

1	INTRODUCTION	6
2	THE DEFINITION OF XENOPHOBIA	8
2.1	TYPES OF PARANOID BEHAVIOUR	10
2.2	RACISM.....	11
2.3	NATIVISM	12
2.4	RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA IN AMERICAN LITERATURE	13
2.5	UNIFICATION THEORIES	14
2.5.1	<i>The melting pot</i>	14
2.5.2	<i>Salad bowl</i>	16
3	DUAL LOYALTY.....	16
4	ANALYSIS OF XENOPHOBIC FEATURES IN DAVID GUTERSON'S SNOW FALLING ON CEDARS.....	20
4.1	LEVELS OF ANALYSIS.....	22
4.1.1	<i>Institutional level</i>	22
4.1.2	<i>Personal level</i>	24
4.1.2.1	Ishmael.....	25
4.1.2.2	Carl Jr.....	26
4.1.3	<i>Essentialist level</i>	27
4.1.4	<i>Individual level</i>	30
4.2	INDOCTRINATION OF HATSUE	31
4.3	INDUCING XENOPHOBIA.....	34
4.3.1	<i>Etta</i>	34
4.3.2	<i>Alvin</i>	36
4.3.3	<i>Horace Whaley</i>	38
4.4	CONDONING XENOPHOBIA	38
4.4.1	<i>Art Moran</i>	38
4.5	COUNTERING XENOPHOBIA	41
4.5.1	<i>Kabuo</i>	41
4.5.2	<i>Arthur Chambers</i>	43
4.5.3	<i>Nels Gudmundsson</i>	44
4.5.4	<i>Susan Marie</i>	46
4.5.5	<i>Carl Heine, Sr.</i>	46
5	CONCLUSION	49
6	WORKS CITED	51

1 Introduction

This thesis focuses on xenophobia in the United States of America and the literary reflections thereof. The main objective of the thesis is to explore various aspects of xenophobia and social exclusion of the Japanese minority in America predominantly before and during the Second World War. The analysis is primarily based upon *Snow Falling on Cedars*, a much celebrated and critically acclaimed novel by American writer David Guterson. It outlines the life of the first few generations of Japanese immigrants who devote their lives to establishing a family and a community in a new country and aspire to improve their standard of living. Even though they keep many of their cultural traditions and are perhaps not as receptive towards their newly acquired environment as the subsequent generations, born in the United States, they hardly ever act aggressively against their employers or neighbours nor do they violate the laws of the country. It appears to be Guterson's viewpoint that should America ever engage in a war against Japan, the Japanese minority would try to blend in as much as possible and stick together throughout the early years in the new environment. He also describes the behaviour of local people to be neutral or friendly at first, however, once the two countries enter war, the situation changes dramatically. Guterson also refers to many legal acts and statutes throughout the book, which are thoroughly researched, verified and supported in this paper.

In the first part of this paper, an in-depth analysis of xenophobia is laid out with an marked emphasis on situations clearly stating or implying racism or fear-fuelled actions against ethnic groups. Possible differences in the origin of xenophobia are explained, complemented by and historical background including examples from the main source shown. The terms xenophobia, nativism and racism are differentiated and explained, followed by a cursory analysis of racism and xenophobia as reflected in classic American literature. Additionally, the problem of dual loyalty is discussed at some length, a problem which arises particularly with the Japanese joining the US army forces when the conflict between the United States and Japan breaks out.

The second part aims to offer an analysis of the primary source *Snow Falling on Cedars* with a comprehensive assessment of xenophobic tendencies of the individual characters. The main sources of racist behaviour towards the Japanese minority, be it positive or negative, are explained. There are some evident examples of

straightforwardly racist characters or, on the contrary, racism countering characters. However, there are also instances where the attitude of the characters vis-a-vis this issue cannot clearly be ascertained, which is why these need to be analysed in depth.

It also studies levels of analysis, where particular levels are contrasted against one another to illustrate the difference in approach. This consists of National level as opposed to Personal, and Essentialist in contrast to Individual. Furthermore, the concept of Picture Brides is described in the context of indoctrination of one of the main characters, Hatsue Imada.

2 The definition of Xenophobia

Before diving into the whole issue it is important to gain fundamental understanding of the term xenophobia and what it implies. To be able to signal out certain signs of such behaviour is not difficult but in order to analyse it in depth there needs to be a clear definition of the term. Xenophobia has become a major problem throughout the last couple of centuries and a topic widely addressed by the media. With the worldwide opening of borders, expansion of passenger sea vessels and aviation as well as a proliferation of a lingua franca, mass migration, even across continents, became increasingly common. In connection with that, the mixing of different cultures and ethnicities can create a multicultural environment where people are easily susceptible to racist thinking, possibly as a coping strategy. Given the fact that the multicultural societies can be regarded as a fairly recent trend, the process of adaptation of one culture to the other is rather slow.

The Oxford Dictionary of English defines xenophobia as: “an intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries.” (“Xenophobia”). According to the online Cambridge dictionary it is an “extreme dislike or fear of foreigners, their customs, their religions, etc.” (“Xenophobia”). Although it may be argued that inter-racial tension is deeply rooted in US history, xenophobic tendencies were exacerbated after the First World War. The worldwide notion of nationalism and extremist right wing politics frequently brought forth the almost paranoid fear towards other ethnicities living within one’s territory. With the Second World War breaking out, a solid base of xenophobic behaviour was already established.

As later analysed, The United States proclaims its motto to be E Pluribus Unum, which in Latin means “out of many, one”. It is not altogether surprising that this theoretical concept, which saw America as a country open to all immigrants, was from the very beginning underpinned by residential resentment towards ethnic minorities. Even at the very core of American society in fact lies a contradiction.

The founding fathers had declared the “self-evident truth” that “all men are created equal”, but in 1787, they wrote into the Constitution a provision that implicitly legalised slavery: the number of representatives each state would send to Congress would be determined by the number of “free

persons” and “three fifths of all other persons”, the code phrase for slaves.
(Tahaki 75)

This early republican condoning of slavery obviously cannot be ascribed to xenophobic tendency, yet the 19th century American unwillingness to part with racial slavery (long time alone after it was abolished in the British Caribbean) can also be seen as symptomatic of the 19th century ethnic tensions which were further aggravated when the liberated slaves were “turned loose” on the reconstructed South and later became a legitimate competition on Northern labour market. This nativist resentment towards unassimilated migrants is of course not limited to the African Americans, but was also extended to the non-WASP European arrivals attracted by the booming American economy following the Civil War.

With regard to the practical part of the thesis, the aim is to focus predominantly on Asian Americans, more specifically the Japanese American community. The Japanese influx dates back to mid-19th century. Until mid-19th century, feudal Japan known as the Edo period imposed a state of isolation spanning two and a half centuries. Following a series of treaties with Western countries since 1854, Japan underwent a series of economic and political crises and was, in effect, forced to re-establish contact with the outside world. As a direct result of the social-economic shifts, a significant uptake was seen where the Japanese started migrating to the continental Americas, more specifically, the United States where they mainly engaged in labour work. (Henshall 70). It was next to impossible for them to become naturalised citizens, and after the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, even well-established Asians could not acquire a US citizenship. The act was soon extended to all Asians, effectively eliminating the possibility of their naturalisation as US citizens. The legislation is referred to by Guterson during Etta Heine’s cross examination in *Snow Falling on Cedars*.

The witness makes reference to a currently defunct statute of the State of Washington which made it illegal at the time of which she speaks for an alien, a noncitizen, to hold title to real estate. This same statute furthermore stipulated that no person shall hold title for an alien – a noncitizen – in any way, shape, or form. Furthermore, in 1906, I believe it was, the U.S. attorney general ordered all federal courts to deny

naturalized citizenship to Japanese aliens. Thus it was impossible, in the strict legal sense, for Japanese immigrants to own land in Washington state. (Guterson 106,107)

Other instances of laws effectively discriminating against the new immigrants could be found. “The so called Alien Poll Tax had to be paid monthly and rough times came with the ban of testimony in court (California) in 1854, which stated the following “No Black, or Mulatto person, or Indian, shall be allowed to give evidence in favour of, or against a White man.” (Natividad 120). The embedded anxiety against coloured people had another factor – work. White Americans feared that the coloured would work more and for less, naturally driving the wages down. The Japanese came to the United States to work, earn money and then return to their homelands with enough to provide for their families. Due to the presupposition that better opportunities could be found and work would be better compensated compared to what was expected in their homeland, such migration was more than common.

No matter how the Japanese Americans were discriminated against, before and during the Second World War, as a whole, they were slowly becoming what was later referred to as “a model minority”. A representation of the true American dream – thanks to hard work, determination, long hours of dedicated effort and willingness to start from very humble beginnings, many members of this ethnic group gained much respect in the eyes of their fellow white Americans, regardless of their ancestry. As an unavoidable side effect, they became a target of envy and jealousy, because they found employment and worked their way up faster.

2.1 Types of paranoid behaviour

In the main primary source which is analysed through this thesis, two major types of paranoia against ethnic minorities can be ascertained. These are properly examined and explained in detail. The first type of behaviour could be referred to as a war induced paranoia, which, as the name suggests, refers to a prejudiced behaviour based on the fear of attack by the nation the particular country is in an armed conflict with. As a significant part of the population of a country at war gets involved in the conflict, one way or another, the way the residential population tends to think about the conflict is significantly influenced. Some people, who had actively engaged in

combat, were scarred for life since they were in direct jeopardy and their families became affected by their experience as well. Others came to be affected by the general fear permeating society. With the Second World War the imminent danger generated by the Japanese empire quickly resulted in many Americans turning against their fellow countrymen of Japanese ancestry. The war conflict exacerbated the deep-seated cultural aloofness or covert hostility towards this ethnic minority which escalated into openly offensive behaviour with signs of extreme aggression towards them. This was mostly due to the suspicion that Japanese inhabitants might be spies and instead of graciously accepting the new culture they could have been conspiring to take over the United States. That was the primary motive for internment of this ethnic group; their seclusion into supervised camps, where they were under the direct control, supervision and surveillance of the US government. It is questionable whether the German ideology had any impact on the American paranoia; however, the sentiment of WW II promoted the superiority of white race and could have possibly influenced the behaviour towards ethnic minorities in general.

