoats.

While there was debate on the issue of property taxes and the relationship to the Japanese, many Pleasantville

residents feel that locating the Japanese families throughout the town in different neighborhoods was good for the Japanese and good for the community.

Another area which resulted in some negative reactions to the Japanese was recreation, particularly golf and bowling. Failure of the Japanese to understand the rules and etiquette of golf and bowling resulted in negative reactions to the Japanese by Pleasantville golfers and bowlers.

In conclusion, I found Pleasantville as a community, reported by the interviewees, to be less affected by Japanese influence than I had anticipated. I remember a day in January 1989, early in my preliminary study, when I was looking for signs of the existence of the Japanese. I wrote the following comments in my journal: "I can't find any evidence of Japanese...I wonder where the Japanese are...I get this feeling that except for the welcome signs in the windows and the section of Japanese food, that there aren't any Japanese here...It's so different from the way it looks inside the plant, full of Japanese...I wonder if that feeling will ever happen in the town." Two years later, many people report still feeling much the way I did then, that "it" hasn't yet happened in the town.

However, the accumulation of all of the small adaptations, adjustments and changes to specific services reported in this chapter and the two previous chapters appears to reflect greater change than is sensed by people close to the situation. While most residents do not report

feeling a significant difference in the community, and I expected more obvious change than I found, the evidence appears to show that the process of community change is slowly and subtly underway in Pleasantville.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

After approximately two years in Pleasantville, from my first lunch at Cal's Corner Cafe in January, 1989, as part of an initial effort to conduct participant observation of Japanese/American interaction, to the final interview over coffee at the Tip Top Restaurant in December, 1990, it is time to form conclusions about what has happened in this small town. Recently I had occasion to be in Pleasantville on a personal errand and I felt somewhat emotional at the thought that this two-year relationship was shortly to come to an end. My early wish was to collect a series of verbal photographs showing events and relationships in Pleasantville related to the presence of a large Japanese manufacturing facility. After two years and many interviews, I have a head full of verbal and visual pictures, from Stan standing at the top of his front steps acting out his message to Taieko's mother, to Sam, with his face in his hands, weeping as he described his World War II pride and his loyalty to his country.

The series of interviews with 52 Pleasantville residents, reacting to their new Japanese neighbors, was designed to focus on the reactions of American residents of Pleasantville. There is potential, as a result of this study, to research the Japanese living in Pleasantville, but this study did not attempt to present Japanese reactions or

attitudes, except as they were described as part of a story or impression shared with me by an interviewee.

In total, 35 assertions have been made and defended in the findings in an attempt to "photograph" what has happened in Pleasantville. These 35 significant assertions were in three main categories: 12 findings in the area of attitudes toward the Japanese and the Japanese plant; 13 describing what happened in the neighborhoods; and 10 relating experiences, attitudes and changes in the community-at-large.

The assertions coalesced into seven conclusions in answer to the major question which drove this research, "What has been going on in Pleasantville since the Japanese arrived and how do people feel about it?"

The resulting seven conclusions are:

1. The predominant attitude reported by those interviewed is one of acceptance of the Japanese.
2. There is an overall acceptance of the Japanese manufacturing plant as a result of its economic impact, its role in the community, and the attitude and activities of its president.
3. Some activities and events in the development stages of the plant caused misunderstandings on the part of those interviewed.
4. Cultural differences caused confusion and concerns between Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville.
5. Where there are concerns about the Japanese presence in Pleasantville, economic concerns appear to override

World War II, or "historic enemy", issues and basic racial issues as the predominant concern.

6. Communication, primarily language and the fear of misunderstanding, is such a pervasive problem that even after two years it prevents most Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville from interacting except in the most minor way, despite the fact that many want to and try to relate.

7. While some aspects of the community have changed, for most people "Pleasantville is still Pleasantville," although there is a feeling that significant community change will be more obvious in time.

By studying what has occurred in Pleasantville over a two-year period, from early 1989 through the end of 1990, a great deal has been learned about the interaction which occurs between Japanese and Americans, from the viewpoint of community members, as Japanese plants are established in small American communities.

CONCLUSION 1: ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPANESE

The first conclusion centers around the issue of the overall attitudes, both personally expressed and interpreted about others, toward the Japanese people living in Pleasantville. Considering the nature and personality of Pleasantville, described by interviewees as "conservative," "cloistered," and "lily white," I had anticipated a greater number of people voicing active resentment and even outright anger at the Japanese presence. I was sure that some people

would be pleased by the new experience, but I expected more prejudice and bigotry than I found.

Whether more prejudice and bigotry exists in Pleasantville than I am reporting is impossible to tell. It is certainly possible that the 52 people interviewed are not truly representative of the community and their attitudes do not reflect the general community. If they are not representative and therefore present a biased view, I can think of two possible reasons why they would report such strong positive attitudes. Interviewees might only have shared "nice" or "proper" feelings with me and felt uncomfortable admitting to prejudice or negative reactions toward the new Japanese families, or only have shared with me what they thought I wanted to hear. I have always thought I was a reasonable judge of people, and I sincerely felt I was hearing true and genuine responses.

The second possible reason for such strong positive attitudes might be that my selection process only led from one positive person to another, each person suggesting only people whom they thought might be accepting in their attitude about the Japanese. In many cases, however, interviewees suggested people whom they only knew slightly, as they were responding to my attempt to locate people in the various neighborhoods where Japanese were living.

