Chapter 2

Perceptions and Consequences of Social Change among Elderly Japanese-American Workers in a Hawaii Plantation Community: A Case Example of Industrial Withdrawal

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Introduction

In the two centuries since Captain James Cook of the British Navy first sailed his ships into the harbors of the ancient Kingdom of the Hawaiian Islands, Hawaii has been the scene of a continuous stream of profound and unsettling social changes. Under the pressures of international trade, religious conversion, political revolution, agricultural growth, World War II, tourism development, and statehood, the forces of social change have eroded the old established lifestyles of Hawaii's diverse ethnocultural populations. Within the span of few decades, ways of life generated over a century have been forced to yield to the pressures of technological developments and social changes. Today, Asian and Pacific lifestyles that were brought by immigrants are now gradually bending under the pressures of Westernization.

This paper is concerned with a small but historically significant segment of society in Hawaii that has been confronted by the pressures of social change - the plantation town. The paper focuses on the people of Kehe Town, a small multicultural community of sugar plantation workers whose ancestors arrived at the turn of the century to plant and harvest the crop that was to emerge as the mainstay of Hawaii's economy. In 1971, the sugar plantation company was liquidated by its owners because sugar was no longer an economically viable crop. The plantation's closure was a classic case of rapid social change in the form of industrial withdrawal, a situation that is common throughout the Asian-Pacific region. In 1974, we had the opportunity to conduct this study of responses of a sample of plantation workers to the company's liquidation and subsequent merger with a neighboring sugar company.

This study of workers' perceptions and evaluations of changes that occurred in the plantation community would seemingly be of little significance. But, this is not the case, for the story of Kehe Town contained many of the elements that social scientists are currently exploring throughout the world in efforts to understand the adaptation of traditional cultures to massive psycho-social dislocations and discontinuities associated with industrialization, industrial withdrawal, population expansion, migration, globalization of economies, and the pervasive Westernization of traditional values and lifestyles. These social forces are changing the lives of people across nations and producing social changes that are often pernicious and destructive (e.g., Desjarlais, Eisenburg, Kleinman, & Good, 1995).

Psycho-Social Aspects of Social Change

Although the macro-social investigation of social change has long been a topic of inquiry among social scientists, it has only been within the last two decades that social scientists have evidenced a focused and systematic interest in the study of the psycho-social sequelae of socio-technical change under such rubrics of modernization, westernization, economic development, community development, industrial withdrawal, and future shock (e.g., Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Marsella, 1978; Perucci, Perucci, Targ, & Targ, 1988; Rogers, 1969; Toffler, 1977, 1980). More recently, social scientists have investigated the problem of psychological aspects of socio-economic development among developing nations, especially with regard to quality of life and life satisfaction indices (e.g.,

Diener & Diener, 1995; Luke, 1991; Marsella & Choi, 1993; Marsella, Levi, & Ekblad, 1997; Orley & Kuyken, 1994).

In general, interest in psychological perceptions and consequences of socio-technical change has focused on two distinct types of research approaches. The first approach has tended to emphasize how the process of social change is mediated by various psychological constructs such as need achievement, modernity, and individualism-collectivism variables. Examples of this type of research are the classic efforts by McClelland and his colleagues in the study of "need achievement" (e.g., McClelland, 1961); the work by Inkeles and his co-workers regarding "psychological modernity" (e.g. Inkeles & Smith, 1974); and the work of Hofstede (1991) on national variations in individualistic-collectivistic normative character types.

The second approach has tended to emphasize the psychological consequences of social changes. For example, in one of the first literature reviews on the topic, Marsella (1978) identified and discussed studies that investigated the consequences of social change for cognitive functioning, attitudes and values, self concept, and psychological disorders. Both of these approaches offer social scientists an opportunity to expand our scope of knowledge regarding social change. What is missing, however, are studies of the perception of social change itself. How do people subjected to socio-technical changes perceive and experience the changes that are occurring?

The Current Study

In an effort to understand both the psychological perceptions and consequences of social change, we initiated a community-based study of a small group of Japanese-American sugarcane workers residing in a slowly vanishing plantation town in Hawaii - a town we have chosen to call Kehe Town. At the height of its development, Kehe Town was the center of community life for the sugar plantation worker. Initially, the sugar company maintained a paternalistic system of security for all workers. Housing, medical care, and other human services were provided free or at minimal costs in exchange for unquestioned obedience, loyalty, and, of course, worker productivity. The introduction of unions changed the company-employee relationship, but the community associations that subsequently developed fostered a continued sense of community pride. In the case of Kehe Town, the sense of community was further aided by the traditional Japanese value system that places heavy emphasis on social affinity, obligation, and group identity (Johnson, Marsella, & Johnson, 1974; Marsella, 1993).