That leads to the second type of xenophobia which is referred to as nativism. Nativist tendencies meant a strict belief in the white race as superior to any other within the U.S. territory, also by virtue of being the first modern-day settlers of America (conveniently precluding any nativist claim of the actual Native Americans, aka American Indians). The supporters of nativism enforced hatred towards inhabitants of any other race and colour of skin and tried to purify the nation of so called “inferior” minorities. The notion of nativism is further explained in order to understand the difference.

2.2 Racism

Traditionally, two word “racism” is understood as referring to an “ideology that claims the fundamental inequality and hierarchical order of different biologically defined races” (Rydgren 48). According to The Oxford Dictionary of English racism is “prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one’s own race is superior” (“Racism”). The major difference between racism and xenophobia is therefore in the attitude towards people of other

racism as opposed to people of any other minority. Racism is purely based on dislike based on racial differences.

2.3 Nativism

The Oxford Dictionary of English explains nativism, with reference to the topic discussed, as “the policy of protecting the interests of native-born or established inhabitants against those of immigrants.” Or furthermore, “a return to or emphasis on indigenous customs, in opposition to outside influences.” (“Nativism”) The notion of nativism in the United States was represented by many groups and movements throughout the centuries yet they all shared a common idea – imposing a certain image of a “good American” on every inhabitant of the country. The origins of these notions were mostly political or economic. “American nativists would blame recent arriving immigrants or ethnic/religious groups different from their own for the troubles that America was experiencing.” (Rhodes). It was this idea which caused ethnic minorities to experience an intense oppression in many situations. Even though the idea itself is evidently paradoxical, considering the proposed “good Americans” were actually immigrants themselves, it managed to attract an increased amount of attention in the mainstream American society. This movement favoured strictly white people and tried to clear the country of any other “inferior” races or ethnic groups. At the turn of the 20th century, the immigration rates soared and the immigrants “were seen by many of the native-born to be simply unassimilable.” (Jacoby 302). As there were people of many ethnicities, who, at least at the beginning, maintained a close contact with people of the same or similar ethnic background, ghetto-like areas populated solely by these groups started to emerge. White Americans were conscious of the newcomers and grew restless. “And beginning in the early 1870’s, the legislative noose began to tighten – first restricting who could naturalize, then limiting the immigrant flow and finally all but ending it in 1924.” (Jacoby 302). Some of these laws, particularly the ones concerning naturalisation, are referred to in *Snow Falling on Cedars*. After the end of the Second World War the nativist movements became muted and the changes in legislature helped to diminish such tendencies and promote diversity. “With the defeat of the Anglo-Saxon movement and the repeal of Asian exclusion laws in the 1940s, the idea that being American had anything to do with blood or ancestry had been permanently discredited.” (Jacoby 305).

2.4 Racism and Xenophobia in American literature

Multiple examples of racism could be found throughout the history of American literature; however, there are some more worth mentioning than others. It is interesting that Guterson actually mentions some of the most striking examples in *Snow Falling on Cedars*. The first few writers he refers to are Herman Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mark Twain. The first is most recognised for his greatest literary achievement *Moby Dick*, which tells a well-known story about hunting a white whale. As noticed by scholars and other writers, his story is imbued with racist thoughts. Toni Morrison points out that Melville tries to “enhance or decorate difference in order to genuflect before it and be redeemed.[...] In *Moby Dick* he presents to the reader the intimate encounter between Ishmael, a white character, and Queequeg, an African native.” (O’Neil) She further elaborates that this moment stresses racial difference between them. *Moby Dick* is not exceptional in this respect, as Herman Melville’s racist undertones can be found in his other books as well. The book most referred to in connection with racism is called *Benito Cereno*. Melville receives considerable attention presently, as the issue of racism is frequently researched. The late 19th century realist attention to detail and focus on local colour writing reflected the local vernacular and often racist language. That is why even Mark Twain’s *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, though an anti-slavery novel at its inception, tends to be labelled as one of the most racist literary pieces in American literature, chiefly on account of the racist epithets used in the (painstakingly realistically rendered) dialogues in local vernacular used in Missouri, Illinois or Kentucky. However, the critical consensus remains that Twain was actually ridiculing the racist environment of his time, i.e. 20 years after the abolition of slavery. “*Huckleberry Finn* is a masterful satire not of slavery, which had been abolished a decade before Twain began writing the novel, but of the racism that suffused American society as Twain wrote the book in the late 1870s and early 1880s and which continues to stain America today.” (Fishkin). Another author whom Guterson mentions is Nathaniel Hawthorne. Hawthorne’s *Scarlet Letter* is another key work of American literature and one faithfully resembling its time. All of these writers are rather controversial and thus more than fitting for a book based around a racist trial. It is possible that Guterson intentionally chose these authors exactly for this reason. Hawthorne’s racism is widely recognised and spoken of. “Especially because he lived

and worked in the years leading up to the Civil War, Hawthorne's prejudices illuminate the nation's greatest historical affliction, what many termed the "sin" of slavery in the battle for the Union. Hawthorne was both a propagator and a victim of the slave system." (Klayman 3).

In the context of the post-bellum United States, one may see the anti-Black racism as akin to xenophobia, especially after the Great Migration of African Americans from the southern agrarian society towards Northern industrial cities.

2.5 Unification theories

2.5.1 The melting pot

The melting pot theory did not originate in response to the African American migration to the industrial north. It was in fact an ideological response to the unparalleled influx of presumably "unassimilable" migrants from Eastern, Central and Southern Europe attracted by the robust American economy of the last decade of 1890s through mid-1910s. First of all attention should be focused on the term itself. It was at the beginning of the 20th century when Israel Zangwill published his signature work "The Melting Pot". "The play presented a utopian vision of America as a crucible that blended all nationalities and races into a new American people, interethnic and interracial, who would build "the Republic of Man" and "the Kingdom of God". (Gans 33). That is a vision that has constantly been sought after by American inhabitants more or less up to this day. Nevertheless, it remains an issue even nowadays let alone a century or two back. It could have been controversial mainly because of the sense of unity in suggested. That is why the theory was popular and largely accepted mainly in the first half of the 20th century, up until approximately the 1950s. "Unfortunately, the coming of World War I inevitably stirred deep concern about the loyalties of immigrants whose mother countries were on the other side of the battle lines." (Thernstrom 48). The first 2 generations of Japanese immigrants (the Issei referring to the first generation in Japanese language, and Nisei referring to the second (Glenn 10)) maintained a very strong bond with their former culture. Immersing in it both helped the new inhabitants to adapt to the new environment and offered them a shield of comfort against the hardships they faced on a daily basis. At the same time, though, it created an overwhelming sense of belonging and unity within the community and was rather disadvantageous in terms of the actual process

of adaptation. That is one reason why the theory of a melting pot was considered a utopia at the time as there was not any singular nation the new immigrants could easily adapt to. The country was very diverse, which made assimilation very difficult. Throughout his essay on American diversity, Gans also mentions that in the country of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, the lighter skin the better. This notion must have been transferred to the ethnic groups; however, generally speaking, with the first couple of generations of any racial or ethnic group, it was a taboo to marry a person outside of that particular group; that can be seen in Guterson's novel in the case of Hatsue and Ishmael. This is another crucial factor that notably slowed down the assimilation process and deepened the gaps between races in the US. Stagnation within one's own culture and circle of people of the same ancestry may result in bloom of interracial prejudice as the members of the group are ignorant about behavioural diversity of members of other ethnic groups. It has been scientifically proven that some ethnic groups assimilate easier than others. (Thernstrom 53). The Japanese are shown to have belonged to such ethnicity which experienced troubles assimilating. Their tradition and more importantly the language were carried over from generation to generation, deeply affecting any intercultural social ties. However, the sense of a closed community became less significant with each new generation but viewing it from the current perspective, at least the first three generations were the most affected ones. Although Zangwill's theory has evolved into something of a model, America remains very sensitive towards racial matters and such issues have become highly controversial.

Another term closely related with the Melting pot theory is the "E Pluribus Unum" or in English "Out of many one" principle. An obvious observation is that despite the problems the country has been facing within its borders, the United States, a land of immigrants of different nationalities and multiple cultural backgrounds, has managed to become and stay one nation. The loopholes of the American democratic experiment are clearly visible in patterns of racist behaviour illustrated in Guterson's novel. The effort to make America a prime example of democracy and a good-working multicultural society is deeply embedded and has been present from the very first moments of building the country. However, the fact it has never been completely successful goes hand in hand. That is clearly supported by the evidence of slavery and prejudice based on a different colour of skin and ethnicity.

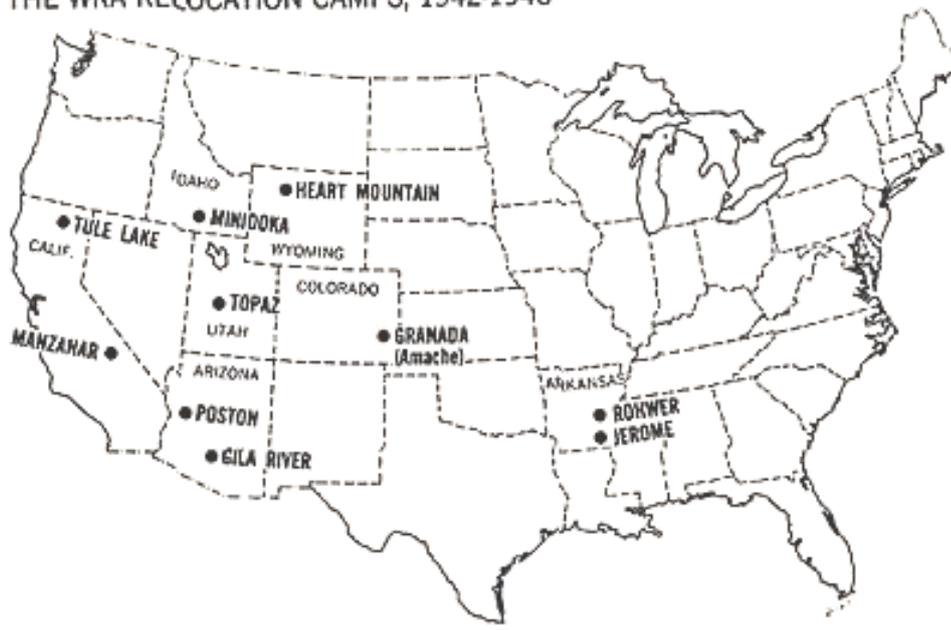
2.5.2 Salad bowl

In contrast to the melting pot theory stands the Salad bowl theory. As the name already suggests, this theory (unlike the Melting pot) allows individual ethnic groups to retain their cultural heritage and function together with others without the necessity of blending into one superior culture. As it represents cultural pluralism, it is desirable and much more acceptable in current day America. In this case, ethnic groups do not fully assimilate as they preserve their former habits and traditions as well as their language. The nation is preferred to be seen as a multicultural society with each of the cohabiting race or ethnic group cooperating side by side. This approach is more liberal with a stress on individual uniqueness unlike the former, which might have been perceived as more oppressive. The current situation also puts less pressure on people becoming “perfect Americans” as opposed to half a century back when the desired target was the creation of a one new society with common qualities.