Whatever the reason, <u>THE PREDOMINANT ATTITUDE REPORTED BY THOSE INTERVIEWED IS ONE OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE IN PLEASANTVILLE</u>.

Although almost every person interviewed reported a positive personal attitude toward the Japanese presence, many talked about others who had negative feelings. Those attitudes were specific to some older people, however, particularly those relating all Japanese to Pearl Harbor and World War II, and others who relate in some way to these events in history. Some negative feelings were described related to the Japanese presence on golf courses and in bowling alleys. Other attitudes which might seem negative are those concerning an economic fear of Japan's new-found prowess, although people expressing those fears, for the most part, still reported acceptance of the Pleasantville Japanese.

There were numerous reasons why people seemed positive about the presence of Japanese in the community, including the potential for cultural growth; the opportunity for children to experience a new culture and grow up with a broader world view; the potential for new and different experiences with Japanese neighbors; the experience of the Japanese as generous and kind people; and finally, acceptance of the Japanese as neighbors. Many people indicated that it was acceptable to have a Japanese neighbor, but not to have a black or Hispanic neighbor.

An additional reason why Japanese were considered as acceptable additions to the community was not often stated but implied by many. This relates to the studies and reports which show that people who add to the community are more easily accepted than those who drain the community's

resources. Numbers of people mentioned the fact that Japanese are in an "acceptable" economic class; they give rather than take from the community. As Gary described it, "They live in good neighborhoods and don't need anything from the community, so we don't have any problems with them."

To know whether or not these attitudes exist in a similar fashion in other small towns where Japanese plants have been established would require that similar studies be conducted. Not only would these studies shed light on this new phenomenon of Japanese living in American communities, but would also add to the research described by Blakely and Bradshaw (1980) regarding the impact of "new migrants" on America's small cities and towns.

CONCLUSION 2: ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPANESE PLANT

Related to, and possibly contributory toward the acceptance of the Japanese people in Pleasantville is the acceptance of the $100 million manufacturing facility. Based on my experiences in Pleasantville over the past several years, I had sensed that the plant was well regarded in the community and the interviews supported that assumption.

A number of assertions were made which support the conclusion that <u>THERE IS OVERALL ACCEPTANCE OF THE JAPANESE MANUFACTURING PLANT AS A RESULT OF ITS ECONOMIC IMPACT, ITS ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY, AND THE ATTITUDE AND ACTIVITIES OF ITS PRESIDENT</u>.

pl

pa

ne

Gr

or

co

su

su

pe

ou

an

fa

th

ch

ab

be

th

fo

It

an

pla

app

Relative to the economic impact, many people saw the plant as good for the community's economic future, particularly in light of a plant closing which had negatively affected the community in the recent past. As Greg stated it, "I didn't care if it was Japanese or Indian or where it was from. It meant jobs for the community."

The plant's supportive role included donating money for community parks, contributing to charities, and financially supporting local events.

The importance of the role of the president was surprisingly strong for many people. Knowing Mr. Wada personally, I understood how people viewed him as friendly, outgoing, easy to know, and concerned about the community and the individuals employed by the plant.

An additional factor supporting this conclusion was the fact that many people saw the selection of Pleasantville as the site for the new plant as a matter of pride, of feeling chosen over many other possible communities.

That early acceptance of the plant and positive feeling about its importance to the community may have had some bearing on the later positive attitudes which were shown to the Japanese individuals who arrived to support the plant.

It appears to me that there may be implications here for similar plants being established in small communities. It is obvious that community members pay close attention to and are favorably impressed by the role the Japanese plant plays in the life of the community. Contributing to appropriate causes, taking the initiative to build a

commu

criti

commu

impor

parti

decis

presi

accep

Parti

langu

names

willi

commu

many

other

appea

begin

regard

Japane

import

prepar

commun

reside

community park, and other such activities seem to be critically important in achieving a positive attitude from community members. Promotion of these events is probably important to heighten awareness of the plant's community participation.

Of importance to Japanese companies making personnel decisions for future American sites is the selection of the president. The role which Mr. Wada plays in the positive acceptance of the plant was reported by many people. Particularly noteworthy is his command of the English language, his ability to remember and pronounce American names, his knowledge of American customs, and his willingness to personally participate in the life of the community, its members, and his employees. He appeared, in many cases, to be the Japanese who set a standard by which other Japanese were judged and therefore his selection would appear to be critical to the plant's acceptance.

Replicating this study in other similar locations would begin to build a foundation for more generalizable data regarding patterns affecting community acceptance of Japanese plants. Such information should be of real importance to Japanese or other international companies preparing to establish new American ventures, as well as to communities gearing up to receive new international residents.

CONCLUSION 3: CAUSES OF EARLY MISUNDERSTANDINGS

While at the time of the interviews I found most interviewees reporting a significant level of acceptance for themselves and, in general, for other members of the community, I did hear reports of misunderstandings early in the development of the plant and with the arrival of the Japanese. SOME ACTIVITIES AND EVENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT STAGES OF THE PLANT CAUSED MISUNDERSTANDINGS ON THE PART OF THOSE INTERVIEWED. Those misunderstandings were in three specific areas: 1) the prices paid for housing, both actually and as perceived by others; 2) the numbers of Japanese in the first years as compared to those staying for a 3 to 6 year period; and 3) sports etiquette, i.e., understanding the rules of golf and bowling, particularly in light of the inability to communicate about appropriate behavior.