But, gradually the pressures of social change altered the community and its lifestyle. These changes occurred both within and outside the community. Among the more important of these events were the demise of sugar as a mainstay of Hawaii's economy in favor of military expenditures, tourism, and increased demand for agricultural land for commercial and residential development. Within the community, the sugar company ownership changed hands and new management operations were set up at greater distances from the plantation. Over time, the children of the plantation workers also left for better educational and/or employment opportunities, and the new workers who arrived were Filipino rather than Japanese.

Our purpose was to examine the perceived consequences of these changes. Basically, our research framework proceeded from the notion that although the actual historical events that occurred were important for understanding the consequences of change among community residents, the critical factor was to understand the subjective aspects of the changes. These subjective aspects included the plantation workers': (l) perceptions of the changes that occurred, (2) their evaluation of these perceived changes, (3) stresses resulting from these changes, (4) coping with change-induced stresses, and (5) their expectations for the future.

Through the techniques of participant observation, interviewing, and record research, the story of Kehe Town unfolded. Kehe Town still exists today, but it is only a shadow of its former self. Buffeted by the winds of change, the distinctive features of plantation life are now memories of bygone days for elderly Japanese men and women. To preface the description of our research

methodology and findings, we will briefly describe the plantation community as it existed in 1974 when data were collected for this study (Kameoka, 1975).

Community Description of Kehe Town, 1974
Before one turns off the main road to enter Kehe Town, it is necessary to drive by fields of sugarcane. Prior to its harvest, the cane rises high above the roads and sways in green eaves in response to the breezes. Driving down the road and entering the center of the small community, one is struck by the quiet and uninterrupted pace of life. People move about and cars pass, but the pace of life is definitely slow and unhurried. The center of town contains the old sugar mill (closed in 1971), the community grocery store, the post office, a small elementary school, two churches, and several company business offices. The buildings that once housed the plantation's hospital and medical clinic are further down the road.

Between the fields of sugarcane that remain are the various villages or "camps." Historically, the camps were occupied by plantation workers who were segregated according to ethnicity. There were Filipino camps, Japanese camps, and a *haole* (Caucasian) camp; the camps, however, are no longer formally separated along ethnic divisions. There has been little intra-community mobility and some families live in the same houses occupied by their families at the turn of the century. The camps consist of neatly placed rows of small clapboard houses, and gardens and fruit trees are found in the yards of most homes. Although some of the houses were built at the turn of the century and are in poor structural shape, all appear to be neat and well-kept. Employees rent their homes from the company for less than $75.00 per month.

In 1970, the population of Kehe Town was 2,906. This represented a drop of 10% from the 1960 census. Fifty-five percent of the residents were of Filipino ancestry, 34% were of Japanese ancestry, and the remaining residents were of mixed or other Asian-Pacific ethnicities. The majority of the population was over 50 years of age. The median family income for the community was about $10,000 per year, enough to remain above the poverty level but not enough to enjoy any luxuries with Hawaii's high cost of living. Plantation pidgin is the dominant language - poor in English grammar but rich in describing emotions.

Employees interviewed by the authors agreed that "times have changed." Changes are apparent amidst the mid-day sun in Kehe Town. The bustling scene of workers riding their bicycles to and from work is no longer visible. The sound of the mill's siren at 7:00 a.m., 11:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m., and 8:00 p.m., signaling <u>hana</u> (work), <u>kaukau</u> (eat) and <u>pau hana</u> (end of work) times is no longer heard. The signals of the past lifestyle are gone and with their absence is gone a rhythm of life. As one resident said, "People no care about the plantation or the community anymore…As long as they working and get roof over head, they satisfied."

Method
Participants
The sample of participants consisted of thirty <u>nisei</u> (second generation) Japanese-American male residents of Kehe plantation community who were employed by the sugar company. The mean age of the participants was 54.5 years and all but one were married. A third of the men were born and raised in the plantation community. The average length of residency in Kehe was 50.7 years and the average length of employment in the company was 35.4 years. Educational backgrounds ranged from seventh grade to one year of college education with a mean of 9.6 years.