3 Dual loyalty

When the United States entered the Second World War as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbour, the Japanese ethnicity residing in the country faced rough racial hostilities from the white American majority. The fear which arose against the minority was based on the supposed espionage which was to have been carried out by Japanese Americans trying to help their connections in Japan. In consequence, due to the government’s paranoia, the Japanese were interned into camps throughout the United States. Most Americans of Japanese ancestry were on the West coast and so after the announcement of the Executive Order 9066 (Marshal) they were spread across the country and secluded into guarded encampments.

THE WRA RELOCATION CAMPS, 1942-1946



(Edmondson)

One of the very few options to prove one's allegiance was joining the United States Armed Forces. As a necessary deed to prove their faithfulness and patriotism, it became more or less inevitable for men. After the relocation, they had been faced with - for many - a simple decision. Due to all the aggression against Japanese American citizens during the early years of war, it remained "...a foolproof way for internees to authenticate their unswerving loyalty to the United States." (Wu 13). It should be noted that it was not quite as easy as anticipated. According to Bannai (76), the Japanese were actually denied to enlist in 1942, closing more or less the only way to prove their loyalty. A year later, President Roosevelt allowed Japanese Americans to enlist.

No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart; Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry. A good American is one who is loyal to this country and to our creed of liberty and democracy. (Marshman)

However, after enlisting, the new recruits still had to go through an uncomfortable process of filling questionnaires not just about their personal data but about their allegiance, too. According to “Japanese American history” there were two questions regarding loyalty in these questionnaires – “Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered?” and “Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organisation?” (Niiya 218). Based on these questions the government decided whether the soon-to-become soldiers were truly loyal to their country and thus eligible to become a part of the U.S. Army. If answered negatively, the government would mark them as disloyal and take corresponding actions. Although it might stir intense emotions viewing it from the contemporary point of view, it was more than an unpleasant reality for the Japanese men at the time. Despite many enlisting, they unfortunately did not automatically receive better treatment in case they survived and returned. As Guterson suggests, the mistrust was not easily taken away from the white majority. Even after the resettlement, when the Japanese returned to their homes after the war ended, war veterans were faced with indifferent treatment from their neighbours. It was most humiliating for the honest Japanese, who had to experience everything from suspicion and internment to filling forms about loyalty to America. “The country had taken them from their homes and had imprisoned them; now it was asking if they would be willing to fight for the freedom they were denied.” (Bannai 78). From the Japanese point of view, the decent families felt betrayed by the United States. The country, in which they were so hopeful to found a new life and to work and live peacefully, turned their back on them with the first sign of problems. The men in the camps also realised that by joining the army and fighting for the US army, they would help speed up the process and return their families back from the camps faster.

Needless to say, there were quite a few people, who defended this ethnic minority, disagreed with the internment and were indeed outraged by the government’s regulations. “Those who entertain the opinion that these native born citizens owe dual allegiance, one to America and one to Japan, are as ignorant as those who believe that all Americans owe allegiance to their ancestral land across the sea.”

(Bannai 79). In Guterson's case it was Arthur Chambers, a lifelong advocate of the Japanese inhabitants, who courageously fought against the accusations of the other islanders. For obvious reasons, "ethnic groups with perceived ties to other nations were vulnerable to charges of disloyalty." (Eisenberg 84). After Roosevelt's "consent", the Japanese Americans created the currently well renowned 442nd infantry regiment and were sent to the European theatre. In the end, "nearly 20,000 Japanese Americans served in the U.S. Army in World War II." (Spickard 133). Still, the stress the Japanese were put through during the war undoubtedly affected both generations for years to come. It should, however, be noted that from the 1950s the entire Asian minority benefited from the war oppression and it was as if the nation realised its historical mistake and tried to expiate for the internment.

4 Analysis of xenophobic features in David Guterson's Snow Falling on Cedars

The objective of this section is to discover the nativist and war induced types of paranoid behaviour among the characters and to apply the previously gained theoretical knowledge to determine the difference. There is some general information about the narrative which deserves to be explained before the analysis of individual characters and forms of racial prejudice.

In Guterson's novel the main focus is on a community of people comprised of an immigrant nationality. The theme prevalent throughout the story is one of intense paranoia, and, to a large extent even racism. The entire plot revolves around a racism ridden murder trial against a Japanese American fisherman Kabuo Miyamoto, who is accused of the murder of a local citizen, Carl Heine Jr. It is set in San Piedro, which is a fictional island close to Puget Sound in the State of Washington, inhabited by people of different ethnic backgrounds. The most significant minority is represented by people of Japanese ancestry. Many Japanese families had lived in the United States for decades and became respectable citizens of many cities and communities. On occasions there were undoubtedly examples of implied racism towards them, but before WWII they were rarely explicitly expressed. However, once the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour, a wave of overt racism emerged. "Last night some men stopped at the Ichiyamas' and called them names, Ishmael. They sat out front and honked their horn'... 'They called him a dirty Jap.'" (Guterson 162, 163). There are certain exceptions in terms of people who feel it is their moral imperative to defend the truth and remain objective, even at the price of being excluded from the community. One of these is Arthur Chambers, a local journalist, who attempts to treat all individuals using the same approach at all times.

The fact San Piedro is an island plays an important role in racially motivated behaviour since it makes it easier for local people to behave in a socially unacceptable way without having to be judged by people from other cities and surrounding states. The display of any "non-standard" behaviour towards other members of the community would be immediately noticed and remembered for years to come. Therefore the inhabitants of the island are rather quiet, in an effort to keep to their own business and not discuss private concerns in public. The sealed

conditions of the island have a psychological impact to the way the residents think. The physical seclusion makes people let go of social restraints and act slightly more on primal instincts. Several references were made throughout the book, which focus on the general perception of Japanese Americans on the island. One of the most explicit examples is from the courtroom during the trial. "In the back of Lew Fielding's courtroom sat twenty-four islanders of Japanese ancestry, dressed in the clothes they reserved for formal occasions. No law compelled them to take only these rare seats. They had done so instead because San Pedro required it of them without calling it a law." (Guterson 66). This racial segregation occurred to a large extent during WWII, however, Guterson lists other examples of racist behaviour towards this minority happening much earlier than during or after the war. It dates back several centuries and shows the insecurity of the white population and foremost their superiority towards the Japanese. The author describes a situation from the late 1880s when a group of Japanese workmen were referred to not according to their names but only as "Japs". (Guterson 66). Another descriptive example of the unfriendly climate is mentioned in connection with the land ownership. That could arguably be the most distinct non-character based expression of racism in the book. It explained the impossibility of an alien person owning land lest becoming a US citizen. (Guterson 67). The fact that this legislation was effective prior to WWII makes for an excellent evidence of prejudice being deeply imprinted in people's minds. It seems that the war only stirred matters up with a wave of nationalism and obsessive patriotism and brought an excuse for anti-social, prejudiced behaviour.

In the main literary source explored in this analysis, there are situations where characters are faced with decisions, which would significantly influence their future. These moments are critical points of the narrative and, for the characters themselves, crucial in terms of the development of their personalities. Throughout the centuries there have been countless cases of absolutely irrational behaviour which, on one hand, given the provocations and circumstances, are, if not ethically justifiable, somewhat comprehensible. However, on the other hand, it could be perceived as weak, cowardly and exploitative. These types of behaviours are triggered largely by instincts of self-preservation and fear and paranoia about what is to come. If one has the choice and is to decide whether to save another's live or one's own, the history shows that in most cases preservation prevails. Throughout the Second World War

the same type of paranoia could be observed in different regions of the world as people increasingly gave way to fear and acted on very basic instincts. These actions could be seen not only in the holocaust but against populations of many other nationalities, ethnicities and religious persuasions, many of which had their roots in the Great War.

4.1 Levels of analysis

Two major axes are studied in this section. First is bearing a national (institutional) level in contrast to a personal level. The second is essentialist as opposed to individual. There is clearly a fine line between the two levels as they sometimes overlap. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the most evident examples will be stated for each.

4.1.1 Institutional level

This section covers a variety of topics from discriminating laws to the displacement of ethnic groups to internment camps as it is mentioned in the book. Starting with the matter of law, there are a few unequivocal examples of racial paranoia stipulated in the laws of the state of Washington. The first ever reference to racial segregation in *Snow Falling on Cedars* could be found as early as in chapter seven. As far as the official law goes, “The law said they could not own land unless they became citizens; it also said they could not become citizens so long as they were Japanese.” (Guterson 67). On a similar note Judge Fielding commented on the occurrence of the land dispute in the murder trial by clarifying the aforementioned law.

‘The witness makes reference to a currently defunct statute of the State of Washington which made it illegal at the time of which she speaks for an alien, a noncitizen, to hold title to real estate. This same statute furthermore stipulated that no person shall hold title for an alien – a noncitizen – in any way, shape, or form. Furthermore, in 1906, I believe it was, the U.S. attorney general ordered all federal courts to deny naturalized citizenship to Japanese aliens. Thus it was impossible, in the strict legal sense, for Japanese immigrants to own land in Washington state.’ (Guterson 107)

The Alien Land Law is a prime example of racism on a national level. Officially, owning land was unattainable for the Japanese community. Nonetheless, there are ways to circumvent it as Zenhichi realises. He makes an attempt to acquire land for his son, who was born on American soil, which means that by reaching the age of twenty, the piece of land could be transferred to his name. Such agreements were in the eyes of the state indubitably illegal. Moreover, the law served as a stimulant of racism and a signal of anxiety for the white inhabitants. If as high an institute as a state issues a law so obviously discriminating against a certain group, the general population almost immediately begins to perceive such group as a potential threat and, at a minimum, something to be aware of.

