Thesis Report

The Discursive Remembering of Japanese Americans' Difficult Heritage

Studying the Discursive (re)production of Memories through a Story Completion Methodology

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Declaration and Disclaimer

I, Shou De Zhang, declare that except for the works of other authors duly acknowledged, this research is the result of my own original study under the supervision of Trista Chih-Chen Lin towards the award of MASTER OF SCIENCE IN TOURISM, SOCIETY AND ENVIRONMENT (MTO). This thesis is a student report produced as a part of the Master Programme Tourism, Society, and Environment. It is not an official publication, and the content does not represent the official position of Wageningen University & Research Center.

Acknowledgment

The pursuit of learning has set me freer than I have ever been and given me access to fresher air than I have ever breathed. When I tried to remember my life 25 long months ago, I cannot clearly recall my bachelor's graduation preparation nor what it was like to study for my final BSc exams because I spent the majority of my time doing mental gymnastics trying to write the best possible personal statement for this graduate school application. I have never felt such adrenaline from wanting—the wanting to learn more about the world we share and learn how to help this shared world. A bit closer to today, 22 months ago, I received an e-mail with the greeting "Dear upcoming MLE-students," a euphoric moment I cherish to this day. Fast forward to now, zooming past the scenes of caffeine addiction that no black coffee could satisfy, past the scenes of truly wonderful group projects, I arrive at today where this thesis report will conclude the last my time at Wageningen University & Research. Together with the MTO class of 2020, I am certain that we will rise up to face the challenges of our time.

I would like to express my gratitude to the people who helped me along this journey because this thesis research would not have been possible without their support and guidance. Firstly, I would like to thank my mother and my aunt 谢谢你门对我付出了的一切. 我今年的学业成绩是全家移民十多年付出的汗泪付出中凝结的钻石. To my academic mentor, Trista Chih-Chen Lin, thank you for your patient guidance and encouragement during a time of great uncertainty. Lastly, to my dearest friends Pearl, Nine, Anissa, Aga, and Wushama, thank you for your endearing words of encouragement throughout the steepest and most treacherous parts of this journey.

May Peace Prevail on Earth.

Shou De Zhang
Los Angeles, California
08 August, 2020

Abstract

Critiques against immigration policies in the United States often find argumentative reference in the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War. When memories of that time are summoned to justify one's argument, the meanings (re)produced are often taken for granted. In contribution to this knowledge gap, this research constructed a framework of mnemonic (re)production at the juxtaposition of critical discourse analysis and memory to extend the understanding of how meanings of past time are (re)produced through the manipulation of memories. This research finds that various combinations of memories that speak to victimhood, resilience, loyalty, and never again are used via deletion, addition, repetition, and judgment to produce a dominant meaning of that particular history. Methodologically, this research employs the novel Story Completion method to navigate the fieldwork limitations imposed in the wake of COVID-19. By extending the Story Completion method into the topic of memories and heritage, this research revealed the strengths and weaknesses of such an application. The research recommends that future attempts to explore difficult heritage using story completion should carefully weigh the opportunity cost of the emotional distance from the target population.

Keywords*: difficult heritage, memory, discourse, story completion*

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Abbreviations

442nd CRT	442nd Regimental Combat Team
ANC	Army Nurse Corps
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
FoM	Friends of Minidoka
JA	Japanese American
MC	Manzanar Committee
MIS	Military Intelligence Service
NPS	National Park Service
U.S.	United States of America
WAC	Women's Auxiliary Corp
WWII	World War 2

Chapter I: Introduction

The United States of America is hailed in its national public education as the land of the free, home of the brave, melting pot of culture, and a society that thrives because of its diversity. Museum has long put the American ethnic and cultural diversity on a pedestal. However, obscurity subsists, where the spotlight of celebration does not shine. In the backdrop of these celebrations of diversity and national progress are the histories and memories of when the country infringed upon the civil rights of people whose collective intersectional existence summed to diversity. This research focuses on the history of the United State's incarceration of all people of Japanese ancestry during the Second World War. Which to this day, it remains a highly meaningful and contested memory. Whereby the wrongful citation leads to condemnation by the Japanese American civil organizations who claim authority over the topic[1] , and the correct citation serves as rallying cries to mobilize citizens to take to the streets.[2]

In retrospect, since the beginning of the redress movement in 1978, new meanings were and continues to be renegotiated into the representation of this difficult heritage. The contested representations are reflected through Park's examination of U.S. government documents, where Park's results indicate a clear change in tone and diction in official documents that responded to public opinion in their times (2004). This contestation of meaning over the representation of history is coined by Macdonald as 'difficult heritage' to highlight the contestation around the representation of controversial history (2009). The redress movement also includes the approved proposal to preserve ten former incarceration camps under national historic landmark status.[3] This nationalization process was argued by McStotts to have had an impact on shifting the memory of minorities to complement the majority (2007), consequently entangling materiality into the meaning-making processes of this difficult heritage.

The juxtaposition of memory and material landscape are studied under the terminology of memoryscape, which Muzaini and Yeoh describe as a landscape of contested meaning, with each "seeking to defend – discursively and materially – its historical memory as the bonafide one" (2005, pg. 346). In other words, there are many ways of viewing this world; some ways of viewing the world are more commonly shared by people and others not as much. Each way of viewing also comes with their meanings and ways through which people communicate their meaning to others. Following the above introduction of difficult heritage and memoryscape, places the scope of this research at the crossroad of heritage and memory where meanings are both discursively (re)produced as the tangible and intangible (Viejo-Rose, 2015). Between difficult heritage and memoryscape lies the commonality in their attempts to describe the discursive representation and contestation of history. In this process of representation, memories of the past are selected, (re)produced, and assigned meanings in the present.

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[1] Manzanar Committee. "Falling Back on the Model Minority Myth Will Not End Anti-Asian Racism, Xenophobia, Violence", 06 April, 2020. Available HTTP: < manzanarcommittee.org/2020/04/06/yang-wapo/ > [Accessed 30 July, 2020].

[2] Manzanar Committee. "Manzanar Committee Members Show Their Support at Wilson Park Rally", 07 July, 2020. Available HTTP: <manzanarcommittee.org/2020/07/27/wilson-park> > [Accessed 30 July, 2020].

[3] JACL. "The Japanese American Incarceration: The Journey to Redress", n.d. Available HTTP: <jacl.org/redress>[Accessed 30 July, 2020].[4] Schwartz, A. 1979. Patriotism Admist Prejudice. Honors Thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Similarly, critical discourse analysis equips research with the framework to reveal the patterns of how language is used in meaning production (Caballero Mengibar, 2015). In the application of critical discourse analysis to the difficult heritage of Japanese Americans allowed the researcher to connect both difficult heritage and memoryscape into the scope of this research.

As has been noted, these contestations surrounding the difficult heritage of Japanese American WWII experiences led to the question of what are the discourses involved? What memories are used to create the meanings, and through what processes are the memories discursively (re)produced? By viewing memory as a resource within the totality of all memories, this research investigated the (re)production processes through which the mnemonic resource is (re)produced into tangible and intangible constructs. This research used story completion as the primary method of data collection, whereby participants are asked to fill in the blanks to a designed story. As a projective method, story completion, allowed the researcher to access 'hidden' feelings and assumptions surrounding the sensitive topic (Clarke et al., 2019). Through the combination of theories and methods introduced, this research examined the discursive selection of Japanese American WWII memories and the following textual/material products onto which meanings are (re)produced.

1.1 Problem Statement

The purpose of this research w to understand the meaning-making processes behind Japanese American WWII memories. As Japanese American civil organizations take on a firm stance against policy decisions of the current U.S. administration, Japanese American incarceration memories are revigorated on the fronts of Black Lives Matter, immigration camps at the border of Mexico, public harassments against Chinese Americans and more. All while the insertion of the Japanese American difficult heritage into broader American social issues appears seemingly natural and meanings taken-for-granted. This research challenged the taken-for-granted meanings and used Critical Discourse Analysis to explore the process of difficult heritage, meaning (re)production in the context of Japanese American's WWII history.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The objective of this research was one of both theoretical and methodological. Theoretically, this research was aimed to contribute to the understanding of present-day discourses surrounding the Japanese American WWII experience and how the discourses are (re)produced. Methodologically, this research aimed to explore the applicability of a projection-based method of story completion. Story completion is a projection methodology with roots in psychoanalytic and has recently taken hold in social science frameworks, predominately in studies concerning gender and sexuality, to explore sociocultural meanings (Clarke et al., 2019). The methodology of story completion will be elaborated later in Section 5.1. The central research question and sub research questions are:

***Main Research Question**:* What are the mnemonic resources surrounding Japanese American experiences of World War II, and how are discourses mnemonically (re)produced through stories and online interpretation of memoryscapes?

***Sub Research Question 1**:* What discourses exist around the remembering of Japanese American's experiences during World War II?

***Sub Research Question 2**:* How are the identified discourse(s) mnemonically(re)produced through the stories?

***Sub Research Question 3**:* How are discourses mnemonically (re)produced in online interpretations of memoryscapes?

The structure of this thesis research is as follows. Chapter I has now presented the problem statement, and the research question aimed to address a knowledge gap by investigating the taken-for-granted (re)production of memories. Chapter two provides a historical overview of Asian American and Japanese American history to contextualize the research topic. Chapter three presents the results of the literature review and will define the key concepts used in the theoretical framework, which will be discussed in Chapter four. Chapter five explains the methodological design of this research, the process of data collection and analysis, as well as the changes that were made during the fieldwork period. Chapter six dives into the findings of data analysis. Chapter seven leads a discussion of research findings, a reflection on the applicability of the story completion method, and limitations. Chapter eight concludes this thesis report and offer suggestions for future research.

Chapter II: Historical Context

Following the suggestion of Caballero Mengibar (2015) that "to fully unveil the meaning contained in the discourses at any time in history, present or past, the researcher must above all understand the context at its fullest" (p.40). This section is, therefore, an affirmation of Caballero Mengibar (2015) and Hook's (2011) argument that CDA requires contextualization of history because this research is situated in complex social conditions. The role of contextualizing this history is to improve the quality of the research and was useful in the construction of the story completion method. The writing of this chapter is the result of a continuous process which took place from the stages of literature review until data analysis. The writings in this section are by no means an attempt to (re)produce a full retelling of Asian and Japanese American history, as that is beyond the scope of this research.