Materials
The interview questionnaire was constructed to assess the five subjective aspects of change that comprised our research framework: (1) perception of change, (2) evaluation of change, (3) stress resulting from change, (4) coping strategies, and (5) future expectations. Perceptions, evaluations, and change-induced stress were examined in relation to eight categories of community life: (l) employment, (2) housing, (3) community relations and activities, (4) community services and

facilities, (5) family life, (6) education, (7) physical environment, and (8) crime. These categories were selected based on responses from informal pre-test interviews conducted in Kehe Town prior to final questionnaire construction. The questionnaire contained eleven sections and consisted of both open-ended and structured questions (see Kameoka, 1975). Section one contained three open-ended questions concerning: (1) perceptions of, (2) evaluations of, and (3) stress resulting from community change. Sections two through nine pertained to the eight community life categories listed above and contained structured questions that yielded the following ratings: (l) change ratings representing degree of perceived changes, (2) evaluative ratings representing degree of liking or disliking of perceived changes, and (3) stress ratings representing frequency of emotional disturbances resulting from perceived changes. Rating tasks were supplemented with open-ended questions to yield unstructured responses for descriptive clarity and narrative richness.

The interview questionnaire also included open-ended questions concerning coping with change induced stresses (Section 10) and future expectations (Section 11). Pre-test data suggested that a 15-year interval constituted an adequate time perspective; consequently, all questions referred to community changes that occurred during the past 15 years.

Procedures
Participants were selected randomly from a list of names provided by the personnel director of the sugar company. The list contained names and addresses of sixty individuals who met the following criteria for participation in this study: (l) male employee between the ages of 40-65, (2) Japanese ancestry, and (3) employed and resided in Kehe Town during the past 15 years.

To foster rapport and a relaxed atmosphere during interview sessions, all but one interview were conducted in the comfort of each participant's home. Residents interviewed during the pilot stage of this study suggested that use of a tape recorder would discourage subject participation, as well as impede frank and unconstrained responses; thus, no tape recorder was used. All responses were recorded on the questionnaire instrument and transcribed immediately following each interview session. Procedural details regarding participant recruitment, as well as questionnaire content and format, are detailed in full elsewhere (see Kameoka, 1975).

Results and Discussion

The significance of change in a community cannot be fully understood without considering the individual's experiences of a changing social, physical, and psychological environment. The individual responds purposefully to a changing environment. Events are selectively perceived and meanings attributed to these events may influence his/her response to the environment. That is, differences in perceptions, attributed meanings, and associated emotions differentially influence an individual's adaptive responses to the changing environment. Given a particular community, what is the range of behavioral and attitudinal responses to changing events? What is the complex relationship among perceptions, feelings, attitudes, behaviors, and change in a community?

The Subjective Experience of Community Change
As previously discussed, the subjective experience of change was explored along five subjective dimensions: (l) perception of community change, (2) evaluation of perceived changes, (3) problems and stresses resulting from community change, (4) coping with change-induced problems, and (5) future expectations. Participants' ratings on perception, evaluation, and stress dimensions for the eight community life categories are summarized in Table 1. It should be noted that the number of evaluative ratings per category varied according to the number of participants reporting change for the respective category, while mean stress ratings reflected those given by participants reporting change-induced stresses.

As Table 1 indicates, "education," "community relations and activities," "crime," and "physical environment" were four of the major community life domains perceived as showing the greatest changes, followed in order of decreasing change by "employment," "housing," "family life," and

"community services and facilities." Table 1 also shows that "crime" was evaluated as the most disliked change among the domains followed by the "physical environment" and "community relations and activities." The stresses associated with the perceived changes is highest for "community services and facilities," "education," "physical environment," and "community relations and activities." The "crime" domain had some stress associated with it among the participants but it was the lowest of all the domains.

Table 1
Perception, Evaluation, and Change-Related Stress Ratings: Means, Standard Deviations, and Number of Responses for Eight Community Life Categories

Category	Perception			Evaluation			Stress		
	n	Mean a	SD	n	Mean b	SD	n	Mean c	SD
1. Employment	30	3.25	.80	22	3.24	.66	30	4.47	1.31
2. Housing	30	3.78	.74	18	3.76	.89	29	3.48	1.33
3. Community relations and activities	30	2.30	.74	23	4.72	.52	30	4.80	1.38
4. Community services and facilities	30	4.54	.84	5	3.10	.82	27	5.56	.83
5. Family life	30	4.09	.84	15	3.44	.82	28	4.61	1.42
6. Education	30	1.36	.60	30	1.66	.90	30	5.00	1.18
7. Physical environment	30	2.60	1.90	17	4.94	.80	21	4.81	1.01
8. Crime	30	2.50	1.54	24	5.08	.76	24	3.21	.87

[a] Scale values ranged from 1 ("change very much") to 6 ("no change"). [b] Scale values ranged from 1 ("like very much") to 6 ("dislike very much"). [c] Scale values ranged from 1 ("very often") to 6 ("never").