Another example is the internment of the Japanese. The government issued a regulation about the Japanese minority. "INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY LIVING IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS," it said, and then it listed Anacortes and Bellingham, San Juan and San Pedro, a lot of other places in the Skagit Valley... they had to leave by noon on March 29. They were to be evacuated by the Fourth Army." (Guterson 109). The announcement gave the Japanese only eight days to gather their belongings and get ready to be moved into internment camps. They could only pack a limited number of items which were subjected to inspection. The camp mentioned in *Snow Falling on Cedars* is Manzanar, which is one of the most well-known camps located in California as seen on the map in the theoretical part of the thesis. "The removal of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast was based on widespread distrust of their loyalty after Pearl Harbor. Yet, no Japanese Americans were charged with espionage." (NSP). It was pure paranoia of similar attacks potentially happening again, which resulted in relocating and isolating this ethnic group into a handful of specific places, which appeared as the easiest solution for the government. "Early on the morning of March 29, 1942, fifteen transports of the U.S. War Relocation Authority took all of San Pedro's Japanese-Americans to the ferry terminal in Amity Harbor." (Guterson 69).

Furthermore, there were "instructions" issued by the government in order for the general population to be able to distinguish between for example people of Chinese ethnic background and other Asians, and the Japanese. In *Snow Falling on Cedars* it was easier for the white inhabitants to spot the Japanese because the majority of

Asians on the island was Japanese. In general, people were even offered instructions on identifying the differences between Asians, e.g. “How to tell Japs from the Chinese.” (The Life Magazine). That was designed to provide help in determining the major distinctive features in Asians so that recognising the Japanese (which were all perceived as traitors) among the other Asians, mostly Chinese (China being an actual ally during the war), became easier. This is yet another clear illustration of racism which was not only supported but directly declared by the state. The medium of newspapers was also a good means of communicating racist ideas and was rarely as unbiased as in the case of the San Pedro Review, run by Arthur Chambers.

4.1.2 Personal level

Personal perspective is, of course, much more varied. Before actually analysing major character’s individual examples of racial paranoia and the possible reasons for it, let us focus on the more general side. The early times of Asian immigration are not widely spoken of although it is certainly not difficult to research. As far as the story is concerned, Guterson describes one case of the strenuous beginnings of the Japanese ethnic group on San Pedro.

Their parents and grandparents had come to San Pedro as far back as 1883. In that year two of them – Japan Joe and Charles Jose – lived in a lean-to near Cattle Point. Thirty-nine Japanese worked at the Port Jefferson mill, but the census taker neglected to list them by name, referring instead to Jap Number 1, Jap Number 2, Jap Number 3, Japan Charlie, Old Jap Sam, Laughing Jap, Dwarf Jap, Chippy, Boots, and Stumpy – names of this sort instead of real names. (Guterson 66)

The historical and factual references made by David Guterson accurately portray the atmosphere and general sentiment of the society at the time. The research has shown that the beginnings of Japanese settlement in the United States were rough. “Many swam ashore with no American currency and wandered island trails eating salmonberries and matsutake mushrooms until they found their way to ‘Jap Town’.” (Guterson 66)

Another example worth mentioning is the racist behaviour of one citizen of the island aimed at Arthur Chambers. As he continues to publish the San Pedro Review with

articles representing the bravery of the Japanese Americans in order to balance the xenophobia ruling the island at the time, it is met with general disdain. “‘The Japs are the enemy,’ wrote Herbert Langlie. ‘Your newspaper is an insult to all white Americans who have pledged themselves to purge this menace from our midst.’” (Guterson 168).

4.1.2.1 *Ishmael*

From the personal perspective Ishmael is torn between love and hatred. On one hand he still loves Hatsue, on the other he feels troubled by the distance created between them by the events that happened during the years of war. Firstly, because she got married soon after she rejected him and secondly, because she married a Japanese. But as a result of Hatsue refusing him, he slowly grew to hate her. When he loses his arm in a battle, the hatred escalates and in Ishmael’s eyes Hatsue is the one to be blamed for the uneasy events he suffered through.

Ishmael feels conflicted about Hatsue because during the age of youth he admires and adores her for her personality and beauty, irrespective of the ethnic group she belongs to. However, being psychologically traumatised and physically injured in a battle against the Japanese, he is bearing a grudge against her as a member of this ethnic group. Ishmael goes into war affected by the stance of the country towards the minority, he is taught to hate “them” because of the political situation and perceive his friends and classmates as enemies. It is all the more a traumatic experience for he loves a girl of such ethnicity. It is not only a matter of the overall wartime experience but the consequence of being wounded is of immense importance, too. The corollary of an injury is a great burden to any soldier. “Rather than being invincible, he becomes visible, tangible evidence that soldiers are vulnerable.” (Laurence 30). The wound can become a constant reminder of failure or not being able to live up to general expectations. This could be further reflected by Ishmael’s relationship with his father. He is pressured to be the principled man who never acts inaccurately, minding the ethics, having moral sense and acting according to his best conscience. The citizens of San Piedro expect him follow in his father’s footsteps which only adds to the psychological aftermath of the injury and results in greater confusion. However, as said before, his love for Hatsue has not lessened. He clings onto the idea of reunion with his love and struggles to cope with the fact that she has moved on. As the murder trial proceeds, he is faced with a decision that could change the lives of

many people. He knows evidence which could free Kabuo of the sentence for murder. At this point Ishmael carries a burden of responsibility for what he does as he is expected to conform to people's expectations while going through an inner struggle of succumbing to the irresistible thought of condemning the ethnicity based on Hatsue's refusal accentuated by the horrors he was put through fighting the Japanese. The fact that he does not report the proof immediately after he discovers it but waits in hesitance only supports the level of confusion. To conclude, his attitude is powered by the war induced type of paranoia as he is shown as perfectly unbiased before the war and when he returns he is rather more reserved.

4.1.2.2 Carl Jr

Carl, similarly to Ishmael, had gone through war, which became an obstacle in his way of thinking and his open-mindedness. The traumatising experience during combat directly resulted in significant alteration in his behaviour. This is demonstrated by Carl's interaction with Kabuo. Although the connection between the two faded, Carl still at least vaguely remembers his childhood friendship with Kabuo and is also frequently reminded of it by his wife Susan Marie. He is making a conscious attempt to stay out of conflict and avoid being offensive which makes him act in what could be perceived as a rational way. Nevertheless, the fact that he was primarily brought up by Etta should certainly be taken into consideration in this analysis. Just as in Ishmael's case, or Kabuo's for that matter, he has a very principled father to look up to. He is torn between the influence of Carl senior, whose empathy to Zenhichi and the whole Miyamoto family became exemplary to him, and his mother, who is frequently trying to denigrate not only the Japanese but ethnic minorities in general, creating an unfavourable image of inequality and therefore negatively impacting the boy's behaviour. To a certain degree, Carl and Ishmael are both under tremendous pressure of honouring their fathers' legacies. They both realise their fathers were great men in regard to their accomplishments and exemplary behaviour but in neither case it is transferred much onto the children. Another crucial aspect is the war experience. The intensity of the undergone horror at that time results in permanent deformations of their character. Carl becomes more reclusive and taciturn and even the relationship with his wife becomes rather unexciting. Likewise, the relationship with Kabuo suffers greatly. 'It comes down to the fact that Kabuo's a Jap. And I don't hate Japs, but I don't like 'em neither. It's

hard to explain. But he's a Jap.' (Guterson 261). It is clear that the current state of their friendship lies heavy on him. However, he cannot bring himself to like Kabuo as much as he liked him before the war. Carl refers to it when he speaks to Susan Marie and she reminds him of the highlights of their past friendship. "You and he were friends.' 'Were,' said Carl. 'That's right. A long time ago. Before the war came along. But now I don't like him much anymore.'" (Guterson 261). His paranoia is clearly war induced and possibly partially comes from indoctrination as well. It takes him a long time to come back to good terms with Kabuo. It is not until the very end of the book that it is revealed Carl and Kabuo were reconciled and settled the property issue offering them peace of mind mere moments before Carl's accident.

4.1.3 Essentialist level

Essentialism, by definition, addresses similar ideas and skills which are or supposed to be shared by a society. ("Essentialism"). As applied to *Snow Falling on cedars*, it concerns the Japanese American community. The most significant defining feature of any community is in fact their language. On multiple occasions throughout the book there are references to "hakujiin", which is according to the Japanese dictionary a term used for the white race, Caucasians. It is not just the members of the Japanese community using this expression but also the narrator often addresses white people in this way. The language, in general, serves as a powerful tool to create a bond between the old country and the new generations of Japanese immigrants who had already been born in the United States. It was supposed to solidify their feeling of belonging to the ethnic group and strengthen the bonds within the family. Through the usage of Japanese language the Issei not only influenced the second generation but also by not speaking English at home they, to a certain extent, refused to adapt to the new environment. This, however, only applies to the first two generations as the third would rarely have any knowledge of the Japanese language. (Jacoby 24). There are numerous other words used throughout the book to illustrate this sense of a closed community. It is used both in the Imada and the Miyamoto family to make their children realise where they come from.

Furthermore, the evident fact that the Japanese had the Asian visage became a huge problem once Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. "There was no point in trying to conceal anything or in trying to pretend they were not Japanese – the hakujiin could see it in their faces; they were going to have to accept this." (Guterson 174). It did not

take significant effort for the white inhabitants of the island to target this minority and oppress them, especially when the war broke out. The Japanese are the most prominent minority on the island and so they are under constant confrontation by the white citizens, who show ferocity and unmerciful behaviour. Unlike the general public, the Japanese are educated to conceal their emotions and not be easily agitated. Consequently, maintaining a straight face under any circumstances is a matter of one's honour. Even for the second generation it is difficult to adjust to the western standards as they are brought up not only to respect traditions but actively engage in rituals and ceremonies. This can be especially well seen in Hatsue's apprenticeship under the guidance of Mrs. Shigemura. She is taught to sit or talk in a particular way and even maintain the appearance that is expected of her by the community. "She had learned that her hair was *utsukushii* and that to cut it would be a form of heresy." (Guterson 72). The other demonstration is Kabuo being taught to handle pain with a straight face and not expose his emotions to maintain his dignity which greatly affected him as he realised especially during the trial. "In the face of the charge that had been levelled against him he sat with his dark eyes trained straight ahead and did not appear moved at all." (Guterson 1). The memories of his father's wisdom resonated during the days spent alone in the cell under arrest. "This was what his father had taught him: the greater the composure, the more revealed one was, the truth of one's inner life was manifest – a pleasing paradox." (Guterson 135).