History of Japanese American Incarceration

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, bolded letters printed on paper of a vintage look is a microcosmic motif – one of the first few graphical illustrations one would come across when they first explore the topic of Japanese American incarceration. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) ran ten exclusion centers, some of which also interred Germans, Aleuts, and Italians. McStotts (2007) highlighted that while the majority of Germans and Italians interned were foreign nationals, an estimated two-thirds of people of Japanese ancestry held American citizenship. To understand the historical context of this topic, as Hayashi (2003) argues, the incarceration of Japanese Americans cannot be understood without the pretext of colonialization, and anti-Asian sentiment in earlier American history.

The Yellow Peril

To better understand the memory of Japanese American incarceration, this section will discusse the growth and (de)growth of the East Asian population in the U.S. Since the 19th century, in the era of realizing the American Manifest Destiny – a view that the US was destined to grow its territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, witnessed an influx of Asian immigration, particularly people of Chinese origins who constructed railroad tracks in the west. Tchen and Yeats (2014), explain that growing inequality between economic classes turned racial and fed into the belief of the 'the enemy within,' creating social conditions for the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 which illegalized the immigration of Chinese workers and would remain in effect until 1943. The authors also point the roots of the Yellow Peril to "the idea of 'unassimilable' foreigners… unfit for participation in American democracy" (ibid). The federal decision to prohibit further immigration of Chinese workers created a window of opportunity for Japanese immigrants to fulfill the vacuum of a cheap laborer force. In the San Gabriel Valley of Southern California along, Japanese Americans would come to dominate the workforce in wholesale and agriculture but were expected to be contained in segregation (Ling, 2012). While on the one hand, the Chinese Exclusion Act has come to represent the intentional legislation that discriminatingly targeted and affected people of Chinese origins; the raid on Pearl Harbour would soon turn the attention of the nation to people of another Asian origin.

Incarceration

Decades leading up to the infamous December 7, 1941; as the above section has explained, the Nikkei community in the U.S. had grown despite restrictions on mobility, as well as land ownership and U.S naturalization. Inada (2008) shares that 127,000 Japanese Americans lived in the U.S. – Of which, 93,000 lived in California, and 19,000 lived in Washington and Oregon. Within hours following the raid, agents of the state carried out mass targeted arrests of community and religious leaders, business owners, and any Japanese American suspected of ties to Imperial Japan. Bank accounts of Nikkei born in Japan were frozen, curfews imposed, unannounced private resident searches were enacted in the ten weeks to follow.

Actions of the executive branch of government were acknowledged into legislation on February 19, 1942, when President Franklin Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. This permitted the forced removal of all people of Japanese ancestry living in Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona (Inada, 2008); areas essential to the U.S war machine infrastructure were given the utmost priority in the operationalization of the executive order. Inada explains that in the weeks that following the signing of EO9066, Nikkei were "instructed to secure or sell their houses and possessions and report to designated civil control stations" at which they were "registered and labeled, then herded into buses and trains and taken to temporary detention centers (2008, p.7). Situated in the California Owen Valley, the Manzanar camp originally functioned as a sorting center at which Japanese Americans were held for temporary shelter before moved to a more permanent camp. Between March 21, 1942, and November 21, 1945, Manzanar alone witnessed 10,046 detainees on its premises (McStotts, 2007). Using the previously mentioned numbers, a rough 12.6% of all Japanese Americans in the U.S. have spent time at Manzanar. In total, sixteen temporary detention centers and ten incarceration camps were to be used; the last of the camps closed in March of 1946.

Japanese American and the Military

Japanese Americans were removed from the armed forces in January 1942 and did not get to serve in the military until February 1943, when roughly 1,110 American-born Japanese volunteered to serve. Together they formed the 442nd RCT and served on the Italian front. The 442nd RCT earned a total of 9,486 Purple Hearts, 21 Medals of Honour, and seven Presidential Unit Citations. "The two Japanese-American combat teams were the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, which was mostly formed by Nisei from the mainland, and the 100th Infantry Battalion composed mostly of Nisei from Hawaii. There was a total of 18,000 individual decorations awarded to the 442nd. Almost 600 men were killed in the 442nd, and over 3,000 men wounded." [4]

Nationalizing the Memory

In 1992, after decades of neglect, a former incarceration camp under the California Sierra Nevada – Manzanar, was established as a National Historic Site. In 2002, across other spaces of

[4] Schwartz, A. 1979. Patriotism Admist Prejudice. Honors Thesis, University of Colorado, Boulder.

Nikkei incarceration memory, Manzanar had enjoyed the highest level of investment in terms of protection, preservation, and interpretation (McStotts, 2007). The National Park itself offers 27 points of interest, most accessible by driving, that introduces various aspects of the camp life (e.g., garden, factory, judo dojo). Notwithstanding the seemingly omnipotent appearance of the National Historic Site, the process of its materialization was riddled with challenges from actors across different scales of identity. Hayashi (2013) investigation into the designation processes that took Manzanar from an abandoned and disassembled federal land, to a California Historic Landmark, to a U.S. National Historic Site. This nationalization effort to discursively materialize particular memory of Manzanar not only created conditions for which past water resource conflicts between the local indigenous Native American community and Los Angeles County, but also made visible of the different meanings people had towards Manzanar and memories of incarceration. Hayashi explains that The Japanese American Citizens League – a dominant political organization representing Japanese Americans, The Manzanar Committee, and the Landmark Advisory Committee formed a collaborative effort to realize the designation efforts (2013). The proposition plaque interpretation created a series of the contest over terminology led by disagreements on the usage of 'concentration camp.' A myriad of terminology plagued the definition of the place: evacuation camp, relocation camp, incarceration camp, prison, incarceration camp, and concentration camp (McStotts, 2007). McStotts argues that from the perspective that Japanese people needed protection from other demographics during the war, it would be appropriate to consider them 'evacuated' (ibid). From the official federal justification of military necessity then 'relocation' is adequate, and incarceration and prison are legally to describe holding places under the Department of Justice; incarceration is appropriate when detainee are enemy aliens (ibid). This research will refer to these camps as incarceration camps and will refer to the people who lived inside as incarcerees. This choice of diction reflected upon in Chapter 5.4 Reflection of Positionality.

In the upscaling process (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2007), the U.S. government investigated the available mnemonic resources and carefully selected what memories to nationalize (Hayashi, 2013). The effort was difficult because, strict censorship at the time of the operation of the camp limited the written, photographic, and film materials to limit a complete telling of memories (ibid), reaffirming the claim Schwartz and Cook (2002) makes about the archives and power relationships. In an analysis of legislative processes behind the nationalization of the 'Manzanar Relocation Center,' Hayashi (2013) shares that despite the presence of Native American groups in the region leading back to at least 600 B.C., discussions of how to represent this marginalized history did not make it into the testimony at the subcommittee table. Hayashi points out that, the general process of national memory production tends to 'absorb the meaning of individual and group histories, especially when that group represents an ethnic minority" and that in this case, the local history must fit into the theme of American nation-building (2013, p. 55). The dominant memory at Manzanar is, in theory, dark and of a shameful past (ibid). In practice, Hayashi argues that this form of remembrance instead is paid attention to a progressive tone of American History that highlights The Civil Liberties Act of 1988 and redress to the survivors.

Before the nationalization effort, the majority of camp structures were in disarray due to intentional dismantled, in ruins due to neglect, or have been sold off to neighboring communities.

Hays, the superintendent of Manzanar National Historic Site in his field report (2003), explains that due to the proximity of the place to nature-based tourism destinations in the region, to the tourists 'the camps seem more like a summer camp in the mountains" (p. 75). These architectural reconstructions were pushed by the Japanese American community to reframe the experience. Today, the Mess Hall, a few barracks, and an auditorium serve as the central interpretive locations (McStotts, 2007). Beyond the textual, Ladino (2015) approached Manzanar using non-representational theory and explained extensively about her embodied affective dissonance of the reconstruction and natural environment. Notably, the irony of a confined camp situated in the vastness of the Owens Valley beside the (re)creation of an 'all-American lifestyle' in detainment. The affective dissonance was highlighting the invisible conflicts in the (re)constructed environment.

Chapter III: Literature Review

This research builds on existing literature in difficult heritage, memory, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Difficult heritage and memoryscape informed this research to conceptualize the relationship between discourse and remembering. This literature review presents the current discussion of difficult heritage, discourse, and memory, and memoryscape to tie the topics together. The literature review of CDA follows and lays the groundwork of this research's theoretical framework of mnemonic resource and mnemonic (re)production [to be discussed in the next chapter]. Lastly, the literature review will introduce the 'recontextualization' (von Leeuwen, 2008) framework, which will be incorporated into the mnemonic (re)production framework later.

3.1 Difficult Heritage

Difficult Heritage coined by Logan and Reeves (2009) refers to the "atrocities perpetrated and abhorred by the nation that committed them, rather than emphasizing times of the nation's glorious achievement, or times when it had struggled against threats to its continuity" (p. 6). While it is similar to the academic terminologies of difficult heritage, dark tourism (Lennon & Foley, 2000) and thanotourism (Seaton, 1996) all aim to describe the consumption of the more deathly and dark aspects of history (McDonald, 2016). Difficult heritage is unique in a sense that it does not solely focus on contestation around the practice of remembering. In other words, the 'difficult' characteristic of difficult heritage emerges from the existence of conflicting ways in which people remember a particular place or time (McDonald, 2016). In this sense, the framing of difficult heritage allows research to focus on the socio-cultural transformation as well as how people respond to the public representation of complicated histories (ibid).

The choice behind the decisions of "what should we remember?" does not exist independently from the social, cultural, and political world it is embedded. Instead, it is discursive where meanings and practices are constructed from and simultaneous construct the interactions of people and the world they live in (Crotty, 1998; cited in Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004). McDonald (2016) argues that remembering one's difficult heritage has given states and institutions to 'emphasis their new birth and break with the past.'