The major misunderstanding which was still being discussed two years later centered around the issue of real estate. Reality for most people interviewed was that the Japanese paid substantially more for Pleasantville houses than the market value. A local banker's opinion was that out of the 14 homes purchased, four or five probably were "over bought." Whatever is true, many members of the community believe the Japanese used their wealth to pay any price to buy the houses they wanted. Resulting opinions were that some residents took advantage of Japanese by inflating fair prices; that some realtors contributed to the attempt to lead Japanese into innocently paying higher

pri

inc

and

the

pos

and

as

peo

oth

time

metr

"sca

sepa

Japa

golf

five

maxi

play

the

bowl

pers

alley

they

these

cours

lack

compou

prices than were appropriate, in order to increase their own income; and most important, that the increased assessments and resulting increase in property taxes are the fault of the Japanese. Many people interviewed, however, reject the possibility that the Japanese purchases caused tax increases and relate the increase to a general rise in property values as a result of many home purchases at the same time by people moving to Pleasantville from nearby large cities. In other words, the Japanese moved to Pleasantville at the same time it became a "bedroom community" for commuters from metropolitan areas. For some, the Japanese did become the "scapegoat" for increased taxes.

The second and third causes of misunderstandings are separate but related. Many people complained about the Japanese people's lack of etiquette and proper behavior on golf courses and in bowling alleys. Examples given were five or six people playing golf together rather than the maximum four, playing very slowly, not allowing others to play through, rushing from work to the course and filling up the tee-off area too close to league play, filling up the bowling lanes too close to league play, not waiting for the person in the next alley to roll the ball at the bowling alley, and similar complaints. Interviewees, and others they described, were surprisingly upset at the Japanese over these issues. Some, including the manager of the golf course, added that the Japanese behavior was probably not lack of manners but failure to understand the rules, compounded by an eagerness to take part in sports which are

limited in Japan. The enticement of paying $11.00 for 18 holes of golf, rather than the $200 typical in Japan, brought most Japanese to the golf course for the golfing experience even if they did not know how to play.

Related to the sports misunderstanding is the one caused by the fact that most people seemed not to know how many Japanese would be establishing themselves as residents of Pleasantville. The first year over 100 Japanese men lived in the town for anywhere from six months to one year. During that period they took up every motel and apartment space available, filled up the golf courses and bowling alleys and driving ranges, and were major customers at stores and restaurants. Many people did not understand that this was the "set-up crew" and that most would be short-term visitors.

As a result, the large number of Japanese here during the first year misled community members into believing that the number of Japanese buying homes and using community services would be large. This larger number had a positive impact on local business, but in some cases that resulted in resentment, as they "took over," in the case of golf courses and bowling alleys. Ironically, the smaller number now present do not have a negative effect by overcrowding local services, but on the other hand, they do not impact local business in a positive way, as the larger numbers did.

There are a number of implications from this conclusion, both for communities and for Japanese developers. It seems appropriate that Japanese settling in

a community research the property values prior to homes being purchased. The vast difference between property values in Japan and property values in the United States creates a situation where the Japanese view our housing prices as very inexpensive. That causes them to view inflated prices as reasonable and therefore to pay higher prices than appropriate.

Instruction in the basic rules of American sports prior to arrival in the United States appears to be very important, in order to prevent early misunderstandings. As a result of the failure of Japanese to operate according to the rules, beliefs were formed that Japanese are rude, leading to negative attitudes about Japanese. This could be avoided in the future.

Finally, better communication from city officials and Japanese executives with the community-at-large and with all service providers, regarding the number of Japanese in the community at various stages, would prevent assumptions from being made which later cause misunderstandings.

CONCLUSION 4: CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

As has been pointed out throughout this study, there are vast cultural differences between Japan and the United States and some of these differences surfaced in Pleasantville as causes of misunderstanding and miscommunication. <u>CULTURAL DIFFERENCES CAUSED CONFUSION AND CONCERN BETWEEN JAPANESE AND AMERICANS IN PLEASANTVILLE</u>.

Although these cultural differences did not cause any major problems in the community, they were referenced often enough in a variety of contexts to require discussion here. Three specific topics surfaced most often in my discussions with the interviewees: 1) the giving of gifts; 2) family relationships, primarily the role of the male; and 3) affirmation and unwillingness to disagree.

The Japanese custom of giving gifts on many occasions and for many purposes, primarily to eliminate the burden of indebtedness for kindnesses done and favors shown, became a burden and created a feeling of indebtedness for many people in Pleasantville. In Japan, the custom is understood and, in fact, the cultural rules of gift giving are a basic norm for the society. People know how and when to respond appropriately. Gift giving in the United States is much less formal, less frequent, and less structured. Therefore the frequent gifts caused confusion for the Pleasantville recipients who felt there was some way they should be responding but did not know what it was or even how to find out. As a result, they ultimately felt not only confused but indebted to their Japanese neighbors, the very thing the Japanese were trying to avoid by giving the gifts.

The difference in family relationships between Japan and the United States became obvious in neighborhoods, caused comments and questions, and was given as one of the reasons why few American/Japanese relationships developed in neighborhoods. In Japan, the male is only minimally involved in the life of the family. The female and children

are the nucleus of the family group, while the male's primary relationships and time commitments are at work and with co-workers after work hours. In Pleasantville, American neighbors noticed the absence of the Japanese male and commented on their inability to make any contact with Japanese men, with the exception of occasional contact over lawns and yard work. It appeared that the Japanese males continued the Japanese customs related to work and family, thereby not allowing for the type of neighborhood exchanges and activities common in American families.