Another skill crucial to the plot and exclusive to this community is the art of Kendo fighting. It is the "Japanese form of fencing with two-handed bamboo swords, originally developed as a safe form of sword training for samurai" ("Kendo"), which is taught from an early age. It is carried on for generations in the families of samurai and on the grounds of Kabuo's grandfather being one, it is his ordeal to take over the tradition. The way this martial art is executed is explained to Kabuo by his father, who offers to teach him, should he be willing to accept it.

The vertical slash that would split a man's head down the bridge of the nose, leaving one eye on each side, the skull cleaved into two parts; the four diagonal strokes – from left and right, upward and downward – that would cleave a man beneath a rib or disjoin an arm deftly; the horizontal stroke swinging in from the left that could sever a man just above the hips;

and, finally, the most common of kendo strokes, a horizontal thrust a right-handed man could propel with great force against the left side of his enemy's head. (Guterson 146,147)

This traditional way of fighting is very specific and there is a good reason to think that were it not for the war, it would remain only a skill of the members of the Japanese community. With regard to that, it is at a training camp where a Caucasian sergeant, who comes to train the Nisei at a hand-to-hand combat, is introduced to the art of kendo. "Sergeant Maples fought on with his wooden staff until Kabuo Miyamoto knocked it from his hands." (Guterson 249). Sergeant Maples is stunned that a trainee is capable of beating him during a training session but yet he is eager to learn this about this method and become proficient at it. During the sessions when Kabuo teaches sergeant Maples the complexity and mastery of kendo, he comes across an important part of it – bowing. It might not seem relevant, especially in light of the war; however bowing is an important part of the art of kendo. "There's plenty of officers who'll expect a salute, but a bow? It isn't *military*. Not *American* military. It isn't done." (Guterson 248). Sergeant Maples is at first puzzled by Kabuo's habit of bowing. It is not a feature of the western culture and so he is unaware of the relevance. However, Kabuo explains to him the nature of it at that moment and elaborates on how it is important and has its place even in martial art. 'I'm used to bowing when I'm sparring somebody.' (Guterson 249). Sergeant Maples, being an intelligent man, realises the wonderful opportunity presented to him and later takes advantage of it. Considering the fact that this happens during war, it is in his own interest to perfect his skills as it might be a factor in survival during combat; which is one of the reasons why he is keen on being taught all secrets of kendo, including the importance of bowing. (Guterson 250).

Concentrating on the habit of bowing, not only as a component of this martial art but as an integral part of Japanese culture, it is essential in understanding the nature of Japanese behaviour. This culture, being extremely courteous, uses bowing to express respect and appreciation for other people. (Alston and Takei 38). According to the angle of the bow and the way in which the bow is performed, different levels of respect are shown. It is one of the major differences between the Japanese and the western culture, which on occasions (as in Sergeant Maples' example) clash. This

custom is known to be predominantly Japanese, although to certain extent it could be found in some other Asian cultures, too.

4.1.4 Individual level

On an individual level, the art of Kendo is significant in the development of Kabuo's character. Zenhichi explains to him the family history, the fact that his grandfather was a Samurai, which is why they have the ferocity and eagerness to fight in their blood. In fact, such family history reaches back several centuries. It is important that this type of martial art which Kabuo agrees to learn is specific to Japan because through this Zenhichi passes the tradition on to the next generation. "Said they were trained to fight with sticks from the time they were kids. They were trained in kendo, Horace called it." (Guterson 229). Another important element is the age when Kabuo starts learning. The choice has to be made during his early youth so it might be questionable that he fully understands the consequences of his decision. With the acceptance of the tradition, he is taking a step towards remaining within the ethnic group and alienates himself from the western life. As a matter of fact it becomes a key aspect in the murder trial.

Similarly the Japanese tea ceremony or calligraphy could be considered, which are briefly mentioned in connection with Hatsue's tutelage. For Hatsue these customs and practices represent her parent's culture, one that she is not fond of because of her love for Ishmael. Despite this, she learns to respect the tradition because that is what the Japanese culture requires of her. Hatsue is taught to be Japanese and if it were not for her mother or Mrs. Shigemura, it is highly likely that she would have not had such strong ties with the Japanese culture and adopted the American instead. This is why these ceremonies bare such importance while it tightens the connection between Hatsue and her ethnic background. For the Japanese it was essential that they never directly express emotions and instead keep a straight face under any circumstances. It is a matter of honour to be able to withstand any situation. "The demand that she conceal this inner life was [great]." (Guterson 73). Hatsue is extremely constrained because she is keeping her teenage love for Ishmael a secret. It would be against her parent's wishes and Mrs. Shigemura's insistent speeches to marry a white boy, which completely clouds her personal preferences and ultimately shapes her decision-making. It directly results in her sense of guilt and eventually, partially subconsciously, she succumbs to the pressure.

In both cases, the education of Kabuo and Hatsue begins very early on in their lives. It is probable that they agree to learn what the culture demands out of respect for their parents and perhaps curiosity. At that age they are unaware of the influence it is going to have on their adult lives. There are several occasions, some of them already stated, where they both reminisce about the way they were brought up and actively realise to what extent this upbringing formed them. The culture where respect is above all the most important feature of human interaction, it is next to impossible for either of them to disrespect as important people as their own parents. It is indeed notably more complicated for them because they grow up under the influence of both cultures. Although, arguably, the Japanese element of the upbringing is more intense than the American since they spend most of the time in their families and in connection with neighbours of the same ethnic background, both Hatsue and Kabuo have a white companion to spend time with. The inner struggle they have to go through varies in nature, but hardly in intensity. In Hatsue's representation it is heightened by love, over which she has little control. Despite the fact that Kabuo does not have to concern himself with such emotions his confusion comes from the war experience, which keeps haunting him. In effect they both find the indoctrination heavily impacting their lives equally in terms of the choices they make on a daily basis and such decisions made for life, such as the choice of their partner.

4.2 Indoctrination of Hatsue

In contemplation of Hatsue's education and upbringing, attention should be turned to her mother at first. Hatsue's mother is the principal authority in her life and one that has the most control over her decisions. Fujiko was tricked into marriage with a man, whom she had no previous information about other than that of his picture and a promise of a better future. Picture brides, a very common habit of arranged marriage was a reflection of Japanese culture. The principle of which was natural to the Japanese and the fear of living conditions getting worse in the country forced women to find a way of escape. The Japanese men in the US

[s]aved their money in canning jars, then wrote home to their parents in Japan requesting wives be sent. Some lied and said they'd gotten rich, or sent pictures of themselves as younger men; at any rate, wives came across the ocean. They lived in cedar slat huts lit by oil lamps and slept on

straw-filled ticks. The wind blew in through the cracks in the walls. At five o'clock in the morning bride and groom both could be found in the strawberry fields. (Guterson 67)

However daunting, this offered a hope of a better, safer life at least for the time being. Fujiko is Japanese, body and soul. She has not forgotten any of the old country's traditions or habits and considered it of high importance to teach her daughters everything she knew. Fujiko has never complained about anything; despite she might have felt desperate at times. She speaks to her daughters in Japanese, which carries the sense of a closed community and functions as a shield against the "evil things" that could potentially await in the new country. Fujiko stresses the importance of dressing or braiding their hair "properly". To the best of her ability, she attempts to inculcate the sense of belonging to a certain culture into Hatsue and her sisters. The Japanese culture represents who they are, which should not be resisted but rather the opposite, embraced. It is desirable for the individuals to be proud of their ancestry however difficult the living conditions might be in the new home. "The whites, you see, are tempted by their egos and have no means to resist. We Japanese, on the other hand, know our egos are nothing. We bend our egos, all of the time, and that is where we differ. That is the fundamental difference, Hatsue." (Guterson 176). Fujiko pressures Hatsue to come to the conclusion that as tempting as the individualism of American culture appears, it is the community in which she can ultimately seek comfort.

We bend our heads, we bow and are silent, because we understand that by ourselves, alone, we are nothing at all, dust in a strong wind, while the hakujin believes his aloneness is everything, his separateness is the foundation of his existence. He seeks and grasps, seeks and grasps for his separateness, while we seek union with the Greater Life – you must see that these are distinct paths we are traveling, Hatsue, the hakujin and we Japanese.' (Guterson 176)