3.2 Memory and Discourse

Nguyen (2013) argues that total memory, the complete recollection of everyone's experiences are impossible; Schumacher (2015), Pitcher (2006), and Kappler (2017) articulates the same argument claiming that partial and selective remembering are inevitable. In this sense, power is inherently embedded by actors privileged with access to memory resources, as they have the power to manipulate what is presented to others (Nguyen, 2013). This ownership of power of manipulation over memories, and how "society seeks evidence of what its core values are and have been, where it has come from, and where it is going" (Schwartz & Cook, 2002, p. 1). This process of evidence finding can be understood as the process of adding memories that align with the intended discourse and the deletion of memories that contradicts it (Nguyen, 2013). Addition and deletion may seem as binary opposites; however, they are two sides of the same coin. Just as

Foucault (1981) argued, in these processes of remembering "production and exclusion, are inseparable" (cited in; Hook, 2001). Waterton agrees that "…as quickly as that past is pulled into view and remembered, alternatives slip away and are forgotten" (2014, p.8). In other words, addition and deletion both "conceal as much as it reveals (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2007, p.1290).

3.3 Memoryscape

Hook argues that CDA research needs to examine the material spaces as these "institutions, social structures and practice that limit and constrict the free flow of discourse, that both reinforce and renew it…" (2001 p.104). The material spaces of memory have been studied under the coined term memoryscape. Memoryscape refers to the clusters of spaces that people relate to and narrate the past (Kappler, 2017). Because memoryscapes emerge out of the complex and intersectional social conditions, they obtain their narrative and significance through their relationship to discourses (Massey, 2005). It is for that reason, memoryscape is always contested and therefore changing (Kappler, 2017). Because the social conditions are everchanging, Osborne (2017) argues that while monuments are built with the intension to display strength and permanence, their presence, in fact, "render the memory of their creators vulnerable and open to contestation" (p.1).

These contestations of memoryscape can be seen as a manifestation of the contested difficult heritage. In other words, the material (re)production of one discourse creates material spaces for discourses to reinforce, challenge, and therefore transform it. Through these contestations, the (re)production of memory in physical forms can lead to the construction of materialities that (re)produce the desired meaning (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2007). It is through these flows of discourse that memories "move outside of a small circle" (Nguyen, 2013, p.162). The interpersonal flow of meaning exemplifies that memories are (re)produced through memoryscapes.

The preceding sections have established discourse as the theoretical connection cutting between difficult heritage and memoryscape. Mowforth & Munt argue that the concept of discourse is useful when studying how a topic is talked about and its representation to others (2009). Hereafter, Michael Foucault's concept of Critical Discourse Analysis (1980) will be discussed in the section below to make a case for its applicability to academic explorations of history, memory, and power.

3.4 Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse is the expression of how 'facts' are communicated via materiality and language that the use of language influences the way we perceive the world (Friedrich, 2011). Power is involved because these discursive constructions of reality are confined "to serve the interest of a particular historical and social context" (van Leeuwen, 2008). The use of language is not only a representation of one's mind, but it is also action-oriented (Paulus & Lester, 2016). Therefore, remembering is as much as the content of what is remembered, as it is an action. While the remembering and retelling of memories vary in content, lengthiness, and perhaps truthfulness, they are united in the discourses they seek to represent (van Leeuwen, 2008).

Ainsworth and Hardy (2004) cite du Gay (1996) that CDA is defined as knowledge production and institutionalization through processes of language and representation that both shape existing social practices and bring forth new ones. In that, interpersonal acts of remembering through stories and (re)construction of memoryscapes are ways through which social practices and represented and renewed. Furthermore, CDA situates on the concepts of knowledge, materiality, and power as opposed to other schools of discourse analysis (Hook, 2011). This assumption allows CDA to study dominant meanings that are discursively (re)produced through the practice of remembering. In practice, Ainsworth & Hardy explains that discourse exists beyond texts and can include different socio-cultural institutions and practices that enable the production and consumption of it (2004). Hook shares the argument and substantiates that CDA rests on three core ideas: history must be contextualized, discourse is a product of social, historical and political conditions, and the incorporation of materiality to be studied as a form of discursive instrument (2011).

In the process of selecting mnemonic resources to construct a particular remembering, undesired resources that are deselected may be crucially meaningful to another in remembering things considered valuable to their social, historical, and political conditions. In other words, "over and above every opportunity for saying something, there stands a regularizing collectively…called a discourse" (Said, 1983, p. 186; cited in Hook, 2001). This selection of memories makes specific memories visible, and others invisible (Nguyen, 2013). Hence, the focus on the discourse of difficult heritage translates into an exploration of the discursive ways in which memories of difficult times are selected and represented. The above argument places the CDA at the intersection between memory, discourse, and space. Recontextualization will be discussed below to deepen the conceptualization of processes involved in the (re)production of meaning.

3.5 Recontextualization

Memory is a part of that shared meaning-making process, as MacDonald (2016) argues that "the formation of identity has often highlighted how nations draw lines of continuity back into the past…" (p. 7). No discourse nor memory exists in a vacuum of objective truth independent from the contexts of experience or background knowledge (von Leeuwen, 2008). Foucault (1981) explains that the production of these discourses is "controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed by a… number of procedures (p.52; cited in Hook, 2001). These procedures can be conceptualized better by Van Leeuwen's expanded framework of recontextualization (2008), which grounds discourse as a practice by identifying mechanisms of the discursive reproductions in texts as a social practice. Recontextualization assumes that texts are both representations of social practices and production/transformation of which they originate from (ibid). While this research is not an exploration of everyday practices, these mechanisms of discourse production serve to understand better how stories reproduce particular discourses and mute others—t provides a summary of the relevant mechanism through which discourse is reproduced and transformed through storytelling.

Table 1. Recontextualization Framework (Van Leeuwen, 2008)

Deletion	refers to the exclusion of elements. Generalization could result in the deletion of particular elements (p.18)
Addition	refers to the addition of elements (p.18)
Repetition	refers to when the same elements occur multiple times in a given text. It can be repeated using the same word, synonyms, or new expressions that slowly build up a new multi-faceted understanding of a concept. van Leeuwen refers to repetition as a process of ongoing concept formation (p.19)
Judgment	Judgment is the discursive assigning for particular values and attitudes towards a given topic. It is the combination of four concepts: reaction (p.19), purpose, legitimation (p.20), and evaluation (p.21). The concepts will be used as a whole in data analysis because its definitions are often overlapping. Reaction refers to the inclusion of the character's reactions to the events taking place in the story. Some reactions can be either particularized or generalized before given a label of 'good' or 'bad.' In other cases, the reactions themselves may be considered addition (p.19) The purpose is defined as the purpose of telling projected stories that may be differently constructed by different discourses that produce them and are reproduced by them. The purpose is not objective nor intrinsic to the events or sequence of events at hand, nor are they always explicitly mentioned (p.20). Legitimation builds upon the meaning of purpose. For example, if purpose explains the 'what for,' then legitimization explains the why. Legitimization and delegitimization go hand in hand and may play different importance of roles across different discourses. Certain discourses can be regarded as common sense and therefore be given little legitimization (p.20). Evaluation refers to a form of judgment different from legitimization. It is an evaluation of what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly – the creation and separation of binaries. This is also a "normative discourse of continuous progress toward bigger and better things that underpins so many of our institutions." The evaluation may appear as part of a reaction (p.21).

Chapter IV: Mnemonic (Re)production

This chapter builds upon the literature review on difficult heritage, memoryscape, and CDA to lay out the theoretical framework for this research. Mnemonic (re)production assumes the critical theory school of thought, to critically examine how memories are constructed as natural, and permanent in its value and meaning (Gorton, 2010). Consequently, this framework is designed with the aim to improve the understanding of the world rather than to enhance a particular way of remembering. Mnemonic (re)production views remembering as action and memory as a thing that is used as a resource to create and communicate meaning (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2007). In this understanding, the act of remembering is intrinsically discursive. In elaboration, different discourses have a multitude of meanings and (re)produce themselves using varying memories through varying ways of (re)production. Consequently, at the same time, the act of remembering is in itself an act of choice that disremember incongruent memories as an exclusion.

Mnemonic (re)production refers to the processing of memories that bring memories into the visible world (Nguyen, 2013; Taylor, 2010). These mnemonic (re)productions happen "in and out of interactions between human beings and their world and developed and transmitted within a social context" (Crotty, 1998, p.42; cited in Ainsworth & Hardy, 2006). In other words, mnemonic (re)production is the crossroad of memory and discourse, which is the 'source' and the process of how meanings are reproduced (Caballero Mengibar, 2015). It is here that (re)contextualization in Table 1 provides a richer framework to understand the 'how' meanings are produced. Namely deletion, addition, repetition, and judgment. The social contexts created by mnemonic (re)production take shape as stories (Burdelski, 2016), and memory spaces (Muzaini & Yeoh, 2005).

Mnemonic resource refers to the identifiable 'sets' of memories that share similar themes are used as a resource to reproduce what is known of the world (van Leeuwen, 2008). These 'sets' of memories are selected and excluded from the metaphorical cloud, processed through mnemonic (re)production through which one set of memory emerge above others through domination with the other sets becoming supplementary to the dominant. Mnemonic resource borrows from Nietzsche's notion of effective history, which (Hook, 2001) paraphrase as "a history of the past is essentially a work of the present, strongly anchored in the current socio-political realm, and produced as a way of understanding what happened in a previous era" (p. 533). This way, memory can be seen to exist beyond one particular time and space but are revigorated in the present when it finds relation to contemporary discourses (Massey, 2005; Kappler, 2017) through mnemonic (re)production.

Mnemonic resources are both tangible and intangible. In other words, mnemonic resources are the identifiable categories that exist within the 'cloud' of total memory. They are tangible as they are (re)produced as monuments, statues, printed/engraved interpretations, artifacts, and artistic illustrations. These physical elements of a memoryscape are embedded with a particular set of memories and interpreted meanings. The mnemonic resource can also (re)produced in the intangible realm through stories, whose meanings are also (re)produced through the design of narrative, diction, and more.