The third cultural difference which seemed to confuse and frustrate many of the interviewees was the Japanese custom of nodding and smiling in affirmation and agreement, regardless of whether they agree or understand. American neighbors seldom knew if they had been understood since they always received nods or smiles from the Japanese. Included in this concern is the Japanese discomfort with confrontation or replying in the negative, which caused their Pleasantville neighbors to question if they were ever receiving accurate responses from the Japanese. One of the interviewees explained that he hesitated to talk to his neighbor because the neighbor always tried to be agreeable "even if he doesn't want to be." Gene said, "I feel like I forced him to say "yes" to me again."

Implications for other communities where Japanese and Americans share life are basic ones of greater exposure to each other's customs and cultural groundings. At a minimum, each group could be exposed to an understanding of the areas

where cultural differences are the greatest. Japanese might receive some type of indoctrination into the parts of their culture which will cause the greatest degree of difference and discomfort for American neighbors. In the reverse, American neighbors might receive training or literature on Japanese customs and the cultural differences to which they may be exposed. In order to better understand, and hopefully appreciate, each other's customs, some training and basic information would seem to be in order, at least at the neighborhood level.

CONCLUSION 5: ECONOMIC, HISTORIC AND RACIAL ISSUES

At the beginning of this study, I anticipated finding some resentment of the Japanese on the part of the Pleasantville community, and that the primary areas would be left-over feelings based on World War II, and basic racial prejudice. Although, I did find some evidence of both of those reactions, they were far less dominant, or at least obvious, than I expected, while economic concerns were more obvious than expected in many people interviewed. WHERE THERE ARE CONCERNS ABOUT THE JAPANESE PRESENCE IN PLEASANTVILLE, ECONOMIC CONCERNS APPEAR TO OVERRIDE WORLD WAR II, OR "HISTORIC ENEMY," ISSUES AND BASIC RACIAL ISSUES AS THE PREDOMINANT CONCERN.

None of those interviewed, with the exception of a World War II veteran, admitted to feeling any anger or resentment against the Japanese based on World War II in general or Pearl Harbor specifically. Many of them reported

hearing about those feelings from others in the community, however, particularly from those they classified as "older." Even Sam, the World War II veteran, said, when asked to comment on the affect of World War II on people in Pleasantville, "I guess it's just us old World War II vets that carry it on." Many interviewees did acknowledge that it is hard for those with World War II involvement to have the Japanese welcomed and even catered to by Pleasantville city officials.

Regarding the issue of racial prejudice, I was surprised to find that many people interviewed did not see the major difference between the Japanese and Americans as a matter of a different race, but rather a different culture. In fact, Noreen said, "I don't think that people here view cultural difference the same way--it's not considered to be the same as race." It was surprising to me that as racially different as Caucasians are from Asians, people did not seem to identify the Japanese as a different race in the same way that they saw themselves as different from blacks and Hispanics.

Noreen was also one of a number of people who clearly stated that Japanese were welcome in the neighborhood and the community, while blacks and Hispanics would not be. She explained, as did others, that the major reason for the difference seemed to be that Japanese people were associated with high educational level, strong work ethic, quality products, and money, while the media had trained people to

associate blacks and Hispanics with drugs, weapons, rape, and murder.

Economic concerns surfaced in some way in almost every interview. A high school student, Chuck, described it as an "economic war." The future relationship between Japan and the United States, the loss of America's No. 1 role, and the fear that Japan is buying up America were predominant issues for many. As Ted explained it, "Even though I like the idea of them being here, it scares me what is happening to our country."

Like Ted, the majority of those interviewed described mixed emotions about the Japanese presence and the economic issue. There was almost uniform acceptance of the fact that the Japanese have been producing quality products and that our workers need to learn from them. Most did not blame the Japanese for being here or for "buying up America," but blamed our own workers and our government for letting it happen. Several indicated that they go out of their way to buy a Japanese product, while feeling regret that our country's products do not have the same quality. Yet almost all expressed fear that the Japanese will continue to purchase American companies and establish Japanese ventures until they dominate American real estate, banking and manufacturing.

There seem to be few implications for action for either community or Japanese executives as a result of this conclusion. The Pleasantville reactions are not based on what is happening in Pleasantville alone, but are reactions

to what people see and hear in national and international media coverage.

An issue surfaces here for me, however, which seems to cry for further attention or study. As reported, I am unable to document the existence of racial prejudice as a result of any substantial comments by Pleasantville residents either about themselves or their impressions of others. Yet it seems unlikely to me that such prejudice does not exist. Questions arise for me about whether there would be such fear of economic take-over if the people in question were British or Dutch or Australian, in other words, white. How much of the left over World War II resentment and anger is based on race, since I heard little mention of similar feelings about the Germans, certainly very much our enemies during the same time period? However, since most interviewees failed to identify the race of the Japanese as an important difference, compared to the way they viewed cultural difference, is there prejudice against the Japanese in Pleasantville based on race? Further study on this subject, either in Pleasantville or in similar communities where Japanese plants have been established, seems critical to a better understanding of the issues facing this country in light of this new cross-cultural trend.