What she fails to realise is that her daughters are born in America and thus inevitably do not possess such strong connections to Japanese culture as they are not completely immersed in it. Living in the US from the earliest age brings considerable

influence in terms of development of the girls' personalities. However, through Fujiko's purposeful upbringing and Mrs Shigemura's (teaches young Japanese girls good manners) lessons about the way a proper Japanese lady should behave and what she should and should not be able to do, Hatsue learned the weight of identity. On many occasions Mrs Shigemura told Hatsue that she cannot trust white men and should marry one of her own kind whose heart is strong and good. (Guterson 153). Quite interestingly, Mrs Shigemura could be perceived as the Japanese counterpart to Etta Heine. She comes across as quite openly racist when she teaches the daughters of Japanese immigrants to stay away from the white race and instead, cultivate the Japanese qualities in themselves. There is no distinct evidence of any other private Japanese teacher on the island, which suggests her exclusivity. Within her scope of power she educates young girls in strong nationalism and intolerance towards the predominant race. Under such upbringing, it is only natural for the girls to become weary of meeting up white men and in Hatsue's case - the feeling of guilt was experienced through the time spent with Ishmael. She comes to realise that her ancestry plays a much bigger role than she would ever be able to admit. In the Japanese culture, and most (if not all) eastern culture for that matter, family is of very high importance. It is an authority that is not to be questioned and has an immense influence on decision-making process of children. Hatsue's mother brings her up exactly in this spirit. "Yes, you were born here, that's so," said Fujiko. "But your blood - you are still Japanese." (Guterson 176). Fujiko stressed the fact that Hatsue could not deny or revolt against who she was. She suggests that the power of lineage is incontestable, which is what is Hatsue trying to resist from beginning to end of the whole story. Throughout her childhood Hatsue is instructed to hide her emotions in order to preserve dignity. As a child she is not aware of the differences between the races, or rather the prejudice held between each race, to such extent. As an ingenuous girl she plays with Ishmael, they go to the beach together, walk in the forests and go to school. She falls in love with him gradually as a natural cause of things. However, due to the strong influence from home she ends up rejecting her love. One might argue that it is purely out of respect for the family or because she begins to see that especially during the war, when the differences between the races deepen, their love has only a very little chance of surviving. Hatsue makes a remark during her wedding night with Kabuo that "it feels right" (Guterson 80). The majority of her life she has struggled to resist what she desires as opposed to acting as she is

expected to, in a similar way as Ishmael. This is where the clearest difference between the two colliding cultures could be seen. As a result of such intense indoctrination, Hatsue ends up obeying her family's wishes, giving up her romantic love and marrying a Japanese man. She does what is perceived to be appropriate by the ethnic group because by disobeying the tradition, she could, in all likelihood, be excluded from the community, but even worse, be repudiated by her parents. She understands it as her duty and later finds contentment in the marriage. Ishmael, on the other hand, being brought up in the more self-centred western culture, fights for their relationship and clings on to the notion of Hatsue being his one true soulmate. However, since she rejects him, he is faced with difficulties coping with her refusal. He keeps gravitating towards her, although the anger he feels for her surrendering their happiness is overwhelming him.

4.3 Inducing xenophobia

4.3.1 Etta

Etta Heine is arguably the most openly racist of all the characters in the book. What could be said about her in the first place is that she does not find living on the island appealing. "She tried to like San Pedro. It was damp, though, and she developed a cough, and her lower back began to bother her." (Guterson 100). This could be considered one of the main factors contributing to her bitterness. Her attitude towards the minority is described in a rather unfavourable way. She recalls the Miyamoto family during her interrogation. "How was it she was supposed to forget such people?" (Guterson 102). When referring to them as "such people", she implicates their difference of skin colour and imaginary inferiority. She has never been kind to the Japanese working for Carl in the fields but when Mr Zenhichi Miyamoto comes to ask her husband to sell him seven acres of their land, she becomes enraged. At the time, Asians were not allowed to own land in the United States of America, as was mentioned previously in this thesis. Etta furthermore elaborates on the issue of selling their land: "The law let 'em own land if they were citizens. Them Miyamoto kids were born here so they're citizens, I guess. When they turned twenty the land'd go over into their name – law said they could do that, put it in their kids' name at twenty." (Guterson 108). For the longest time she keeps trying to persuade her husband not to sell the land to the Miyamoto family. "They're Japs", answered Etta. "We're in a war with them. We can't have spies around." (Guterson 110). This is

potentially an indication of a war induced paranoia rather than nativism. However, she has never hidden her views and opinions about the Japanese inhabitants of San Pedro Island. Regarding the property, she makes another rather racist statement during the interaction with her husband. “We’re not such paupers as to sell to Japs, are we?” (Guterson 104). There is another occasion when Etta thinks insultingly of the Japanese, when the internment is announced and the last two payments for the piece of their land are left to be paid by Zenhichi. “He was always nodding, thought Etta. It was how they got the better of you – they acted small, thought big. Nod, say nothing, keep their faces turned down; it was how they got things like her seven acres.” (Guterson 111).

She obviously looks down on “them people” and through this personal disagreement, points at the ubiquitous problem of racial segregation. At this point her Aryan background could be debated and her behaviour being exaggerated in light of the war. She is in fact described as Teutonic (Guterson 12), which would only support this theory. However, there is no doubt of her ceaseless paranoia and, as regarded by Judge Fielding, she remains a hateful woman. Etta is the archetype of an all-in-all negative character. As the book’s focus is racial prejudice she depicts the extreme version of a racist since she has been one her entire life and the war only provided her with an excuse to express her racist thoughts in public. An interesting fact about her worth mentioning could be made at this point. She was born in Germany, hence she is a native German, which does not seem to play any role in the story, even though Germans were sent to internment camps as well during World War II. (Fallon) It did not happen in such a scale as with the Japanese, however, it is still a relevant observation. This might be a result of the author’s attempt to focus reader’s attention on the problem of different races (not nationalities) or simply for the sake of the story as it is primarily focused on and pivots around a Japanese family. At one point, Etta suggests the difference between herself and people of Japanese ancestry in terms of looks. She realises that as a white woman she ages fast and her skin becomes less firm with time, she discovers new wrinkles each year and she grows to look worn out. On the other hand, Zenhichi appears to be the same every time she encounters him and keeps certain freshness about his look. He does not slouch and his complexion is bright. (Guterson 115). The realisation that she is growing old and slowly fading, leads to the feelings of envy and desperation, which offers yet another reason to

dislike the Japanese. Another aspect might be the language. The Miyamotos are the first generation Japanese Americans, the so called Issei, which means that only very basic English could be used in their daily communication. That only feeds not just Etta's but all the other white American's fear and paranoia against them. Etta is not ashamed of expressing her dislike vocally and when her husband tries to defend the Miyamotos in her eyes by telling her they are good, clean people, she comments on it offensively. "Like the Indjuns do,' put in Etta." (Guterson 104). That is a clear example which substantiates the origin of her xenophobic thinking. It contradicts the original thought and brings in the conclusion that she undoubtedly sympathises with the idea of nativism, the fact the country should prohibit any further immigration and be purified from ethnic minorities. As presumed, the war only serves as a stimulus for further aggression towards the minorities.

4.3.2 Alvin

Alvin Hooks, the prosecutor in Kabuo's case, is highly determined to press charges against the defendant and eventually succeed in the lawsuit. He is pushing for the death sentence, which is the reason why he is persistent in summoning all citizens he knows of that are either straightforward racist or would possibly support the accusation by giving an unfavourable testimony. The prosecutor himself is not unprejudiced either. His racial paranoia is rooted deeply in his character. His demeanour carries signs of anxiety most likely accentuated by his WWII experience. Alvin plays an important role in the story since he represents a kind of diabolical character. It could be argued, though, that his eagerness to convict Kabuo is based solely on the urge to win the lawsuit. He calls for the freshly widowed Susan Marie Heine, whom he thinks highly of and realises that others are just as pliable to her charm as he is. "The men especially would not wish to betray such a woman with a not-guilty verdict at the end of things. She would persuade them not precisely with what she had to say but with the entirety of who she was." (Guterson 252). In contrast, there are examples found in the book where Alvin keeps suggesting, sometimes more openly than others, that people (especially the jury) look on the surface rather than on that what lies within. "We're talking about looking clearly at the defendant and seeing the truth self-evident in him and in the facts present in this case. Take a good look, ladies and gentlemen, at the defendant sitting over there. Look into his eyes, consider his face, and ask yourselves what your duty is as

citizens of this community.” (Guterson 365). The words of his final speech resonate cold and brutal through the courtroom and encourage the jury and the citizens to think there is an apparent difference between the two races. His primal objective is clearly to sow a feeling of superiority, patriotism and distress into the jury members and the onlookers. He artfully chooses his words in order to accuse Kabuo of something nobody, not even Alvin, is unequivocally certain he committed. However, Kabuo is an obvious and easy target and a chance to put all the blame of the war on. Alvin sees evil in the entire Japanese community as such. One aspect of his anger refers to the stiff nature of its members, which evokes resistance and pride. Under given circumstances it is definitely undesirable, for it attracts attention and amplifies the fear of unknown. In this respect Alvin acts as a perfect opposite to Nels. Alvin’s paranoia is so strong that he takes advantage and enjoys any opportunity to look down his nose at the Japanese inhabitants of San Pedro. In view of the fact that the Japanese constitute a minority in the local population; it is easier for him to act as a bully and intimidate them because he realises he would most likely find sufficient acquiescence, if not direct support from his fellow citizens. When he interrogates Mrs Miyamoto, he uses an insulting tone and has a disdainful attitude to illustrate the imaginary gap between them. “‘Well,’ said Alvin Hooks, ‘that’s an irony. Because the mistake, it seems to me, was in not coming forward. The mistake was in your having been deceitful. In having deliberately concealed information during the course of a sheriff’s investigation.’” (Guterson 326, 327). He makes an effort to persuade the jury and ideally everyone else sitting in the courtroom to recognise and address the fear that affected them during the war and succumb to it. “How on earth can we trust you?” (Guterson 327). He pleads to the court and stresses the uneasy times that their country went through recently. He reminds them of the attack and the casualties they suffered. He generalises in order for the jurors to remember the misery their families had to endure because that is what would cloud rational, just decision-making. Ultimately, it is rather difficult to state with an absolute confidence whether his malicious attitude is only performed for the purpose of winning the case, while there is not enough insight provided into his thinking outside of the courtroom. However, it is the tone which is conveyed by his speeches that is giving a very strong impression of his being a racist. At any rate, there is no straightforward evidence of his xenophobia being nativist based.

4.3.3 Horace Whaley

It is not difficult to conclude that Horace belongs among the more negative, prejudiced characters. He is rather straightforward about it and does not really make much effort to conceal it. However, in his case, it is most likely more of an aftermath of the war. As he fought in the war and gained much of his current medical experience during this time, it is this first-hand experience which makes him incredibly biased. When he examines Carl's body, he notices an injury that evokes terrifying memories from the battlefields. "It was precisely the sort of lethal impression Horace had seen at least two dozen times in the Pacific war, the result of close-in combat, hand to hand, and made by a powerfully wielded gun butt. The Japanese field soldier, trained in the art of kendo, or stick fighting, was exceptionally proficient at killing in this manner." (Guterson 48). Considering Carl has gone through the same battles, Horace could relate to him and feels bitter when he finds out Carl died in a mere gillnetting accident. There is a small chance that he actually prefers the option of a murder exactly for this reason, because Carl and he saw and survived so many horrors in the battles during the bloody Second World War that Horace feels a gillnetting accident simply did not do this man justice. That could possibly explain his suggesting Carl was killed by a right-handed "Jap". Overall, similarly to Alvin, there is not enough insight into his thinking offered, however, it is most likely his opinions were not nativist in nature and could be traced back to his years as an army doctor.