Figure 1 visualizes the relationship between mnemonic (re)production and mnemonic resources on the individual level. In this figure, the concept of mnemonic resources serves as the contextualization of history and socio-political situations within which discourses exist and selectively use/not use mnemonic resources in the (re)production of discourse. Multiple mnemonic resources could be selected for mnemonic (re)production. The selected mnemonic resources are funneled through the processes of deletion, addition repetition, and judgment to create a discursively dominant discourse supported by the other mnemonic resources put into the same 'funnel.' This framework was designed to be flexible to accommodate the data set and provided structure to the inductive data analysis.

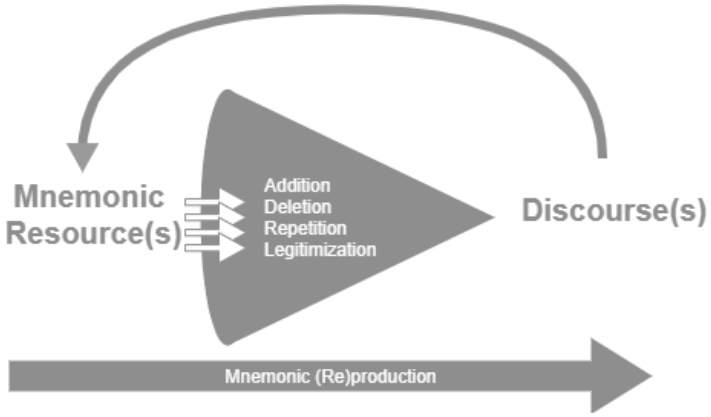

Figure 1 Mnemonic (Re)production Flowchart

Chapter V: Methodology

This chapter lays out the methodological design used in this research and the justification of its applicability to the research objective and questions. This research used qualitative data analysis to describe the social practice of remembering (Flick, 2014). Story completion was applied to collect data on the social phenomena, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used as the guiding principles for analysis. This research adopted a novel story completion method as the primary source of qualitative data because of the restrictions imposed by the government lockdown in the time of COVID-19. As discussed as the research objective, this research also aimed to probe the applicability of Story Completion to heritage studies – a reflection of this method will be discussed in Chapter VII.

5.1 Story Completion

Story completion finds its earlier roots in psychotherapy practice and developmental psychology scholarship. However, due to its difference to popular qualitative methods of interviews, this method offers a new way to collect data (Braun et al., 2019) that explores the discursive construction of a topic, especially those that are considered sensitive (Clarke et al., 2019). Story completion is drastically different from the more traditional self-report approaches that provide first-person perspectives. In contrast, story collection is a projection approach that allows researchers to access 'hidden' feelings, assumptions, and motivations projected onto the characters/scenarios (Clarke et al., 2019). While some may argue that the data collected through this method is not 'real' (Braun et al., 2019), the researcher argues that it is precisely the artificial and discursive mnemonic construction of stories that is the topic of this research. Many scholars who had studied places and memory (Hays, 2003; Friedrich, 2011; Nguyen, 2013) have all argued that stories and literature are (re)productions of social discourses.

In story completion, participants are asked to build a story in response to stems – scenarios created by the researcher (Braun et al., 2019) in fill in the blank formats. In other words, the data provides a platform for participants to 'make sense of a particular scenario" (ibid). In this research, participants are invited to complete a story about a Japanese/Japanese American character's life during WWII. The stems function as platforms for the participants to project their meaning of the topic (Kitzinger & Powell 1995). Through this process of sense-making, participants are expected to pull mnemonic resources they know to create a story that makes sense to them. Hence, this an ideal method to study the usage of mnemonic resources and meaning-making. The story stems were written in the third person as opposed to first-person because researchers cannot assume that the written words reflect the feelings of the participant without interviewing them (Braun et al., 2019). Therefore, the stories are only studied as the projection of assumptions that participants hold and the assumed feelings of the projected characters. The stems are created with a particular purpose in mind, and ambiguity was essential to their creation, as it reveals the participants' assumptions about stem (Braun et al., 2019). Instructions and references steer the participants to focus on a particular topic (Clarke et al., 2019). The following section will provide the design considerations for the stems.

5.2 Stem Quality

Overall, the plot-driving devices were designed to be major national events that set up a uniformed and chronological telling of projected stories. This is to keep the overall structure of the stories to be comparable. The final story completion survey is the product of two pilot study revisions. Pilot Study #1 took place on May 6th through informal text chats, where the researcher asked pilot participants to paraphrase the story stems from the researcher to test the understandability of the introduction and overall format of the survey. Pilot Study #2 was conducted through Survey Monkey, and data collection took place on May 8th and concluded on 12th, 2020. The purpose was to identify potential story stem issues, such as steering. Pilot participants were snowball sampled to the researchers' JA acquittances' social network. Across two days, a total of five Japanese Americans participated. On average, the story took 12 minutes to complete. The following sections elaborate on the overall design considerations for each portion of the survey, namely: survey introduction, story stems, and the participants' memories of visiting memoryscapes.

5.2.1 Survey Introduction

The finalized introduction page consisted of three components: 1) an explanation of the research. The purpose of this part was to greet the participant and introduce the research topic and methodology. 2) to provide instruction to the survey format. This part was intended to establish the participants' expectations of what they will be writing, in what depth, and for how long—3) a character selection section. The intention behind asking the participants to name the character is to engage the participant to imagine a more vivid projection of their assumptions on the topic. The name for the character – Dakota, was originally picked because it is a gender androgynous name. However in practice, the pilot results showed, all the participants projected the character as female; indicate by their choices of pronoun. Therefore in the final revision, the researcher decided to offer the choices of Hiroko [female] and Saburo [male] as names. The two names were picked because they were the most popular Japanese names during the war.[5]

Table 2. Survey Introduction (1/3)

Survey Introduction	
Research Explanation	Thank you for participating in this Master's thesis research on the topic of Japanese American memory and places of remembering. I am very grateful for your participation and hope you and your loved ones are safe and well during the COVID-19 pandemic. This research consists of two sections. The first section is the story writing component - you will be provided mini prompts with blanks to fill out. The second section - will be of a few very brief questions on your experiences with events and places that have to do with the topic of Japanese American lives during the war. To give you the story writer, the most flexibility in how the plot unfolds, the provided sentences designed to be vague.
Survey Instruction	For the next ~15 minutes, you will partake in a journey of writing a story of a fictional character's life. Feel free to exercise as little or to the full extension of your generous time; one sentence is enough. But please try not to leave pieces of stories blank. Please do not stress about the grammatical quality of the writing.
Character Selection	To begin this journey, please select a name for the character of your story. Choices: Saburo/ Hiroko

[5] Meijiyasuda Seimei hoken sōgokaisha. 2019. 'Meijiyasuda: name ranking'. Available HTTP: <https://www.meijiyasuda.co.jp/enjoy/ranking> [Accessed April 20, 2020].

5.2.2 Story Stems

The researcher used learnings from Chapter II: Historical Context and conversations with a curator from the Smithsonian Institute to inform the stem construction. Major national events were used to build the foundation of each stem as it is more likely for the participants to understand and respond to the stems.

Table 3. Story Stems (Survey 2/3).

Stem		Purpose and Considerations
Q1	Before the war, NAME lived in ___ and was a ___.	The purpose of S1 was designed to familiarize the participants with the story completion format and practice the projection approach. The character selection question and S1 are also designed to help participants better visualize the projected character they have created.
Q2	When NAME first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, he/she ___.	Whereas S1 is a practice of filling in the 'facts' about the character, S2 serves as a practice of projecting memories of emotions on the character.
Q3	A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the relocation of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. NAME ____.	This stem offers flexibility for the participants to engage with either or both mentions of events and feelings. In the pilot, participants bared no mention of Japanese American soldiers that fought in the European theatre. Therefore, S3 was revised to give a balanced introduction to reduce the steering.
Q4	During the remainder of the war, NAME ___, that was when NAME ___.	S4 follows up with the S4 by asking for the remainder of the war. It also adds room for a plot twist.
Q5	Today, NAME lives in ___ because ___.	S5 refers back to 'where is home,' intending to be analyzed in conjunction with S1. The 'because' was used to probe the participant to give a richer response to provide a reason for the characters' decision to return home or settle elsewhere.
Q6	These days, whenever people approach NAME to share memories of that time, NAME because ____.	S6 was designed to probe the feelings of the participant and how they are projected onto the characters' feelings. The researcher hoped that this could be a possible way for participants to leave more profound input.

5.2.3 Memories of Visiting a Memoryscape

The latter half of the survey inquired the participants with questions regarding their recollection of visiting spaces of memory [see Table *4*. Memory and Space (Survey 3/3)]. As storytelling is a projection technique, the purpose of this latter half was to triangulate the identified mnemonic (re)production in stories with how the participants own feeling (Caballero Mengibar, 2015). The data generated from this portion of the survey also served to collect a list of memory spaces that researchers virtually accessed to collect data for analysis. The intention behind this research decision was to follow Hook's assertion that that institutions and practices need to be included within the critical analysis of power relations (2001).

Due to the survey nature of this data collection process and the consequence of not having the opportunity to inquire follow up questions, the final questions were designed for simply written answers. The policy of social distancing placed limitations on the researcher's ability to study the physical 'scape' of memory, and hence the memoryscape refers to as online interpretations of memoryscape. The decision was to highlight that the data are collected from online interpretations of physical assets at the physical location intended to be studied. Reflection of the implication is discussed in Chapter 7.

Table *4* lists the questions aimed at answering the research question of how participants relate to spaces of memory. The survey logic in Table 4 was designed to accommodate a wide range of participant responses. By which depending on the participants response to question 1, they are routed to the appropriate next question. As it is pointless to ask a participant who had never attended any form of commemoration to share their most memorable experience at a commemorative space.