The richness and complexity of these results are not readily conveyed in a simple and straightforward summary. Since the significance of the results becomes clear when examined in light of the specific community life areas investigated, the findings regarding perception, evaluation, and stress resulting from community change will be discussed collectively for each content domain separately. Coping strategies and future expectations in response to change is subsequently described in relation to these subjective experiences of community change. Within this context, the impact of community changes on resident attitudes and lifestyle patterns acquire significance and, thus, is summarized in the final section. To capture and portray the human experiences of change, we provide illustrative, open-ended responses along with our interpretations of the findings.

Perceptions, Evaluations, and Stresses Resulting from Community Change

Employment. The change that had the greatest impact on life in Kehe Town was the liquidation of the Kehe sugar company and the subsequent merger with the neighboring sugar company. The effect of this change was far-reaching, for employment on the plantation was inseparably tied to all aspects of life in the community. Prior to the merger, workers and their families identified with the prosperity and accomplishments of the company. Workers felt a sense of worth and belongingness in a company where all were regarded as members of a family working towards a common goal: the company's success. This bond among employees, the company, and community members was abruptly severed with the liquidation of the sugar company and the subsequent merger.

> *The biggest change is when [the old sugar company] sold out to [the new company]. That was the major change for us…That really interrupted our lifestyle. Before was tightly knit and was like a family. I know each person's character, his attitude, how he think. So the closeness of working together for a common cause is not there. For one thing when you been working for the company forty years and someone else takes over, the feeling of loyalty not there. It's like living a new life.*

Thus, the initial year following the company's merger was a distressing and precarious period for the workers. The company's liquidation was incomprehensible at the time it occurred. A large majority of the participants were born and raised in Kehe Town, and having devoted 30 to 40 years of service to the company, they experienced a tremendous sense of loss, grief, and insecurity. Although time has mitigated antagonisms and adjustment problems, when asked of their attitude towards the merger, the participants tended to deprecate the present and glorify the past.

While the most salient community change in the past 15 years was the closure of Kehe Plantation Company, employment was not totally disrupted by the company's termination. All union workers continued to work in the plantation; however, although the material benefits did not change, the social aspect of work changed considerably. A new psychological and social atmosphere prevailed. Workers were required to adjust to a new management, unfamiliar faces, new work methods and attitudes unlike those of their previous employment circumstances.

> *Workers are different now. Not local people. All Filipinos. Us old-timers worked for the company a long time, so we know how things used to be a long time ago. Now the workers know only the success now, so they take a lot of things for granted. If they don't want to work hard, they don't work. Then they put in a lot of overtime at weekend.*

The stressfulness of employment changes is reflected in participants' ratings and their open-ended descriptions. Yet it is misleading to say that they were inordinately troubled by these changes. As time passed, the new became the familiar, and the participants adjusted to these changes. At the time of this study, the major employment concern was the future of the new company. Also, the future of the company was a concern only in so much as housing was a concern. As one participants clearly stated, "No plantation, no housing!"

Housing. All of the housing changes identified were directly or indirectly related to the company's liquidation and merger. The most visible change occurred in the ethnic composition of the community's major neighborhoods. An influx of Filipino immigrants from the neighboring sugar company occurred as a direct result of the company's merger. This influx worked to integrate neighborhoods previously occupied by Japanese employees. A Japanese resident accustomed to Japanese neighbors now found his neighborhood incorporating not only new residents, but residents differing in their cultural heritage and lifestyle. The changing face of neighborhoods appeared significant in view of the community's history of a relatively stable and unchanging population composition; but, although the change initially caused varying degrees of concern among the participants, most appeared indifferent or resigned to the neighborhood's ethnic diversity.

The most significant aspect of housing changes was that in resident attitudes toward housing. First, in contrast to the certainty and presumptuousness that characterized resident attitudes toward housing security prior to the company's demise, uncertainty and apprehension regarding the future of housing now prevailed. Fearful prospects of the present company's termination and subsequent development of Kehe Town by its landowners magnify the participants' concerns. A corresponding attitudinal change concerned home ownership. The concept of home ownership previously obscure to many employees is now a major housing consideration.