4.4 Condoning xenophobia

4.4.1 Art Moran

Art is a character which appears to be very much neutral. He thinks rationally and tries not to get influenced by the wave of racism that emerged during WWII. At the beginning of the story he does his best to stay objective but with the increasing number of proof material, which, to some, clearly point at Kabuo, he slowly succumbs to the pressure of hatred. Without necessarily expressing any disdain in public he allows paranoia influence the thought process through which he approaches the case. He gets to the stage when he does not know what to think and is confused by what his consciousness tells him as opposed to what the majority of people say, which seems to be in contradiction to one another.

First real doubt that emerges in Horace's mind is his remark about Carl Heine's scar on his head. He speaks with such confidence that Art begins to question his manner of thinking. Although the scar vaguely resembles a wound caused by the Japanese weapon used in the kendo martial art, no other evidence was submitted to substantiate the claim. It is a mere suggestion made by a biased pathologist and should not really be accepted as a watertight fact. However, that is exactly what happens as Art keeps returning in his mind and feeds the doubtful thoughts even further with memories of Susan Marie Heine and her uncertainty when he questions her about her deceased husband. Secondly, when he visits Judge Fielding in order to request a search warrant, he states the following:

'I've got these concerns, judge. Five of 'em altogether. Number one, I've got men telling me Miyamoto worked the same waters Carl did last night when this thing happened. Number two, I've got Etta Heine saying Miyamoto and her son were enemies from way back – an old dispute over land. Three, I've got a piece of mooring line somebody left on Carl's boat wrapped around one of the cleats; seems like he could have been boarded, maybe, and I want to take a look at Miyamoto's mooring lines. Four, I've got Ole Jurgensen claiming both Carl and Miyamoto were out to see him recently 'bout buying his property, which Ole sold to Carl.' Cording to Ole, Miyamoto went away hopping mad. Said he was going to have a talk with Carl. And, well, maybe he did. At sea. And things ... got out of hand.' (Guterson 228)

As a concern number one he states that "men told him", which is a great example of how easy it was for him to be influenced by external means. Even though he has to take every testimony into consideration and try to stay objective, he quite clearly jumps to conclusions at this point. Furthermore, as a concern number five, he adds an observation from the visit to the coroner.

'And Horace said something interesting about it that fits in with what I'm hearing from Ole. And from Etta, too, for that matter. Said he'd seen wounds like this one during the war. Said the Japs made 'em with their gun butts. Said they were trained to fight with sticks from the time they

were kids. They were trained in kendo, Horace called it. And one of these kendo blows, I guess, would leave the kind of wound Carl has. Now at the time I didn't make nothing of it. I didn't even think of it when some of the guys down at the docks said Miyamoto'd been out on Ship Channel Bank last night – same place as Carl. Didn't even occur to me then. But I did think of it this afternoon when Etta told 'bout all the problems she'd had with Miyamoto, and I thought about it even more after Ole Jurgensen said his piece. And I decided I'd better follow this lead through and search Miyamoto's boat, Judge. Just in case. See what signs there are, if any.' (Guterson 229)

During this very same visit he throws in a remark about being hesitant in pursuance of the warrant. "If you think about it too long we'll lose our chance altogether." (Guterson 229). He is worried about losing an important part of the jigsaw which makes him anxious. One thing to be considered in this case, though, is the fact that Art had known all these people personally and also knew about their credibility. Therefore, when thought through, it was actually not difficult for him to believe their statements based on their common life in the community. He did not have any reason not to trust them which led to his vacillate. To add to that, during the hearings, he was subtly urged by the prosecutor to focus on things that actually were not even facts, in order to point him in the direction that Alvin wanted. "Hooks had reminded him to tell his story methodically, to pay attention to those minor details that might seem to him irrelevant." (Guterson 224).

A final, simple, fact in this case is that it is difficult to resist the pressure of majority when one is unable to produce a recount of the events with absolute certainty. As stated earlier, there is no clear evidence of Art being a racist person per say but he is one who has a number of friends who are. Therefore, it is easy to become sceptical especially when it comes to solving a possible murder. He takes Horace's advice to look for the murder weapon in some "Jap's" boat, which was not difficult for Art to do as he knew the deceased was on friendly terms with Kabuo Miyamoto. "It occurred to him, too, that for all his arrogance Horace Whaley had been right. For here was the Jap with the bloody gun butt Horace had suggested he look for. Here was the Jap he'd been led to inexorably by every islander he'd spoken with." (Guterson 236).

Here again might be disputed whether this is the consequence of Horace speaking about the minority like inferior members of the society or he actually thinks it himself. As a policeman, he needs to be receptive of people's behaviour and the fact that Art could not read Kabuo's reactions or the man's rigidity and absence of compassion make for a decent base for insecurity. "Art Moran looked into the Jap's still eyes to see if he could discern the truth there. But they were hard eyes set in a proud, still face, and there was nothing to be read in them either way. They were the eyes of a man with concealed emotions, the eyes of a man hiding something." (Guterson 236). That was the moment when he started speculating about the possible murder. The actuality of him not being able to predict Kabuo's actions, however, made him weary of the person and quite naturally suspicious. He is reading into Kabuo's demeanour at that point but that still does not offer convincing evidence. It could definitely be argued that he feels paranoia as the war ended fairly recently which still makes him uneasy about the Japanese community. However, as stated before, Guterson does not offer the reader any persuasive example of Art's racist thinking or behaviour.

4.5 Countering xenophobia

4.5.1 Kabuo

Kabuo realises very clearly how important it is for him to demonstrate his allegiance to the country he lives in and fight the prejudicial tendencies of his fellow citizens. Although he only just got married he surrenders the happiness for doing the thing he thinks is necessary. "Eight days later he left for Camp Shelby, Mississippi, where he joined the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. He *had* to go to the war, he told her. It was necessary in order to demonstrate his bravery. It was necessary to demonstrate his loyalty to the United States: his country." (Guterson 80). Despite admiring his courage, Hatsue has been trying to prevent him from going many times because she fears he is going to die. However, he feels it is his duty to enlist. "It was not only a point of honour, he'd said, it was also a matter of having to go because his face was Japanese." (Guterson 81). In his conscience he knows he has to go one step further than other white citizens and make extra effort in order to maintain a certain reputation or simply prove the point, one that people at the time failed to see – just because one is a member of some ethnic group does not automatically mean that one approves of the state's actions. Kabuo lives in the United States and feels he belongs there but he has a Japanese upbringing, just like Hatsue. He is kind and

selfless as well as fierce and hot tempered but he never lets any of these emotions be exposed to the public eye. During the trial he is reminded by Hatsue "... you look like one of Tojo's soldiers. You'd better quit sitting up so straight and tall. These jury people will be afraid of you." (Guterson 70). This is a good example of the different perception of behaviour in different cultures. It is a point of honour for Kabuo not to let people know his fear or insecurity, maintain a straight face under any circumstances, however, by western standards, it could be perceived as hardness or a lack of compassion. The situation remains difficult for him and all the Japanese on the island while they are pushed to adapt to the environment by the society they live in but wish to keep the cultural values and habits of their own community. That, unfortunately, is met with general disdain.

In spite of the fact that he is a decorated lieutenant, people do not seem to acknowledge his record of serving much. Kabuo's attorney, Nels Gudmundsson, highlighted this truth during his defence. As seen here, the perception of a person is, unfortunately, of utmost importance. It is exactly perception, which draws the most attention. A person's action and the way one behaves becomes less relevant and pushed aside especially when amplified by the war experience. Even though the government in fact recognises Kabuo's effort and allegiance, such appreciation fails to translate into respect in the majority of local inhabitants. Kabuo has a very clear comprehension of his situation and the presumed hopelessness of it. "You can't trust a Jap, can you? This island's full of strong feelings, Mr. Gudmundsson, people who don't often speak their minds but hate on the inside all the same. They don't buy their berries from our farms, they won't do business with us." (Guterson 343). At the court, he, as the rest of the Japanese community, is seen as proud and indifferent, which again is a mere failure to understand Japanese mentality. Kabuo's case represents a prime example of prejudice and its effect on the ethnic minorities thus elevating the issue and accentuating this nationwide problem. Kabuo himself is an archetype of a dedicated, hard-working Asian, who does what is expected of him and what he considers to be foremost the best for the family and, of course, for the community and country he lives in. That is why he feels ashamed of his strong emotions and anger caused by the land dispute and the attitude of the general public.

4.5.2 Arthur Chambers

Ishmael's father and owner of the local newspaper, Arthur Chambers, is a man of honour and good heart as suggested by the book. He has always supported those who suffered injustice and despite many people disagreeing with his beliefs he has never abated his efforts. "An unflagging loyalty to his profession and its principles had made Arthur, over the years, increasingly deliberate in his speech and actions, and increasingly exacting regarding the truth in even his most casual reportage." (Guterson 30). Arthur is, the entirety of his life, but mainly the last years of his existence, creating a balance on the Island of San Pedro. He has kept the atmosphere between both "sides", the majority and minority, somehow within limits of rational behaviour. His influence in the anti-xenophobic thinking is great mainly thanks to the medium of newspapers. He is not afraid to be vocal when it comes to the unfair treatment imposed on the minorities, due to the composition of inhabitants on the island and with regard to the conflict, mainly Japanese at the time.

Arthur's war extra included an article entitled 'Japanese Leaders Here Pledge Loyalty to America,' in which Masato Nagaishi, Masao Uyeda, and Zenhichi Miyamoto, all strawberry men, made statements to the effect that they and all other island Japanese stood ready to protect the American flag. They spoke on behalf of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Japanese-American Citizens' League, and the Japanese Community Center, and their pledges, said the Review, were 'prompt and unequivocal,' including Mr. Uyeda's promise that 'if there is any sign of sabotage or spies, we will be the first ones to report it to the authorities.' (Guterson 160)

Among all these pliant fellow citizens, Arthur stands out because of his courage to actually speak his mind and express his opinions and ideas despite the fact he realises might not be a popular one. He wants to show people that the ethnic Japanese citizens do not want to cause any trouble; at first he writes about their participation in communal life, their determination and diligence and later he stresses their involvement in protecting the United States, as that is their home, and their bravery when supporting the defence. As stated before, based purely on the fact that they are members of a certain ethnic background does not mean they automatically

agree with every political decision their former country makes. However, it becomes increasingly difficult to fight the xenophobic tendencies as racial paranoia grows stronger and stronger each day of the war. The situation escalates, in Arthur's case, when people refuse to read his newspaper, accusing him of siding with the traitors and threatening him with anonymous phone calls. (Guterson, 184). Arthur refuses to succumb to despair and maintains his confidence in publishing what he considers right. This exact example shows just how easy it is for people to be influenced by the sentiments of the society in such extreme situations, which is in this case magnified by the insular location. As shown in Arthur's words, which are reminisced by Ishmael towards the end of the book.