Table 4. Memory and Space (Survey 3/3)

	Survey Questions and Pathing Logic		
Q1	Have you visited museums, exhibitions, monuments, community events, and large-scale festivals that involved a program(s) on the Japanese American experience during the Second World War?		
	No, I have not.	Yes, I have been to one.	Yes, I have been to many.
Q2		What was the name of the event or place called?	Across all of your experiences of events and places on the topic of Japanese American lives during the Second World War, what is the event or place you find most memorable
Q3		What do you find the most memorable from your experience of that particular event or place, and how do you feel about it?	How do you feel about that experience you mentioned above?
Q4	On the topic of designing content for an event or place that commemorates the Japanese American lives during the Second World War, what do you think is/are the most important to be remembered?		

5.3 Data Collection

The survey was administered via SurveyMonkey from June 1st to June 14th, 2020, to selected Japanese American civil organizations, community centers, museums, and event planning firms. The contacted institutions and individuals were requested to snowball the survey to Japanese American members of their network. Only community centers responded to the research request. In total, this sampling method produced eight completed surveys. On June 7th, the researcher began the process of joining Japanese American Facebook Groups [Japanese American Roots, WWII Japanese American Incarceration History Page, All Things Japanese American] and shared links to the survey in the form of a post; this produced another six completed surveys. On June 9th, the researcher reached out via private message to active members of the mentioned Facebook groups along with friend requests. This method was not directly fruitful as it only produced four completed surveys, as most of the could-be participants of interest were wary of opening web links sent by strangers via Facebook. However, in this process of contacting Facebook group members individually, the researcher realized that there is a commonly occurring mutual acquaintance. In response, the researcher reached out to this person as a potential gatekeeper (Keesling, 2008). To which the acquaintance agreed and provided access to the respondents (ibid). Snowball sampling through the gatekeeper received another ten completed surveys to a total N = 27.

Incoherent sentences were grammatically revised to improve comprehension. Sentences that remain incomprehensible were deleted to avoid the researcher having to make a broad stroke over-interpreting those sentences.

Participants' responses on the topic of memory and space are used to generate a list of mentioned memoryscapes. This list included the following places: Japanese American National Museum,

Go for Broke monument, Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During WWII, and four incarceration camps at Heart Mountain, Manzanar, Minidoka, and Tule Lake. From this list, the researcher made the conscious decision to move forward the research with the incarceration camps. The reasons being 1) this group of comparable memoryscapes is the most mentioned, 2) online interpretations of these memoryscapes are more abundant and are actively managed as opposed to the monuments.

Data on online memoryscape was accessed by visiting the NPS and their respective local civic organizations websites. The mission statements of the organizations under examination were accessed for a more precise understanding of the intended meaning. Interpretations for Manzanar NPS and Minidoka NPS physical elements were collected primarily by visiting their respective websites under 'Plan Your Visit' then under 'Things to Do.' The tab under 'Learn about the Park' provided additional information; however, the descriptions are broad and are not necessarily attached to a particular physical remaining element at the memoryscape. The 'Plan Your Visit' tab on the Tule Lake NPS website, does not provide interpretations, so the researcher defaulted to referencing the 'Learn about the Park' section. As for Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation, its mission statement was accessed through the 'jobs' tab under the about section. Interpretations of its physical elements were accessed through the 'interpretive center' tab also under the about section. Manzanar NPS disproportionately had more online resources for data analysis, which had a direct implication on this research. Challenges faced during data collection and recommendations to delimit the challenges will be discussed in Chapter 7.

5.4 Data Analysis

CDA equipped this research to (de)construct how memories are (re)produced (Grant et al., 2004) and in conjunction with the experiences of visiting memoryscapes. This places CDA in a complimenting position with story completion, which is better suited for comparative analysis as the stems are identical across participants (Clark et al., 2019). In elaboration, CDA assumes that different actors and groups of actors consistently (re)construct identities from the changing social world they are situated (Tollefson, 2014), and that discourse is the process that drives the social construction circumstances (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) born as 'unstable products of particular historical (Hall, 1997). This acknowledgment of instability is well suited to the data collected from story completion as they are somewhat unpredictable, as it may be possible to find differences between participant groups (Clark et al., 2019).

Vertical patterning was used to explore how individual stories unfolded (Paulus & Lester, 2016). Vertical patterning served as an inductive coding process to identify various types of memories used to create stories. Once all the stories were vertically analyzed, the inductively generated codes were combined into the codes of victimhood, perpetratorhood, resilience, loyalty, and never again. The processes of mnemonic (re)production: deletion, addition repetition, and justification were applied in another round of vertical analysis to make sense of how the inductively generated codes are related, and (re)produced in each story. From here, Horizontal patterning was used to explore patterns of how the identified themes are (re)produced through similar processes and how the same identified processes (re)produce different themes. Together the two-patterning analysis explored how stories draw on and reinforce various mnemonic

resources (Clarke et al., 2019). Documentary analysis was used to analyze online interpretations of former incarceration sites that emerge from the second half of the story completion survey. Official interpretations of physical landmarks at the online memoryscapes were triangulated with the inductively generated codes.

ATLAS.ti was used as the data analysis software used for the analysis due to its merits in the management of large datasets; specifically, the functions of: documents, quotations, codes, families, and networks. These functions made ATLAS.ti suitable for inductive analysis and allow for a more transparent display of the analysis process (Paulus & Lester, 2016). The collected data was downloaded into MS Excel, re-formatted, and exported into ATLAS.ti.

5.5 Research Quality and Positionality

This research adopted a qualitative research method because the objective is to investigate the meaning-making processes behind Japanese American WWII memories and had no intentions to manipulate nor predict a singular reality (Moser & Korstjens, 2017). With this in mind, the research was designed with a series of considerations to ensure the trustworthiness of the research findings. Particularly, transferability and reflexivity are made the main guiding principles to the quality of this research. Transferability refers to the applicability and was achieved through a thick description of findings and transferring the findings in a method of triangulation with the memoryscapes' online interpretations (ibid). Reflexivity calls upon the researcher's own revaluation of assumptions and values, as well as how these factors impact the decisions made in the research processes (ibid). The researcher is aware of the co-productive nature of story completion and reflects on two research decisions diction and family memory.

Diction

The researcher is aware of the power of word choices – in particular, that euphemism and word choices disguise and manipulate reality as they discursively construct and communicate concepts between people (Chovanec, 2019). From the contestation over choices discussed in Chapter 2 Historical Context over the nationalization efforts, the researcher is aware that every diction with the intention to describe the history will inevitably project bias. The researcher as a cisgender, non-Japanese, Chinese-born American male, who does not have personal nor family memory of WWII in the U.S. – is not in a position to (re)present the experiences of 120,000 intersectional immigrants and their contemporary descendants. Therefore, the researcher has adopted the recommendations of the Japanese American Citizen League [7,600 Members as of 2016], which is endorsed by numerous civic organizations such as Densho and Pacific Citizens. [6] The researcher is aware that while power relations are involved in the representation of an ethnic minority group in a democratically diverse country, civil organizations still remain better positioned than the researcher is to have authority over the choice of diction. The following are the word choices adopted as per the JACL Power of Words Handbook (2013): Exclusion/Forced Removal (over Evacuation), Temporary detention facility (over Assembly Center), Incarceration

[6] JACL. 2016. 'Annual Report'. Available HTTP<jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/JACL-Annual-Report-2016-compressed.pdf> [Accessed July 29, 2020]

camp (over Relocation Center) and inmates held at incarceration camps as incarcerees.[7] However, the words used by the participants will not be altered. The diction choices of the participants will not be analyzed because the researcher cannot guarantee the consistency of the meaning of words.

Family Memory

Few participants communicated to the research that the characters are a reflection of their family memory. This revelation was communicated via email by one participant, and revealed through the story narrative in two other cases. In reflection of this response from the target population, the research reflected on the meaning of 'imagined' story – the wording previously used to describe the data set. 'Projected Story' was decided to better represent the nature of the memories used and directly imply the projective assumption of the Story Completion method.

Chapter VI: Findings

From a total of 27 stories, 16 participants completed the story from the perspective of Hiroko, and 11 participants completed the story from the perspective of Saburo. The majority of characters – in at least one part of the story – called California (N=15) and Washington (5) their home. The collection of stories ranges from characters who were students, teachers, storekeepers, day laborer, butcher, farmer, photographer, poets, journalists, lumberjacks, and more. The memories used extend from voluntary to forced migration, separation and reunion, returning home, and leaving the U.S. forever. The character's footprints can be found at military prisons and incarceration camps at Heart Mountain, Minidoka, Tule Lake, Fort Lincoln, and Manzanar. In this collection of stories, four participants wrote about the death of someone close to their character, and three Hirokos met their husbands in these stories. As places are constructed out of historical and simultaneous interrelations of social meaning and interactions (Massey, 1994), places also engage in the (re)production of particular memories (Friedrich, 2011). This chapter shares of the deductively identified mnemonic resources to reveal different elements of how organizations tell the story of the place.

This chapter is organized into five sections. Section 1 introduces the various roles of characters by understanding them as three distinct character identities: incarcerees, military personnel, and Japanese Americans in Japan. Section 2 presents the list of what mnemonic resources involved in how stories are narrated and memoryscapes interpreted. Section 3 presents the findings of how memories are (re)produced through the processes of deletion, addition, repetition, and judgment. Section 4 presents the finding to re-verify the projection assumption of the story completion method.

6.1 Characters

The data analysis classified the story characters into three categorizations of character identities: the incarcerees (N=18), the military personnel (N=5), and JA in Japan (N=4). Note, the

[7] JACL. 2013. 'Power of Word Handbook: A Guide to Language about Japanese Americans in World War II'. Available HTTP<jacl.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Power-of-Words-Rev.-Term.-Handbook.pdf> [Accessed July 29, 2020][8] Manzanar Committee. *'Rubber for the US War Effort: The Manzanar Guayule Project',* 30 March, 2009. Available HTTP: <manzanarcommittee.org/2009/03/30/rubber-for-the-us-war-effort-the-manzanar-guayule-project> [Accessed on 8 Aug, 2020].

incarceree and military identities overlap in some stories, as military characters were incarcerees before their enlistment into the military. In these cases, the characters are regarded as military personnel.