CONCLUSION 6: PERVASIVE PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION

Most people report acceptance of the Japanese and the Japanese plant in Pleasantville, despite some reported

concerns based on World War II, and on an economic fear of Japan's rising status as a major world power and our country's loss of its No. 1 stature. Despite the surprisingly high level of acceptance and even pleasure at the Japanese presence, the issue of communication between Japanese and Americans in Pleasantville is a major problem. COMMUNICATION, PRIMARILY LANGUAGE AND THE FEAR OF MISUNDERSTANDING, IS SUCH A PERVASIVE PROBLEM THAT EVEN AFTER TWO YEARS, IT PREVENTS MOST JAPANESE AND AMERICANS IN PLEASANTVILLE FROM INTERACTING EXCEPT IN THE MOST MINOR WAY, DESPITE THE FACT THAT MANY WANT TO AND TRY TO RELATE.

The fact that most of the Japanese people sent to Pleasantville had little or no command of the English language presented a major obstacle in the development of relationships in neighborhoods and in community life. Many people reported numerous attempts to communicate, most of which were deemed unsuccessful. Americans in Pleasantville found the sound of the Japanese language so foreign that most people interviewed were unable even to pronounce the first or last names of their neighbors, in some cases after living next to them for up to two years.

Many of those interviewed had given up any serious efforts at communication, either simply in frustration, or after having been embarrassed by some misunderstanding which they felt they caused. Not only did many people hesitate to attempt further communication due to language barriers, some were hesitant as a result of the Japanese custom of agreeing, whether or not understanding has been reached.

Interviewees were concerned that they always received affirmative responses even though they felt sure they had not been understood. For many it was easier not to attempt communication than to deal with failure to communicate.

Almost all interviewees had attempted to communicate with Japanese neighbors and most truly seemed to want to form some type of relationship. Some persisted despite language barriers, resorting to writing messages, using gestures, acting out words, trying word after word until one clicked, and using Japanese/American dictionaries. Even those who reported successful communications, however, such as neighbor women sharing school or community information, indicated that the process was difficult and time consuming and would not easily lead to the development of real relationships or friendships.

The primary areas where some communication was attempted and was sometimes successful were helping with lawn care, providing assistance with household problems, and interpreting school notes and customs. Children appeared to play a major role in crossing the cultural barriers and almost always overcame language and cultural differences easily and quickly. Most children interviewed or described by interviewees were only minimally aware that there was anything unique about their new Japanese friendships and pronounced Japanese names as easily as their own.

The need for translators in the early stages of the Japanese-American interaction, and for general assistance from city officials and English-speaking Japanese, was

mentioned by many. Suggestions included neighborhood gatherings to welcome new Japanese neighbors, attended by interpreters who would facilitate some of the early attempts to get acquainted. Others wanted interpreters to visit regularly so relationships could develop despite the absence of a common language. Still others, expressing a desire to form a friendship with a Japanese neighbor, simply wished the Japanese would find ways to learn English more quickly so communication could occur.

There are numbers of implications for city officials, economic developers, and Japanese executives, both in other communities and in Pleasantville in the future. While translators were available on a regular basis at the plant to facilitate communication between workers, it appears that more effort could be put into providing a similar and regularly scheduled service for Japanese and American neighbors, particularly in the early stages of interaction. The wish on the part of the Americans for their Japanese neighbors to speak English might suggest more intensified conversational English classes for Japanese prior to being given American assignments, and more regular and on-going English language classes after arrival in American communities.

I am aware of the existence of English classes in the Pleasantville area, but such classes were attended by a minority of the Japanese and were not financed by the Japanese plant. If Japanese families are to fit in to American neighborhoods and experience community life during

their American tenure, then some command of conversational English seems critical, as well as some understanding of the cultural aspects of the communication process in this country.

Some interviewees suggested that they would have appreciated receiving lists of basic words or phrases to use in welcoming their Japanese neighbors, and some even recommended that a class or workshop specifically for people living near Japanese could provide them with a few words to use, a better sense of the language itself, and some cultural information as well.

Since the Japanese currently in Pleasantville will complete two to five year assignments and return to Japan, to be replaced by new Japanese families, this communication situation will continue to occur regularly in local neighborhoods and stores and restaurants. It is not too late for those responsible in Pleasantville to determine a different technique for assisting in the development of communication for those who will arrive in Pleasantville in the years ahead, including learning some Japanese themselves.

CONCLUSION 7: IMPACT OF JAPANESE ON COMMUNITY CHANGE

In Community Structure and Change, Nelson, Ramsey and Verner (1960) describe the way changes occur in a community. They describe significant change as slow, taking generations to occur, and an example they give is the arrival of a new major industry and its impact on community change. According to Goodenough (1963), while changes are

occurring in the private culture and then the operating culture of the individuals in a community, the impact on the public culture of the community as a whole may not be visible for years or even generations. I believe such is the case in Pleasantville.

WHILE SOME ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY HAVE CHANGED, FOR MOST PEOPLE "PLEASANTVILLE IS STILL PLEASANTVILLE," ALTHOUGH THERE IS A FEELING THAT SIGNIFICANT COMMUNITY CHANGE WILL BE MORE OBVIOUS IN TIME.

Many businesses, retail establishments, and community services, report an impact from the presence of the Japanese and have made noticeable changes in the way they do business as a result. From the Japanese rice, fish, and produce in the grocery stores and the books in Japanese at the library, to the gradual acceptance of Japanese on the golf course and in the bowling alleys, some places in Pleasantville seem different than they were two years ago.