[I]sland life, limited as it was by surrounding waters, which imposed upon islanders certain duties and conditions foreign to mainlanders. An enemy on an island is an enemy forever, he'd been fond of reminding his son. There was no blending into an anonymous background, no neighboring society to shift toward. Islanders were required, by the very nature of their landscape, to watch their step moment by moment. (Guterson 385)

He is well aware of the weaknesses islanders are prone to but never really loses hope for them. Finally, the majority of Japanese American citizens appear at his funeral to honour his memory as a result of the support they received from Arthur in terms of fair treatment and good manners. Although Arthur spends his life defending rights of those aggrieved and trying to bring his son up in the same way, hoping he would be like minded, Ishmael does not take after his father much in this respect. His secret love affair with Hatsue only fuels the fear of manifesting his beliefs, which is later supported by the traumatic war experience. However, Arthur is willing to sacrifice his passion and profession in order to defend the rights of others, which is clearly demonstrated by his refusal to stop publishing when he is threatened by other islanders. He thus remains one of the model characters in the book.

4.5.3 Nels Gudmundsson

The attorney of Kabuo Miyamoto, an old half blind decrepit lawyer, is one of the few characters to defend the Japanese. Through his case he manages to, very subtly and precisely, in a juridical way, emphasise racial based statements and ensure the

jury creates the right image of his defendant; not one denigrated by the testimony of some Islanders or racist innuendos of the prosecutor. He frequently tries to keep Alvin Hooks in place by raising objections towards his racially motivated questions, which are purposefully formulated to induce fear against the Japanese. One of Nels's strengths is striking intelligence, which he makes good use of during the legal proceedings. Although he is on almost every occasion throughout the book described as old, weak and ill, his mind is of startling clarity. His brain is not failing him although to his dislike, it is the only thing he can fully rely on at his age. But it is the most crucial in terms of the trial. Only because of it he could gradually persuade the jury of Kabuo's innocence. Nels is a high-principled man, who would never abase himself to insult anybody explicitly. His ability to choose the right words and when needed, deliver a quick blow to his opponent is what distinguishes him from others and makes him successful in spite of his age. It is just as well that it is him who defends Kabuo, while Nels is a supreme example of the fact that you cannot judge a man by his appearance alone. He urges the jurors to look beyond what they can see with their eyes. His final speech emphasises his defendant's achievements and furthermore elevates Kabuo's loyalty towards the state while encouraging the jury to disregard any racist comments and take care to examine the matter closely, with an unbiased, open mind. 'The counsel for the state has proceeded on the assumption that you will be open, ladies and gentlemen, to an argument based on prejudice ... He is counting on you to act on passions best left to a war of ten years ago.' (Guterson 366). It could most certainly be argued, just like in Alvin's case, he is acting in this manner because it is a matter of work and it is his job to defend the accused man. However, in Nels' case compared to Alvin's, some evidence could be seen which contradicts this conjecture. At the very end of the trial, when the jurors are dismissed to think about the verdict, he talks to Ishmael and mentions briefly his father. "I ever tell you how much I liked your father? Arthur was one admirable man. ... Let's pray for the right verdict in the meantime." (Guterson 374). That is quite clearly an evidence of his honourable character. There are other instances when Nels acts kindly, such as when he tries to persuade Abel to give Kabuo and Hatsue some space to talk in between the sessions. "Why don't you stand where you can watch, Abel? But give these people some privacy." (Guterson 70). Nels continues to urge him by saying: "You know darn well Mrs. Miyamoto isn't going to slip Mr. Miyamoto any kind of weapon. Back off a little. Let them talk." (Guterson 70). He is thereby taking

responsibility for their honest actions and essentially vouches for Hatsue. On the grounds of these statements, Nels could be conclusively considered a through and through positive character.

4.5.4 Susan Marie

Carl Jr's wife, Susan Marie, is one of the non-prejudiced characters on the island. She has always been open and warm to the Japanese citizens and treated them with respect. When Kabuo comes to see her husband to talk about the property, she welcomes him, attends to him, offers coffee and does her best to make him feel at home. She is a gentle woman, frequently goes to church and engages in charitable activities, which shows the level of kindness and sympathy. She is compassionate thus the dispute over the land between Kabuo and her husband worries her. Her concern grows stronger when she hears Carl referring to Kabuo as "the Jap", even after her reminder that they used to be friends and he should have some respect for him (Guterson, 261). By encouraging Carl to remember the good old times when they were boys, playing with each other and not thinking about any racial differences she aims to ease the tension and the sentiment generated by it. She is repeatedly approaching her husband in order to calm his resentment and speak softly and kindly to him. Susan Marie is therefore throughout the book described as a positive character. Yet there is a moment when Art Moran comes to inform her about the bad news about her husband's accident, when she says "I knew this would happen one day." (Guterson 65). Whether this is addressing Kabuo and whether she means anything bad against him could only be argued over while there is no further explanation of it in the book nor is given any evidence to base assumptions on.

4.5.5 Carl Heine, Sr.

Carl senior is a decent, kind-hearted, good minded man, who categorises people according to the amount of work they do and how they behave rather than being weary of any of them just because the colour of their skin differs from his own. He employs the Miyamoto family on his strawberry fields and it is this way he comes to know them more. Carl discovers that the Miyamoto's are a good family, hardworking and well-mannered people who live quietly and do not make problems. He is not prejudiced and that is why he agrees to make a deal with Zenhichi when he comes to ask about the acquisition of seven acres of Carl's land. Talking to his wife about it, Carl states the obvious: "to me it don't make one bit of difference which way it is their

eyes slant. I don't give a damn 'bout that, Etta. People is people, comes down to it. And these are clean-living people. Nothing wrong with them.” (Guterson 104, 105). Because Etta keeps inciting Carl more and more to be increasingly aware of the differences between them and the “Japs”, what happens is that he becomes reserved towards her opinions. He realises how racist her views are and the way she has changed. To him she has become a bitter woman over the years. He sees the growing distance between Etta and him which makes him uneasy. However, he does not let this influence any of his decisions concerning the land. When Zenhichi comes to seek Carl after the internment is announced, he wants to negotiate the last two payments. However, Carl refuses to accept the money as he wants to ease their situation as much as possible.

One way or another you get your payments finished, maybe down the road somewhere, everything comes out like it should in the long run. Everything comes out satisfactory. But right now you got deeper things to think about. You don't need us bending your ear about payments. You got plenty to do 'thout that. And anything I can do, help you get your things all ready, you let me know, Zenhichi.’ (Guterson 115)

He is fighting his battle with Etta and resists her persuasion. Carl behaves justly to the Miyamoto's throughout his life and does not fail to offer comforting to Zenhichi when he comes anxious about the seven acres of land, which he is so close to obtaining. Zenhichi feels obliged and remains utterly grateful to him. Similarly to Arthur Chambers, he is willing to make a gesture in order to help the Japanese in times of need. Both these men believe in good people and race is no indicator in such respect. Carl cooperates on Arthur's articles about the Japanese minority published in the San Pedro Review and Arthur never forgets to mention it. “[a]nd Carl Heine, Sr., without whom none of this would have been possible.” (Guterson 152). The two of them share many other qualities, among which is the way they become models for the community but failed to transfer it onto their sons. It is interesting that Guterson generally describes the fathers in *Snow Falling on Cedars* as men of high principles, fair and kind hearted, as opposed to the mothers, who come across as more or less racist. Carl, however, has no trace of xenophobic behaviour at any point of the story. Although there are not as many opportunities

offering a thorough description, from what is shown, he remains high principled until his death.

5 Conclusion

The first conclusive remark should attest to the fact that Guterson's novel is a meticulously researched piece of fiction within a real historical setting. *Snow Falling on Cedars* is beyond reproach and factual references to laws or historic events are entirely accurate, which in consequence helps with the research relevant to this paper.

In the first part of the thesis, the theoretical support of the topic has been laid out and shows major differences between the basic types of xenophobia and draws an outline for the analysis to follow. It defines the sources of xenophobic behaviour which helps with the determination of xenophobia during character analysis in the main part. It delineates the notion of nativism and shows examples of racist, nativist and war induced xenophobic behaviour in American literature. It also establishes background knowledge of the period and historic context. The contrasting theories of unification are explained in detail and provide a necessary foundation for understanding the concept of diversity in the United States. It also offers an insight into the problem of dual loyalty, which became an issue after the two countries entered war.

The main objective of the practical part of the thesis was to apply theoretical groundwork in order to differentiate the types of xenophobia of the main characters of David Guterson's *Snow Falling on Cedars*. Close reading of the relevant passages of the novel has shown that many characters may be legitimately seen as suffering from a war-induced paranoia, rather than a nativist based xenophobia. That supported the original assumption which suggests that a war conflict has a major impact on the behaviour of the non-combatant population and, more specifically, it tends to amplify the xenophobic charge of "dual loyalty", which may be seen as endemic to all multicultural societies. However, the book also features characters who are influenced by the profession they administer, with very little textual evidence to suggest that their approach to the Japanese community is the result of their personal preferences or prejudices (war-induced or otherwise). That is the case of the investigator Art Moran, prosecutor Alvin Hooks or attorney Nels Gudmundsson. Art Moran is in the end described as a person, which is easily influenced and therefore represents the general majority. Alvin is perceived as racist; however, the insufficient

evidence to support this perception prevents the verdict from being resolute. Finally, Nels is found to be a positive character and meets the perception and expectation of his role of the defence lawyer.

In conclusion, the fundamental problems laid out at the beginning of the thesis were through the research met with correspondent solutions. The situation of Japanese Americans during the Second World War was described and the differences in paranoid behaviour appropriately identified and explained.

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