6.1.1 The Incarceree

Incarcerees, in this research, refer to characters who were forcibly removed and put into detention by EO 9066 to camp facilities managed by the War Relocation Authority. Within the collected stories, these facilities were mostly referred to as 'camp,' but other varieties exist as an internment camp and concentration camp. In terms of details of life within the camps, participants produced a diverse range of details stretching from emotions such as anger (Participant 7) and hope (Participant 21), to meeting husband or new friends (Participant 4), to activism (Participant 13), to the details of further forced removal (Participant 23).

> *"Saburo was interned at Minidoka. That was when Saburo felt lost, ashamed, anger"* (Participant 7).
>
> *"Saburo focused on the hope that the innocence of JAs would come to light and a better life for his family to return to"* (Participant 21).
>
> *"During the remainder of the war, Hiroko worked for the camp newspaper. That was when Hiroko met people from neighboring states"* (Participant 4).
>
> *"That was when Saburo got involved with an anti-government, pro-Japanese activist group called the Hoshi Dan"* (Participant 13).
>
> *"Hiroko and her husband were relocated to different camps because of her brother's military service in Japan— he was an admiral"* (Participant 23).

6.1.2 Military Personnel

The military role refers to JA characters who served within the U.S armed forces or voluntarily assisted in the US war effort. Historically speaking, this would refer to volunteers and draftees of the armed forces, Military Intelligence Service (MIS), Women's Auxiliary Corps (WAC), an Army Nurse Corps (ANC). However, by the interpretation of the Manzanar NPS and Manzanar Committee, this would also involve incarceree scientists who were part of the Guayule project, which developed alternatives to synthetic rubber.[8] Although, the participants made no mention of that mnemonic resource.

In total, five male characters joined the 100th/442nd, and one female character enlisted as a nurse. For the male characters, as they were not allowed to join the WAC and ANC. Without mentions of military intelligence, it is easy to distinguish the whereabouts of their service due to the mentions of the 100th/442nd (Participants 15, 19, 27), and army (Participant 23). However, as WAC and ANC both had responsibilities in the medicine and nursing, the military service of Participant 18's Hiroko remain vague.

> *"Saburo decided to enlist to prove his patriotism"* (Participant 15).

[8] Manzanar Committee. *'Rubber for the US War Effort: The Manzanar Guayule Project',* 30 March, 2009. Available HTTP: <manzanarcommittee.org/2009/03/30/rubber-for-the-us-war-effort-the-manzanar-guayule-project> [Accessed on 8 Aug, 2020].

"That was when Hiroko volunteered herself to the army to prove her loyalty towards the US and to help the US war effort" (Participant 18).

"That was when Saburo joined the 442... whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo would speak about it because he was proud of what he did" (Participant 19).

"Hiroko was interned with her children in Manzanar. That was when Hiroko 's sons joined the US Army" (Participant 23).

"A most terrible thing has finally happened, We all have to be good Americans and fo the best we can--I think that things are going to be pretty hard for the J's around here but don't won't worry-- everything is going to be all right... 1/25/42 I've got to go to the Armory to get my health examination for the army" (Participant 27; Letter from the participant's father).

6.1.3 Japanese Americans in Japan

One distinct separation between the projected stories emerges from the places that the stories play out was the incorporation of memories from JA who resided in Japan during the war. Ten participants (35%) incorporated a transnational connection between JA and Japanese nationals. Furthermore, while the majority of the participants shared stories of JA that resided in the U.S. during the war, six storytellers told the stories that partially – if not entirely – took place in mainland Japan during the war. The mention of Family was always the reason why American citizens of Japanese Ancestry were in Japan at the time.

"*Hiroko was in Japan visiting her father who after splitting up with her mom went back to Japan"* (Participant 6).

"…she was on travel in Japan… with distant relatives in Japan" (Participant 9).

"…she and her family started discussing what they should do about their eldest son who had just left for Japan" (Participant 20).

The projected characters were not only connected to Japan because it is where they lived, but four other participants wrote about how their U.S. based characters had family members living in Japan (Participant 11, 15, 23). Participant 20 added that their eldest son was on travel for Japan and had just recently embarked. Together these stories point to a broader and more globalized pool of memories. Participants cement the intersectional experience of their characters by writing more detailed accounts of their lives during the war abroad. Memories of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as American firebombing in general, was incorporated into the stories as a source of great suffering and strife. In the story told by participant 9, the participant challenged the structure of the story at stem #5 to share that the story was written in the memory of their family members [See reflection in Section 5.4]

"Hiroko [living on Kyushu island. Her father served in the Imperial Japanese Army] hoped that her family would be ok. That was when Hiroko heard about the bombing in Nagasaki" (Participant 8).

"During the remainder of the war, Hiroko went to the Mountains to stay safe from the bombings" (Participant 9).

During the remainder of the war, Saburo stayed in Tokyo but sent his daughter away to the countryside. Saburo and Kashi perished in an air raid" (Participant 12).

6.1.4 Human Connection

The story contents of the incarcerees vary in detail; however, they are similar in how the memories of community and human connection. As the connection can only exist between a minimum of two characters, side characters were introduced to (re)produce the meaning of positive human connection; particularly to family, friends, community, and strangers. Nevertheless, the different types of human connections also vary in their usage throughout the story, which functions to convey different messages. This section will detail the various types of side characters within the collection of stories.

The family was the most mentioned in the collection of stories. Communication in these stories was ways in which characters not only gain access to information but also to digest that information as some form of collective. In one story where Hiroko was too young to understand the national events, the emotional state of her parents was vaguely communicated none the less…

> *"…she rushes home to ask her parents if they heard the sad news"* (Participant 17).
>
> *"She [Hiroko] and her family started discussing what they should do about their eldest son who had just left for Japan"* (Participant 20).
>
> *"…she was too young to understand much, but she knew something was upsetting her parents"* (Participant 25).

… a source of grief as a result of uncertainty or separation

> *"…Hiroko doesn't speak of her time in Hawaii or the camps because it tore her family apart"* (Participant 20).
>
> *"… he was concerned about the safety of his family and the people of his city"* (Participant 21).

…and a source of the reason behind the location of where characters settled after the war.

> *"Today, Hiroko lives in her hometown because she wants to take care of her grandmother" (Participant 8).*
> *"Today, Hiroko lives in Los Angeles because her parents knew other Japanese Americans in LA who could help them find a place to live. Once their family resettled in LA after camp, they stayed in the same city"* (Participant 17).
>
> *"Today, Hiroko lives in Torrance, California because her family ended moving into the area"* (Participant 22).
>
> *"Today, Hiroko lives in Seattle because that is where her husband's family lives"* (Participant 28).

Friendship contrast from the aspect of the family because, as opposed to the sense of loss and reunion of the mentions of the family that's more explicitly expressed. On the other hand, friendships was written more explicitly as a positive thing that happened during a hard time or something that provided emotional relief during the war.

> *"Hiroko and other the other teenage residents of the camp try to make the most of the years they spend there by attending school and participating in activities. That was when Hiroko met many of her closest friends that she continues to stay in touch with today"* (Participant 17).
>
> *"She ran into an old boyfriend from LA who was working as a translator for the POW. He was stuck in Japan, just like her!"* (Participant 6).
>
> *"It was fun to see her friends at the canters and camp. It was fun to meet new Japanese friends"* (Participant 25).

While many protagonist characters enlisted in the US military, the soldier characters' appearance supplement the stories of JA incarcerees and JA in Japan during the war. Especially in cases where American military personnel were directly involved in helping the JA in Japan to repatriate after the war.

> *"…an American GI who befriended her and got her back to the us because of the kindness of a stranger"* (Participant 9).

> *"He made friends with American military men who helped find jobs at the base and eventually made it back to the US"* (Participant 13).

Community, in this case, refers to the depersonalized mention of neighbors and the 'community' at large. While some participants expressly referred to the JA community, others have left rather vague notions of the so-called 'community.' Nevertheless, the dominant majority of these mentions implicitly referred to the JA community.

> *"Before the war, Saburo lived in harmony and was a part of his community… Today Saburo lives in harmony because he once again feels a part of his community"* (Participant 10).
> *"When Saburo first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, he was concerned about the safety of his family and the people of his city"* (Participant 21).

> *"Today, Saburo lives in Hawai'i because the large Japanese American community remained mostly in-tact and welcomed Saburo and his family back to their Buddhist church at the end of the war"* (Participant 11).

> *"That was when Saburo decided to forgive the mistake of his government so that he could instead focus on what he could do to uplift his community"* (Participant 21).

6.2 Mnemonic Resources

This section will introduce the inductively identified mnemonic resources of Victimhood, Perpetratorhood, Resilience, Loyalty, and Never Again**.** These mnemonic resources were found to be (re)produced as well as disremembered by various participants and online interpretations of memoryscapes. Note, the various mnemonic resources identified are not necessarily (re)produced as opposition and, in some cases, mutually exist to reinforce the idea of one dominant discourse. This section also provides the written account of applying the said mnemonic resources in triangulation with interpretations in online memoryscapes, namely: watchtower, root cellar, barracks, and mess hall. While the identified assets may exist amongst many of the online memoryscapes, the interpretation and hence discourses vary across them. Whereas, Saburo and Hiroko are characters onto which participants project memories onto; the research found that in the same way memories are projected onto physical components to (re)produce specific discourses as camp structures are 'summoned' across space and time to make sense in the present. Overall, the dominant majority of physical (re)constructions in the former incarceration sites (re)produce the discourse of resilience [mess halls, root cellars, parks & gardens, baseball fields, barracks], followed by victimhood [barracks, monument, jail] and disremembering perpetratorhood [guard towers, barracks].

6.2.1 Victimhood

The mnemonic resource of victimhood emerges from a shared aspect that the non-military affiliated protagonists suffered in the 24 stories and are the dominant mnemonic resource in 13 of them. Victimhood is (re)produced through the summoning of mnemonic resources that convey a sense of wrongful conviction and unjustified infliction of pain.

> *"During the remainder of the war, Saburo was interned at Minidoka. That was when Saburo felt lost, ashamed, anger"* (Participant 7).