> *We 're born here and we never thought of owning homes. Up till now, we thought we were going to die here. I don't think that's going to happen anymore. Anything can happen soon…and it's not going to be the same for housing. Of course, [the new sugar company] is selling homes, but to us, we cannot buy homes. For us, we cannot afford home since we're close to pension age. If I had to pay $300 a month for a home; I'm just paying $40 a month, and that's a drastic change. That's a big worry. For us, if we can stay here for the rest of our life, nothing can be better.*

The precarious future of plantation housing is one of the most stressful of community concerns. Workers were not prepared for house ownership. They believed that they would continue to rent their plantation homes for the remainder of their lives, just as their immigrant parents did in the past.

Community relations and activities. Community relations and activities was rated the second most changed aspect of community life and constituted the third most disliked community change. The vitality and spirit of the community were construed as features of bygone days. As the number of community organizations and events dwindled, resident participation also declined; likewise, while participation declined, community affairs diminished. The consolidating strength of the community association was rendered impotent by a series of circumstances beyond the community's control. The company's liquidation, for example, undermined the community's social and psychological solidarity by symbolizing the end of a harmonious and relatively sheltered existence. As new residents settled in the community due to the company's merger, the intimacy that characterized relations among community members diminished. Residents became more individualistic, preferably tending to their personal lives than to the life of the community.

> *Since [the new sugar company] bought Kehe, the community's organization not as strong as it used to be. No more community spirit anymore. The company used to push worker for community spirit. Kehe people real disappointed and so it affected community spirit. "Don't give a damn" attitude now. So people who used to be backbone of the community no care.*

Interestingly, although the participants were disappointed by these changes, very few problems and stresses resulted. Only one participant noted some degree of distress; however, the large majority of participants remained unconcerned and indifferent. The average age of the participants was 54.5 years and most of their children have left Kehe Town. These old-timers have, in a sense, paid their dues to the community and, beyond their nostalgic reminiscences, little or no personal stresses resulted from the community's social and economic collapse.

Community services and facilities. Among the eight community life variables investigated, community services and facilities constituted the least changed aspect of community life. Since the plantation itself is located on private property, only basic services were provided by the company throughout the community's history. Shopping facilities remained relatively unchanged; the community's sole market continues to provide residents basic commodities. Few changes were noted; however, participants tended to reminisce about the "good times" routinely spent in idle conversation at the "*saimin* store" and various other spots that failed to weather the winds of change.

Family life. Family life also changed very little. Participant ratings indicated that only two aspects of family life changed notably, family budget and ways of bringing up children. Differences in family life were perceived as corresponding to changes in family life patterns nationwide. Maturational

transitions of the family and generational changes were also noted and characterized as "facts of life" that one must simply accept.

Education. Education in the community changed dramatically during the past fifteen years. In fact, education was assessed the highest change rating among the eight community life variables and constituted the most highly appraised community change. Although educational programs generally improved over the years, the ratings did not concern changes in educational quality, but rather, changes in educational aspirations of the workers' children. Due to economic conditions that prevailed during their youth, the majority of participants secured jobs in the plantation rather than attend high school. In hopes for a more promising life for their children outside the plantation, the participants assumed an influential role in underscoring the value of education.

> *...I'm referring to the Japanese community. Every second generation parent, we realize we couldn't go to school. So the first thing we have in mind is to educate our children.*
> *...The value of education money can't buy and you can't even give it away. I feel proud when Orientals take high positions. Look at our representatives and senators. Even if I have to eat one meal a day to send my kids to study, I'd surely do that.*

Much to the participants' vicarious pleasure, the sansei (third generation) descendants are successfully attaining higher levels of education. The resulting out-migration of workers' children, however, is one of the inimical forces contributing to the demise of the plantation and the unique subculture that it represents.

Physical environment. In contrast to the larger cities on Oahu, Kehe Town appears immaculate and well-kept. The community's characteristic of open spaces and uncluttered roads stands in stark contrast to the density and traffic congestion of neighboring towns. The ubiquitous flower and vegetable gardens lend naturalness to the manicured appearance of many homes. Despite these features, the participants perceived a substantial change in the community's physical environment. Most participants attributed this change to the current company's neglect of the community's physical appearance. Unlike the previous company's concern for environmental maintenance and community beautification, the current company was considered to have little regard for Kehe Town's physical appearance. The company's "profit-making, business only" orientation was frequently implicated by participants for the community's physical deterioration. Yet, although characteristics of the physical environment changed considerably since the company's liquidation, they were generally unperturbed by these changes.

> *People will think the same as the company. If they don't give a damn, we don't give a damn. Before the old company used to take a lot of care about Kehe's appearance. It's a thing of the past. If the company don't care, I don't. That's one of the attitudes among the people.*

Crime. "We're used to living in a slow Community; nothing used to happen. Before we used to leave the door inside open. We trusted everyone, never believe in locking doors."