Some individuals interviewed report that the presence of Japanese faces in this almost all-white community seems very noticeable to them, particularly during community events, while shopping, and while driving in town. Concerning the issue of driving, many people mentioned the presence of so many Japanese cars of the type for which Pleasantville Manufacturing produces parts. All Japanese families and employees drive that particular brand of automobile and the sudden increase in Japanese cars is obvious to many. Judy told me that at times she forgets there are Japanese in Pleasantville, and then she walks out

of a store and sees a parking lot with Japanese cars, and suddenly remembers that Pleasantville is now home to a Japanese plant.

Despite these changes for some individuals and for certain domains of the community, most of those interviewed did not report a great deal of personal impact or community change as a result of the presence of the Japanese. In fact, unless residents live in a neighbor relationship with Japanese, have children in school with Japanese, work at Pleasantville Manufacturing, or have close friends in any of the above categories, they are only minimally aware of the presence of Japanese in community. Karen actually said those words when she told me, "Nothing feels different at all. I only feel minimally aware that there are Japanese here."

While some residents did not feel truly aware of or involved with the Japanese plant and Japanese families in the community, a number of those interviewed were disappointed that there had not been more community impact felt from the presence of the Japanese. They wished they had had more opportunity to be personally involved. Suzie expressed it for many when she explained, "I find it disappointing that it doesn't seem more. I don't know what 'it' is, but I thought 'it' would happen." Mary thought it would "feel more different. I wanted more Japanese cultural things to happen."

Despite the fact that most people thought that the community did not feel different, nor more international,

nor more Japanese, nor less like the Pleasantville they had always known, some residents suggested that there would be noticeable community change, in time. Catherine said, "We're going to be different; we can't help it. We're going to be different for the good." Some people even hope for change, like Mary Ann, who told me, "I hope in the future it will be different, but change is very slow." It is obvious from the many examples in this study of personal changes, adjustments and adaptations, that change is underway in Pleasantville.

Sam said that his generation of World War II vets were the last of the people who have negative feelings about the Japanese because of Pearl Harbor and World War II. Greg said that the change in the community would come from the newest generation, the children. A number of people supported Greg's feeling that the children would make the changes in Pleasantville. For Louise, with grandchildren in Pleasantville schools, "It's going to be a long time before we see any real changes. Maybe it will happen for the children in school." The sharing of friendships between Japanese and American children in Pleasantville was noted by many as the way to community change. Greg summed it up by saying, "We're going to have kids who have a different view. Kids are our future and we can't spoil it for them. Let them change the future."

A question that arose for me, during the discussion and analysis of the lack of impact felt by most people, had to do with the role the Japanese themselves may have played in

the almost invisibility of the Japanese families at the community level and the lack of "Japanization" of Pleasantville. Without interviewing the Japanese families and the plant executives it would be unfair to draw any conclusions, but the question arises for me whether or not there had been a corporate decision or at least a recommendation to maintain a very low profile in the community.

Even without a corporate decision, a number of factors could come together here. The personality of the Japanese themselves is an issue. As Barnlund described the Japanese in his lengthy Japanese/American comparison quoted in Chapter 2, they are "modest and apologetic in manner, communicate in an ambiguous and evocative language...and prefer inner serenity to influencing others" (1975, 18). This type of personality is not the type which demands notice, forces itself forward, or becomes obvious. Perhaps a nationality of more outgoing, bolder people would have made a more noticeable impact.

Other issues raise the question of whether the combination of the lack of language, and possibly some doubt about their welcome to Pleasantville, would add to the already low-profile Japanese manner. The American press has certainly been full of reports of "Japan bashing" and books and articles have been written decrying the presence of Japan in the U.S. economic scene. Without knowing how the community as a whole and its individual residents would feel about the Japanese influence in Pleasantville, the Japanese

people may deliberately be refraining from appearing to be a significant factor in the life of the town. By locating them in ones and twos in neighborhoods around the community, it would appear there has been an attempt to blend the Japanese into the community rather than drawing attention to their presence by settling them in one area or subdivision as has been done in some other locations.

Whether or not these factors of Japanese personality, corporate decision on low profile, the question of acceptance, or neighborhood locations plays a role in Pleasantville, the fact remains that the Japanese presence is not strongly felt. Further study of the Japanese might determine how much of the slow change in Pleasantville is an example of the theory of gradual community change and how much is a deliberate attempt on the part of the Japanese not to appear to be changing Pleasantville.

FUTURE RESEARCH

As this study concludes, three particular areas for future research surface for me as appropriate and necessary if we are to understand, as a nation, this new phenomenon of Japanese establishing large plants and locating numerous Japanese families in our small cities and towns.

Repeat Study in Five Years. The first area for future study is obvious to me as a result of Conclusion 7, that community change is not yet apparent to the community members. Another study could be conducted in 1995, five years after this initial study and seven years after the

opening of the plant, to see what changes have occurred and which changes reported in this study have become institutionalized. By that time some of the original families would have returned to Japan and been replaced by new Japanese. Will Pleasantville residents be more sensitive to making communication happen despite language barriers? Will Japanese names and customs be more familiar and accepted? Will children who have had Japanese playmates and friends be establishing norms of acceptance? Will international friendships have been established with the returning Japanese? Will the adults have been able to overcome their fears of miscommunicating to develop social relationships with their neighbors? Will they have learned any Japanese language? Will Japanese men be more involved in the social life of their families, as a consequence of the role modeling by American men? Will Americans give gifts more easily and frequently in response to the example set by the Japanese? These are only a few of the many questions that could be answered in an on-going study in the evolution of cross-cultural change in Pleasantville. An interesting component of this study, or even possibly a separate one, is how what has happened in Pleasantville is part of the "new migrant" situation affecting small towns described by Blakely and Bradshaw (1980).