> *"These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko doesn't speak of her time in Hawaii or the camps because it tore her family apart"* (Participant 20).

The mnemonic resource of victimhood is also used in the interpretation of memoryscapes—for instance, the cemetery monument at Manzanar. While cemeteries existed in all the former incarceration sites, Manzanar is the only one of sites under examination to have erected a monument at its cemetery. The phrase 'never saw freedom again' uses the mnemonic resource of those who died during their incarceration to produce a feeling of an injustice that can never be redressed. Inscribed upon the monument in Japanese translates to 'soul consoling tower' serving "as a poignant reminder that some of the 10,000 Japanese Americans incarcerated at Manzanar never saw freedom again".[9]

Beyond the completed stories and official online interpretations of memoryscapes, Civil organizations, also (re)produce victimhood through their own various means. For example, the Tule Lake committee uses the mnemonic resource of Tule Lake's unique history to construct the feeling that its incarcerees are the victims amongst victims. The Tule Lake Committee does so by using the mnemonic resource of when Tule Lake "was converted into a segregation center to incarcerate those from all of the camps who resisted their imprisonment and were deemed disloyal."[10] In this (re)production, the victims of incarceration were compounded by their victimization of being deemed disloyal and punished again for the second time. All the while, the 'loyal' incarcerees continued with their lives in incarceration.

Civil organizations also enlist the mnemonic resource of victimhood through their own online interpretations of the guard towers and barbed wire fence by narrating the description from the perspective of the incarcerees; the interpretations establish a sense of helplessness. The quotation below provides a composite of official interpretations and statements to supplement this argument.

> *"The entry Guard Tower at Minidoka was one of eight guards… manned by US military police, their guns pointing in at Japanese American captives"* (FoM). *"…you walk in there, and you see and feel what they had to endure. It's right there, staring you in the face"* (MC). *"The Guard Tower reconstruction will closely resemble what former incarcerees witnessed, and offer visitors a window into the physical and emotional experience of those who passed beneath it to enter the camp when confined at Minidoka"* (FoM).

[9] NPS, 'Reading the Manzanar Landscape'. n.d. Available HTTP: <nps.gov/manz/planyourvisit/upload/MANZ_S2_Web.pdf> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].
[10] Tule Lake Committee. 'About Us'. n.d. Available HTTP: <tulelake.org/about_us> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].[11] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'HMWF Store'. n.d. Available HTTP: <shopheartmountain.org/collections/giving opportunities/products/root-cellar-donation> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].

Participants, official and civil society interpretations of memoryscapes, have demonstrated the remembering of victimhood. Victimhood is also dismembered in a variety of ways. In one instance, participant 1 placed the Hiroko character in a vacuum narrative disconnected from the events happening around her, writing "while EO 0966 was signed, while JA was relocated, and while other JA enlisted to serve in the military – "Hiroko began to write poems." However, her incarceration can be inferred from the story because "her house was waiting for her." Nevertheless, the stories avoided any explicit mentions of incarceration as a whole, therefore, disremembering the victimhood of incarceration.

Another mechanism used to disremember victimhood is to assign the mnemonic resource of victimhood to function as a benchmark of measuring the resilience of the incarcerees progress in their struggle against the natural elements. The quotes below exemplify this argument:

> *"The root cellar is special in many ways. It is the only surviving camp structure built entirely by Japanese Americans… The root cellar tells the story of a Japanese American community that refused to be broken and overcame incredible odds to feed and care for its people."* [11]
>
> *That year, the incarcerated laborers of the agriculture program accomplished what was known as the "Heart Mountain Miracle," turning a dry Wyoming desert into verdant farmland in less than a year."* [12]
> *"Faced with some of the most inhuman treatment in our nation's history, the Japanese Americans put down roots better than most locals and turned desolate corners of America into thriving farms, outstanding schools, and bustling towns."*[13]
>
> - Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation

6.2.2 Perpetratorhood

Merriam-Webster dictionary defines a victim as "one that is acted on and usually adversely affected by a force or agent."[14] By this definition, the constructed victimhood of one inevitably involves the 'perpetratorhood' of another who enacted the force to affect another adversely. By singling out perpetratorhood, this research was able to place emphasis on the separation of victimhood and perpetratorhood as victimhood can be established with and without (re)producing the mnemonic resource perpetratorhood. Overall, the completed stories was found to be more active in constructing perpetratorhood than the official interpretation of memoryscapes, which was found to be more active in disremembering perpetratorhood. Through this comparison between stories and memoryscape interpretations, this section substantiates the argument that the mnemonic resource of perpetratorhood can both be remembered and disremembered.

The examples below illustrate how Participants established a clear victimhood/perpetratorhood role in their stories.

> *"Saburo felt confused and angry about how the government was treating Jas"* (Participant 21).
>
> *"Today, Hiroko lives in Fear and anger because the government failed to protect her as citizens of America"* (Participant 16).

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[11] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'HMWF Store'. n.d. Available HTTP: <shopheartmountain.org/collections/giving opportunities/products/root-cellar-donation> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].
[12] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'Root Cellar'. n.d. Available HTTP: < heartmountain.org/donate-to-the-root-cellar-fund> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].
[13] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'History', n.d. Available HTTP: <heartmountain.org/history> [Accessed 20 July. 2020].
[14] Merriam-Webster. 'Victim'. n.d. Available HTTP: <merriam-webster.com/dictionary/victim> [Accessed 06 August, 2020].

Reversely, other participants and the NPS offices have (re)produced narratives with a mirage over the would-be-considered perpetrator. Bear in mind that deletion is different from forgiveness. Participant 21's story is an exemplary case of forgiveness.

> *"That was when Saburo decided to forgive the mistake of his government so that he could instead focus on what he could do to uplift his community"* (Participant 21).

The four stories of JA in Japan all create a theme of victimhood of some form of pain, whether it is a near-death experience (Participant 6), death of a family member (Participant 8,12), and forced to live a life in the mountains. However, none have explicitly written that the air raids missions were conducted from American bombers. In the case of participant 6, despite writing a story of a character being caught in the Tokyo air raid, the character grows to call the USA her real home.

The Minidoka and Tule Lake NPS disremembers the perpetrator by transforming the meaning of suffering caused by the government action into suffering caused by the harsh natural elements. Particularly at Manzanar, the barracks are used to (re)produce victimhood and disremember perpetratorhood by interpreting the incarcerees to struggle against the natural element. The online exhibition uses addition to include information about the incarcerees not being acclimated to the harsh desert temperatures and wind often blanketing the camp with dust and sand, and deletion to remove mentions of the 'who' put the incarcerees into the camps.

> *"The walls, however, did not extend to the rafters, and no insulation was provided, meaning noise was a major issue, along with the elements that came with living in the high desert".*[17]

In a similar manner, Tule Lake NPS writes…

> *"… and sided only with tarpaper. The relentless winds of the Tule Lake Basin drove dirt and dust through the walls".*[15]

Heart Mountain also has a different approach to disremember perpetratorhood. It does so by using words and phrases in their interpretation to bring forth a sense of. For example, Heart Mountain NPS writes that the camp is "like a small town with Caucasian administrators and Nisei and Issei block managers and councilmen elected by the incarcerees." In this example, by focusing on the bright and positive image of a small town, as opposed to other factual descriptions of the camp situation such as population density, the interpretation is able to minimalize the negative meanings associated with the camp. This dismembering of incarceration is also present in the Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation's online interpretation. For instance, while barracks across the other sites are heavily interpreted with the harshness of living conditions, the online description at Heartmountain.org writes, "This original Heart Mountain barrack was returned to the site and is currently being restored, enabling visitors to experience what life was like for incarcerees." However, the web page of the barrack information site interprets a chronological telling of the recovery effort on behalf of the foundation. Hence, by interpreting the life of the barrack, the organization can leave out the information about the lives of incarcerees that lived in it.

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[15] Tule Lake NPS. 'WWII Valor in the Pacific National Monument Brochure', n.d. Available HTTP: <https://www.nps.gov/tule/planyourvisit/upload/Segregation_Center_6-10.pdf> [Accessed 20 July, 2020].

In another instance, on Heart Mountain, Wyoming Foundation's historical page on the topic of 'Relocation Center Camp Management,' which specifies the number of 'government employees' while generalizes the number of military police it reads "A group of military police situated in nine guard towers manned the site, and 130 government employees oversaw day-to-day operations".[16] The addition of a specific number and the generalization of another, makes the camp operation appear more civil than it was military, hence changing the meaning (re)produced.

6.2.3 Resilience

Many participants describe resilience in the face of injustice as starting over, endurance, adaptation, bravery (Participant 2, 20, 22, 25) in the face of hardship. The words of Participant 22 are an exemplary juxtaposition between victimhood and resilience. When asked about what he/she feels is the most important to remember, the participant wrote the following: "[it is important to remember] How difficult camp life was even though they were able to adapt and survive through it" (Participant 22). The mnemonic resource of resilience is also used to interpret mess halls, the Minidoka NPS uses baseball fields, gardens, and root cellars Mess Halls to (re)produce the discourse of incarcerees resilience. It is done by using the victimhood of challenges due to camp conditions on inadequate food supply and transforming it into how the incarcerees overcame the challenge by winning the petition to "grow ethnically grow ethnically appropriate foods in the agricultural areas of the camp."[17]

Sporting facilities such as baseball fields and basketball courts were a popular past time, and NPS cites that Minidoka had 14 baseball fields during its operation, and at Manzanar, sporting events such as baseball and softball events were organized weeks into arrival into the camps. Participant 15 visited the Minidoka Centerfield and wrote, "I feel like baseball was able to allow the incarcerees to feel somewhat normal inside a very non-normal time." The meaning of baseball is shared by the Minidoka and Manzanar NPS where the remnants of the baseball fields are used to tell tales of community resilience for the "visitors to understand the importance of recreation to Japanese Americans, to create a sense of normalcy in their lives while at Minidoka…[17] Despite the harsh conditions at Minidoka, incarcerees were resourceful. They built baseball diamonds and small parks with picnic areas. Their baseball team was virtually unbeatable".[18]