Crime markedly increased in the community during the past fifteen years. Kehe, like many rural towns, was relatively crime-free. Homes were left unlocked, watchdogs unheard of, and homes rarely enclosed by protective fencing. But, along with the growing crime rate outside Kehe Town, incidents of housebreaking, vandalism, and thefts in the community likewise increased. Numerous reasons were given to account for the perceived increases in crime, reasons primarily related to the social disintegration that participants tended to associate with changes in Kehe's population composition. The corresponding deterioration of community and community relations were identified as major contributing factors.

Coping With Change-Induced Problems and Stresses

The findings revealed that psychological stresses resulting from the company's liquidation and merger were paramount among the reported change-induced problems. Thus, it is not surprising that the participants' coping descriptions invariably referred to strategies used to cope with the company's merger and attending changes in the areas of employment, housing, and community relations.

As summarized in Table 2, the authors categorized "Coping with Change" responses according to thematic content. The most salient aspect of these results is the behavioral inactivity that characterized coping strategies described by most participants. This "impassivity" is corroborated by the predominance of attitudinal-cognitive coping responses elicited. Of the eight types of attitudinal-cognitive responses that were identified, the two most frequently noted responses were "resignation" and "acceptance."

Resignation. Resignation characterized the coping strategy most frequently described by the participants (46%). Resignation responses portrayed the futility of behavioral intervention and a fatalistic indifference towards circumstances resulting from the company's liquidation.

> *What can you do? We have no control. The company or community won't listen anyway.*

Apparently, this coping strategy derived from the participants' felt lack of control over their life circumstances. The inability to influence the outcome of changing events in the community gave rise to feelings of futility and powerlessness in shaping the course of life in the plantation.

> *You get no say, because this is a plantation community and so the only people who get a say is the union.*

Acceptance. Reponses of 36% of the participants were labelled "acceptance." In contrast to the fatalism associated with resignation responses, acceptance responses reflected traditional Japanese values that emphasize endurance and perseverance in the face of adversity.

> *You have to live with it and adjust yourself. We can't go back the old way, so you have to a least try to adjust.*

Also, these responses are qualified by a sense of optimism and confidence in one's ability to adjust to changing circumstances. The study's participants endured numerous disruptive events that transpired throughout their lives in the plantation, for example, the unionization of workers in the 1940's and the disabling union strikes in the 1950's. Perhaps the disruptiveness of these events are not comparable in severity to that of the company's liquidation; yet favorable outcomes in previous coping experiences reinforced the participants' confidence in confronting and surmounting present and future adversities.

> *It doesn't matter to me. We live with the blows. We old-timers know how to live with the blows.*

Thus, acceptance responses suggested that one must cope with adversities by persevering. Adaptations to change are facilitated and stresses are mitigated by confronting each day on its own terms.

> *So now, we take it easy and just live like there's a today and there's a tomorrow, and look forward to tomorrow. The more simple the world, the more simple your life…you never get grey hairs because you take things as it comes, daily.*

Future Expectations. Any major abrupt change in life affects an individual's conceptions or basic premises that frame his understanding of life. For example, the company's liquidation required each participant to change his basic assumptions about life in the plantation   It also required a change in the individual's expectancies of his personal and family's future. Clearly, past expectancies of continuity and stability no longer applied to the participants' views of plantation life.

Table 2
Content Analysis of "Coping With Change" Responses

Content category	Percent of participants	Note.
Behavioral		
Institutional assistance	10%	
Interpersonal assistance	6%	
Community participation	6%	
Attitudinal		
Resignation	46%	
Acceptance (self-adjustment, maintain status quo)	36%	
Vigilance	16%	
Self-reliance	10%	
Detachment	6%	
Individual impotence (community problem solving)	6%	
Self-development	6%	
Reflection	3%	

Percentages total more than 100% because participant's coping descriptions may contain multiple themes.

Future expectancies, like other personal assumptions, comprise a significant psychological component of the change process, working to sustain and modify one's perceptions and adjustments to life experiences. An individual cognitively and behaviorally prepares for the future in conformance with present expectancies of life in the future (Parkes, 1971). What, then, are the participants' expectations for the future of his community?

Uncertainty and doubt regarding the future of the community characterized future expectations. The major problems and stresses described previously stemmed from uncertainties about the company's as well as the community's future. Our findings suggested that plantation residents remained suspended in apprehension, uncertain of changes to come, and unable to predict their future. At some intuitive level, they sensed that they are vulnerable. Yet, they try to go on by using the only resources they have known in the past - their personal determination, their ability to endure, their reliance on family, and their belief that they will be able to ride out the storm.