School Study. As referenced earlier, the study of what was occurring in the schools was too large to even attempt to comment on in this report. It is obvious from this study that the role played by children is an important

one in any analysis of a community's reaction to new residents. Some of that interaction is found in neighborhoods, but most would be available in a study of the schools themselves. Pleasantville, with its six elementary schools, one middle school, and one high school, would be an ideal size to allow an analysis of all age groups.

The minimal amount of information that I unearthed in this study indicated that there is easy and almost complete acceptance in the elementary grades, a fair amount of interaction at the middle school level, and almost none at the high school level. An analysis of that factor alone would be significant to communities integrating Japanese into the schools in the future. Further, an analysis in five years and ten years of those elementary children who have accepted as natural the friendship of children whose parents and grandparents were considered our enemies would add significantly to our understanding of community change, cross-cultural change, ethnocentrism, and the nature of prejudice.

The Japanese Side of the Story. Despite the difficulties inherent in conducting a study where major language differences exist, there is another side to this story. This study has attempted to look only at the reactions of a representative number of American residents of Pleasantville to the presence of a Japanese plant and its Japanese employees. It would be fascinating to conduct a study in the same neighborhoods with the same Japanese families who were reacted to in this study, to see how their

feelings and attitudes and reactions compare. How did they feel about the early communication attempts? Were they afraid of being misunderstood? What customs of their American neighbors seemed most unusual, hard to understand, or frustrating? Did they experience their own feelings of ethnocentrism and nationalism about Japanese ways and manners? Did they feel the acceptance that most of those interviewed in this study reported? Do they also want to establish better relationships with their neighbors? A possible way to look at the Japanese side of this venture would be to conduct a profile of the plant itself, particularly concerning how they prepared for this adventure. How did they make decisions about the role the plant would play in the community? How did they select the president? How was his role determined? In general, how did they study for and anticipate our culture? Many questions resulting from this research would provide the framework for a study of the other side of the story in Pleasantville.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

Personally, during this time I have grown tremendously, both in my appreciation for the Japanese and their ancient culture, and in my fascination with the multicultural process. The impact of this phase of my life has been significant. Not only have I learned the discipline necessary for and the appreciation of fieldwork research, I

have developed a level of expertise and feeling of professionalism regarding the subject of this study.

I am more convinced as I conclude this research than I dreamed I would be when I began it, that there is great value in these results. One of my new "photographs" resulting from this experience is not one located in Pleasantville. I visualize a group of Japanese, reading a version of this research, translated into Japanese, as they learn more about how their plants and people are accepted in one small town in America. And then I see Jeff, the city official, and other economic developers in Pleasantville, learning from these results how to help Pleasantville grow and culturally adapt to the Japanese in the years ahead. And I see economic developers, in other small towns across America, considering what I found in Pleasantville as they embark on a similar adventure with a Japanese company. And finally, I picture myself continuing to learn about Japan, finding ways to share my growing knowledge and enthusiasm for Japan and for cross-cultural change.

Toward the conclusion of this research, my step-daughter, whose wedding to a Japanese I attended in Japan, announced that her father and I would be grandparents in 1991. Obviously, with a Japanese grandchild, I am destined to continue this compelling involvement with the Japanese, in Japan, as well as in this country.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, Gordon. The Nature of Prejudice. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1979.

Anderson, Jack. "Who Owns America?" Parade Magazine 6 April 1988: 4-6.

Argyle, Michael. "Intercultural Communication." International Communication: A Reader. Eds. Larry A. Samovar and Richard E. Porter. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1988. 31-43.

Armor, John, and Peter Wright. Manzanar. New York: Times Books, 1988.

Barnlund, Dean. Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States: Communicative Styles of Two Cultures. Tokyo: Simul Press and Intercultural Press, Inc., 1975.

---. Communication Styles of Japanese and Americans. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1989.

Benedict, Ruth. The Chrysanthemum and the Sword. New York: New American Library, 1946.

Berger, Michael. "Values Soar Out of Reach on Japanese Real Estate Market." San Francisco Chronicle 24 Nov. 1990: A3.

Blakely, Edward J. and Ted K. Bradshaw. "The Impact of Recent Migrants on Economic Development in Small Towns." Order and Image in the Small American Town. Eds. Michael Fazio and Peggy W. Prenshaw. Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1981. 30-49.

Bogdan, Robert C. and Sari Knopp Biklen. Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1982.

Borman, Kathryn, Margaret LeCompte, and Judith Preissle Goetz. "Ethnographic and Qualitative Research Design and Why It Doesn't Work." American Behavioral Scientist 30.1 (1986): 42-57.

Brislin, Richard W. Applied Cross-Cultural Psychology. Newbury Park, London and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990.

Burgess, John. "How One American Town Wooed Japanese Industry." The Washington Post National Weekly Edition 19-25 June 1989: 20-21.

"Bush Defends Japan's U.S. Investment," Los Angeles Times, Washington Bureau n.d.: A13.

Christenson, J.A., and J.W. Robinson, Eds. Community Development in Perspective. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1989.

Christopher, Robert C. The Japanese Mind: The Goliath Examined. New York: Lindon Press/Simon and Schuster, 1983.

Condon, John C. With Respect to the Japanese: A Guide for Americans. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press Inc., 1984.