The Impact of Change on Resident Attitudes and Lifestyle Patterns
One of the workers' basic assumptions about life in the plantation community derived from the securities provided by a paternalistic plantation system. Employment in the sugar company entailed the security of housing for the worker and his family. The carefree and relaxed atmosphere of life in this rural community was relatively unperturbed by the social vicissitudes of the outside world. But, workers were oblivious to the vulnerability of the system that structured their lives. The reality of their circumstances grew clearly apparent with the termination of the plantation company.

Although the subsequent merger with the neighboring sugar company provided for continued employment in Kehe, the workers quickly recognized the tenuousness of their life situation. Obviously, the company's termination and merger shattered workers' attitudes and ways of life in the community.

Assumptions that previously defined their expectations for the future were no longer viable. Old patterns of living had to be given up. In short, the individual began to alter his assumptions about plantation life and his plans for living in the plantation. This final section attempts to integrate the major issues of community change summarized in previous sections by discussing the psychosocial impact of change in the community. Three major themes emerged regarding the impact of change on resident attitudes and lifestyle patterns: (l) communal versus individualistic lifestyles, (2) association versus dissociation of employment and the community, and (3) continuity versus discontinuity of life in the plantation.

Communalism versus individualism. Numerous factors functioned to sustain the communalism that prevailed among residents of the community. First, unlike the sprawling characteristics of urban communities, Kehe Town is physically separated from neighboring cities. To the extent that the sugar company provided the sole source of income for the community, Kehe Town was literally a plantation community. Thus, Kehe's geographical distinction made possible the emergence of a socially coherent entity. The community's homogeneous population further strengthened the bonds that unified community residents. With few exceptions, the majority of residents were natives of the community with histories extending to the days of their immigrant parents at the turn of the century. Both residents and sugar company nurtured the growth of a dynamic and enterprising community association. Community spirit and solidarity were enhanced by residents' efforts to sustain the vitality of the association. Thus evolved the communal attitudes and lifestyle patterns of community residents. Closeness and trust defined the plantation way of life.

We're becoming more individualistic. That's one of the saddest things about plantation life now. We're losing closeness and trust of other people in the community. Plantation social life is a thing of the past. If the company don't give a damn, I don't give a damn. The trend is for myself to get ahead and don't give a damn.

As previously noted, the liquidation of Kehe Plantation Company and the subsequent merger were primarily responsible for the destruction of the community-oriented lifestyle. The demise of paternalism and communalism in the Kehe plantation was, however, clearly imminent and, perhaps, the company's termination only accelerated an inevitable social change. Nevertheless, the majority of participants attributed the lack of solidarity and communalism to the company's closing. The company's demise destroyed the participants' securities and certainties and in this way, precipitated the end of Kehe Town's way of life. Individual concerns override concerns for the community. In sum, changes in employment, community relations, and population composition contributed to the prevailing individualistic lifestyle patterns of community residents. Symbolizing the end of the company's paternalistic care of workers, the company's termination undermined the life securities that made possible the growth of a dynamic community organization and a communal way of life.

Association versus dissociation of employment and community. The cooperative relationship between company and community prior to the company's termination contributed significantly to Kehe Town's communal social atmosphere. The company's sponsorship and support of major social and fund-raising events demonstrated its concern for the community's welfare. This support further strengthened the collective attitudes of workers and residents.

In keeping with the paternalistic ethic, plantation employment not only provided the worker with his bread and butter, but also reinforced a social collectivism by extending business concerns beyond profit-making to those of the community. For example, in addition to working towards a common goal, i.e., the success of the company, workers collectively supported the community's social

environment. The bond between employment and community, however, was severed by the company's termination. Over and beyond the apparent differences in managerial philosophies of the old and new companies, the merger of two sugar companies made it impossible for the new sugar company to minister to the social lives of its own company workers, much less to the community affairs of Kehe Town. While the study's participants recognized this difficulty, many were critical of the present company's disregard of the community because this undermined basic conceptions of work in Kehe plantation.

In sum, while the company's merger severed the bonds between employment and the community, it further generated attitudinal changes among our participants. Work is no longer construed as an inseparable component of community life. This change represents a significant departure from the workers' previous conceptions of life in the plantation.

Continuity versus discontinuity of life on the plantation. Although the company's merger provided continued employment, its closing affected the participants' basic conceptions about life continuity in the plantation community. These workers expected that the future would bring a peaceful retirement in Kehe Town's unhurried environment. Instead, expectancies of continuity were supplanted by forlorn hopes and uncertainties about the future. These uncertainties were identified as the major influence underlying the stresses reported by our participants.

Previously, plans for the future were built on the assumption of security and continuity afforded by life in the plantation. As a result of the company's termination, the worker was required to restructure his plans for the future, as well as his mode of living in the world. Life in Kehe no longer continues along its previous, seemingly immutable course.

Conclusions

All social changes proceed through the individual who must cope with the vicissitudes of a changing social, economic, political, and physical environment. Thus, the conceptual focus of the present study was the subjective experiences of individuals confronted by a changing physical and social community. Since the objective attributes of change are translated by the individual through his/her perceptions and, subsequently, given meaning according to the individual's attitudes, expectations, and modes of coping with life events, present emphasis was placed on perceptions of community change rather than the objective attributes of change itself. This exploratory case-study points the way to studying these human dimensions of change and illustrates how the present focus on the individual's phenomenal system can generate a depth-perspective of the relationship among attitudes, feelings, behaviors, and social change.

The individual's perceptions, evaluations, problems and stresses, coping strategies, and expectations comprised the conceptual framework upon which this study proceeded. The case material presented here was intended to demonstrate the utility and significance of these dimensional perspectives in understanding the human experiences and meanings of community change. Basically, our study suggests a need to incorporate and extend research focus to the human dimensions of social change.

Indeed, change is an inevitable life process, but it need not be deleterious nor disintegrative. Change can be implemented and channeled along constructive and culturally sensitive lines. To the extent that agents of change can direct the course of community change along human needs, this investigation offers a research perspective sensitive to those individuals for whom changes are introduced.

Almost a half century ago, Margaret Mead (1955) wrote the following about the impact of technological innovations and change:

> *...what will be the cost in terms of the human spirit? How much destruction of old values, disintegration of personality, alienation of parents and children, of husbands and wives, of*

students and teachers, of neighbor from neighbor, of the spirit of man from the faith and style of his traditional culture must there be? How slow must we go? How fast can we go? (Mead, 1955, p. vi).

Today, there is an effort to preserve the old ways of Kehe Town by creating a tourist attraction from the old community - a plantation-life theme park. New houses have been built resembling the old clap board houses, and the remaining old houses are being repainted and repaired. The houses are being sold to old residents and to new residents who find the preserved community charming and quaint. But, it is clear that these preservation efforts will never be able to capture the spirit and lifestyle of the people who once worked the land.

In 1996, the Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association office (now known as the Hawaii Agricultural Research Center) donated its comprehensive archives of plantation life to the University of Hawaii Library. The records are a priceless account of daily plantation life and include photographs and detailed accounts of everyday life such as injuries, company store accounts, sugar production levels, and community events. When presented with the sugar plantation archives, University of Hawaii President Kenneth Mortimer said: "We will be faithful stewards of the archives. We pledge that the plantation experience will not ever, ever be a thing of the past" (Ishikawa, 1996). Unfortunately, the log books and photographs cannot speak. If they could, perhaps the lessons of rapid social and technical change would be more apparent for all of us.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to identify the perceptions and consequences associated with the closing of a sugar plantation company for a group of Japanese American plantation workers who were born and raised on the plantation. These workers were the children of Japanese immigrants who had come to Hawaii at the turn of century to plant and harvest sugar. The participants were thirty nisei (second generation) Japanese-American male residents of a rural plantation community in Hawaii. Using the techniques of participant observation, interviewing, and record research, the study explored the worker's (l) perceptions of change, (2) evaluations of perceived change, (3) stresses resulting from change, (4) coping strategies, and (5) future expectations. These subjective dimensions of change were examined across eight major areas of community life (i.e., employment, housing, community relations, community services, family life, education, physical environment, and crime). The data were analyzed to determine perceptions, evaluations, and stresses resulting from community change and to identify strategies used to cope with community change. The impact of change on resident attitudes and lifestyle patterns are discussed and summarized under three major themes: (l) communal versus individualistic lifestyles, (2) association versus dissociation of employment and the community, and (3) continuity versus discontinuity of life in the plantation. Personal comments of workers are presented to demonstrate the utility and significance of the present research approach in assessing individual experiences in response to social changes. An understanding of the impact of change on resident attitudes, beliefs, and lifestyle patterns provides the basis for devising change programs that are sensitive to the social and psychological needs of individuals affected by the changes.

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