Erickson, Frederick, Susan Florio, and James Bushman. "Fieldwork in Educational Research." (Occasional Paper No. 36). East Lansing, MI: The Institute for Research on Teaching, 1980.

Gelsanliter, David. Jumpstart. Japan Comes to the Heartland. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1990.

Goetz, Judith Preissle, and Margaret LeCompte. Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research. New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1984.

Goodenough, W.H. Cooperation in Change. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963.

---. Culture, Language, and Society. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley, 1971.

Gordon, Milton M. Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Halberstam, David. The Reckoning. New York: Wm. Morrow and Company, Inc., 1986.

Hamada, Tarek. "Many Arab immigrants invest hope in Detroit." Detroit Free Press 2 December, 1990: 10A.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. Ethnography Principles in Practice. London and New York: Tovistock Publications, 1983.

Holmes, Fred R. Prejudice and Discrimination: Can We Eliminate Them?. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

Irujo, Suzanne. "An Introduction to Intercultural Differences and Similarities in Nonverbal Communication." Toward Multiculturalism. Ed. James S. Wurzel. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1988. 142-150.

Ishii, Satoshi and Tom Bruneau. "Silence and Silences in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Japan and the United States." Intercultural Communication: A Reader. Eds. Larry A Samovar and Richard E. Porter. Belmont, CA: Wadworth Publishing Company, 1988. 310-318.

Japan, a video series. Narr. June Seymore. Prod. WTTW Television, Chicago. Northbrook, IL: Cornet Film and Video, 1988.

Johnson, Sheila K. The Japanese Through American Eyes. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1988.

Lebra, Takie Sugiyama and Wm. P. Lebra. Eds. Japanese Culture and Behavior, Selected Readings. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986.

Levine, Deena R, and Mara B. Adelman. Beyond Language. Intercultural Communication for English as a Second Language. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1982.

Lippert, John. "Saturn Rising: GM's $3 Billion Gamble. Southern Recall. Many Worry as They Waltz to Tennessee." Detroit Free Press 25 March 1990a: 6H.

---. "Saturn Rising: GM's $3 Billion Gamble. Down in Spring Hill." Detroit Free Press 9 Dec. 1990b: 4P.

Menyuk, Paula and Diane Menyuk. "Communicative Competence: A Historical and Cultural Perspective." Toward Multiculturism. Ed. James S. Wurzel. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1988.

Morishma, Michio. Why Has Japan 'Succeeded'?: Western Technology and the Japanese Ethos. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Nakane, Chie. Japanese Society. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972.

Nance, Kevin. "Doi Family Gently Mingles Japanese, U.S. Cultures." Lexington Herald-Leader (Lexington, KY) 22 Jan. 1989: A9.

Nelson, Lowry, Charles E. Ramsey and Coolie Verner. Community Structure and Change. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1960.

Packard, George R, Ed. "The U.S. and Japan: Partners in Prosperity." The Atlantic Monthly, 1988.

Patton, Michael Quinn. Qualitative Evaluation Methods, Beverly Hills and London: SAGE Publications, 1980.

Porter, Richard E. and Larry A. Samovar. "Approaching Intercultural Communication." Intercultural Communication: A Reader. Eds. Larry A. Samovar and Richard Porter. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1988. 15-30.

Ramsey, Patricia G. Teaching and Learning in a Diverse World. New York and London: Teachers College Press, 1987.

Reischauer, Edwin O. Japan: The Story of a Nation. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, New York, 1970.

Richie, Donald. A Lateral View: essays in contemporary Japan. Tokyo: The Japan Times, Ltd., 1987.

Robinson, J.W., Jr. "The Conflict Approach." Community Development in Perspective. Eds. J.A. Christenson and J.W. Robinson. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1989. 89-116.

Rowen, Hobart. "Looking Out for Number One," The Washington Post National Weekly Edition 31 Oct. - 6 Nov. 1988: 5.

Schlossberg, Nancy K., Lillian E. Troll, and Zandy Lebowitz. Perspectives on Counseling Adults: Issues and Skills. Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1986.

Schwartz, John, Jean Gordon and Mark Veverka. "The 'Salarymen' Blues." Newsweek 9 May 1988: 51.

Smith, Joan. "Living in the USA." San Francisco Examiner Image 11 Feb. 1990: 9-35.

Stewart, Edward C. American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1972.

Stoneall, Linda. Country Life, City Life: Five Theories of Community. New York: Praeger Publishers, A Division of CBS, 1983.

Storti, Craig. The Art of Crossing Cultures. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, Inc., 1989.

Triandis, Harry C. "Theoretical Concepts that Are Applicable to the Analysis of Ethnocentrism." Applied Cross Cultural Psychology. Ed. Richard W. Brislin. Newbury Park: Sage Publication, 1990. 34-35.

Tsai, Shih-shan Henry. The Chinese Experience in America. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

White, Merry. The Japanese Educational Challenge: A Commitment to Children. New York: The Free Press, 1987.

---. The Japanese Overseas: Can They Go Home Again? New York: The Free Press, 1988.

Wilkerson, Isabel. "Influx of Japanese Changing Style of Midwest." The New York Times 15 Feb. 1987: 14.

Wilson, Robert, and Bill Hosokawa. East to America: A History of the Japanese in the United States. New York: Quill, 1982.

Wurzel, James S. Toward Multiculturalism. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1988.

Zimmerman, Mark. How to Do Business with the Japanese. New York: Random House, 1985.