The root cellar is present at Minidoka and Heart Mountain and is also interpreted with the mnemonic resource of resilience. Across both former incarceration sites, root cellars were built entirely by incarcerees to store food. At Minidoka, the root cellar is introduced as a testament to the incarceree resilience to make the best out of bad situations. The description of the root cellar writes that it is the "only remaining structure that is known to be completely built by incarcerees,". Similarly, Heart Mountain details a similar story that "The root cellar is special in many ways. It is the only surviving camp structure built entirely by Japanese Americans". [19] The description then incorporates the 'Heart Mountain Miracle' where the incarcerees turned "a dry

[16] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'Life in Camp', n.d. Available HTTP: <heartmountain.org/history/life-in-the-camp> [Accessed 20 July, 2020].
[17] NPS Minidoka, 'Walking Trail ', n.d. Available HTTP: <nps.gov/miin/planyourvisit/walking-trail.htm> [Accessed 20 July, 2020][18] NPS Minidoka. 'Minidoka Brochure', n.d. Available HTTP: < nps.gov/miin/learn/upload/MIIN-Brochure-09.pdf> [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[18] NPS Minidoka. 'Minidoka Brochure', n.d. Available HTTP: < nps.gov/miin/learn/upload/MIIN-Brochure-09.pdf> [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[19] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation, 'Original Root Cellar', n.d. Available HTTP: heartmountain.org/donate-to-the-root-cellar-fund [Accessed July 20, 2020]

Wyoming desert into verdant farmland in less than a year…This incredible structure tells the story of a Japanese American community that refused to be broken and overcame incredible odds to feed and care for its people".[19] Lastly, the interpretation of gardens and rock gardens in their present-day symbolic form is used by the Minidoka NPS, HMWF, and Manzanar NPS to create a discourse of resilience.

> *"To create beauty in an otherwise dismal landscape, paths were lined with decorative stones, and traditional Japanese gardens were planted. Some of these remnants are still visible today, yet most traces of daily life at Minidoka are now gone." [18]*
>
> -Minidoka NPS

> *"For many people, these rock gardens and pools served as a source of peace and an escape from their incarceration experience... The people incarcerated at Manzanar left a lasting legacy by creating more than 100 Japanese gardens. The largest of the gardens was Merritt Park, named for the camp director, Ralph P. Merritt. Merritt Park served as community refuge from the hardships of camp... Today you can view what's left of this symbol of beauty and the resilience of the human spirit."[20]*
>
> -Manzanar NPS

> *"This victory garden—modeled after the small vegetable plots incarcerees grew near their barracks and in other open spaces around the camp—is dedicated in their honor."[21]*
>
> -Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation

As identified in the discussion of perpetratorhood, several NPS offices have used the harsh environment to steer the narrative to disremember perpetratorhood and place the subjects in a struggle against nature. This struggle against nature provides a point of reference for the official interpretation to demonstrate resilience against natural hardships as opposed to struggle against the perpetrator who placed them into those difficult situations. By doing so, resilience legitimizes the disremembering of the perpetrator by creating a happy narrative of overcoming challenges.

> *"The incarcerees quickly began making improvements to their apartments - hanging bedsheets to create extra 'rooms' and stuffing newspaper and rags into cracks in the poorly-constructed walls and floors to keep out the dust and cold. Some inmates ordered tools from Sears and Roebuck catalogs in order to make repairs to their barracks". [22]*
>
> -Heart Mountain National Park Service

> *"Over time, people personalized their barracks, and the blocks evolved into distinct communities." [9]*
>
> -Manzanar National Park Service

6.2.4 Loyalty

The mnemonic resource of loyalty intersects between both the incarceree and soldier characters of the stories. On the one hand, JA soldiers' characters proved loyalty with a sense of accomplishment (Participant 15, 18, 19). On the other hand, the notion of staying loyal and supporting the war effort at home is hailed as an accomplishment for the incarcerees. In the latter use, staying loyal was often used in conjunction with victimhood to reinforce the 'unwavering' loyalty. In one example, Participant 18 uses both victimhood and loyalty in one sentence writing "Hiroko is both proud and saddened by the memories because she was able to personally keep her allegiance toward the US, while she realizes the injustice of what people of Japanese ancestry had to endure." The Honor Roll at Heart Mountain shares that discourse, it writes:

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[20] NPS Manzanar. 'Driving, Biking, & Walking', n.d. Available HTTP: <nps.gov/manz/planyourvisit/driving-biking-walking.htm>. [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[21] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'Victory Garden', n.d. Available HTTP: <heartmountain.org/victory-garden/ >. [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[22] NPS Heart Mountain. 'Heart Mountain Relocation Center', n.d. Available HTTP: <nps.gov/places/heart-mountain-relocation-center.htm> [Accessed July 20, 2020]

> *"When the government stripped Japanese Americans of all of the benefits of their citizenship, it also asked them to shoulder citizenship's greatest burden: military service. Many Japanese Americans at Heart Mountain answered that call, leaving their families behind barbed wire to go off and fight for the country that had imprisoned them. The military honor roll on display at Heart Mountain National Historic Landmark site lists people from Heart Mountain who served".*[23]
>
> - Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation

The story of a Japanese American character enlisting to prove their loyalty rings true through many participants and is triangulated by the online interpretations of memoryscapes. Within the stories, participants wrote phrases such as "decided to enlist to prove his patriotism" (Participant 15), "volunteered herself to the army to prove her loyalty" (Participant 18), and "joined the 442…he was proud of what he did" (Participant 19). A meaning of patriotism is inherent through the above uses of the mnemonic resources. Beyond the stories, large commemorate panels are erected at Heart Mountain and Minidoka, to "honor the young men and women from the camp who served in the military." Each Honor Roll are engraved with the names of the incarcerees from the camp that served in the Armed Forces and directly attribute to the (re)production of loyalty. Below are online interpretations of the honor roll where the mnemonic resource of incarcerees who served is used to prove the loyalty of Japanese Americans.

> *"Despite the draft resistance movement, 385 residents of Heart Mountain served in the military, many becoming members of the famed all-Japanese 442nd Regimental Combat Team, one of the most decorated units in the U.S. military. Eleven of the soldiers from Heart Mountain were killed, 52 were wounded in combat, and two received the nation's highest military award, the Medal of Honor."*[22]
>
> -Heart Mountain NPS

> *"Minidoka incarcerees made up twenty-five percent of the first inductees into the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a segregated Japanese American unit… The presence of the Honor Roll provides an opportunity to discuss important concepts such as injustice, patriotism, wartime incarceration, and conscientious resistance."* [17]
>
> -Minidoka NPS

While online interpretations of memoryscapes such as Heart Mountain and Minidoka are able to celebrate the loyalty of its former incarcerees; While the mnemonic resources at Tule Lake do not provide the building blocks for the online memoryscape to erect a military honor roll. This is because Tule Lake was later transformed into a segregation camp to imprison 'disloyal' persons of Japanese descent who answered 'no-no' on the loyalty questionnaire. In fact, according to the Tule Lake Committee, only 57 out of 18,789 incarcerees enlisted.[24] The addition and repetition of this mnemonic resource allow Tule Lake to uniquely apply the themes of loyalty and resilience to reinforce the discourse of victimhood.

At the juxtaposition of loyalty and victimhood is the awkward situatedness of Minidoka history. In contrast to the events that took place in Tule Lake, where it became a camp of holding the 'disloyal' incarcerees, Minidoka became a camp known to hold the 'loyal' incarcerees. 1,900 incarcerees from Tule Lake were sent to Minidoka[25] This discomfort of using the mnemonic resource of both victimhood and loyalty at Minidoka is visible at the representational gap between the honor roll and the interpretation that intends to represent it. A case in point, the interpretation writes that its role is "to discuss important concepts such as injustice, patriotism,

[23] Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation. 'Honor Roll', n.d. Available HTTP: <heartmountain.org/history/honor-roll/> [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[24] Tule Lake Committee. 'History', n.d. Available HTTP: < tulelake.org/history> [Accessed 20 July, 2020].[25] Densho Encylopedia. 'Minidoka', n.d. Available HTTP: <encyclopedia.densho.org/Minidoka> [Accessed July 20, 2020]
[25] Densho Encylopedia. 'Minidoka', n.d. Available HTTP: <encyclopedia.densho.org/Minidoka> [Accessed July 20, 2020]

wartime incarceration, and conscientious resistance."[26] However, in reality, printed on the Honour Roll are only names of Minidoka incarcerees who served in the U.S. Army.

Unlike Heart Mountain and Minidoka, while Manzanar does not have a Military Honour Roll, the Manzanar online exhibition uses addition to provide an entire section on Japanese Americans' contribution to the U.S. war effort and their loyalty**Error! Reference source not found.**. It begins with a 'standardized' mention of military service, Manzanar (re)produce the discourse of loyalty by contesting the meaning of what it means to 'prove' one's loyalty. The challenging narrative is done by using the mnemonic resource of the Guayule Project, which took place in Manzanar when Manzanar incarcerees applied their scientific and research experience to experiment on alternative rubber production in response to the Imperial Japanese incursion into Southeast Asia.

6.2.5 Never Again

The previously established mnemonic resources of victimhood, resilience, loyalty is used to convey messages of activism. The content of what participants projected onto the stories are different along; however, Never Again is the unifying [but broad] mnemonic resource that connects the stories—nevertheless, participant too on different engagements with Never Again. Two directions were taken. The first approach makes the declaration of never again, whereas the second approach bridge the past to the present by drawing between historical and contemporary parallels of the victimhood of us (JA) and the victimhood of other minorities.

The mnemonic resource of never again is exemplified by Participant 1, 5, and 15, where the stories use pre-established mnemonic resources of victimhood and resilience to give context to 'what' should never happen again. The second approach to (re)produce never again is characteristic in the way it expands victimhood of JA to other demographic groups.

> *"Hiroko is angry because it is happening again"* (Participant 1).
>
> *"…able to survive the ordeal and to never have happen again"* (Participant 5).
>
> *"The sacrifices and injustice that the JA's endured and that it NEVER happens again"* (Participant 15).

The meaning of never again is more prevalent in participant stories than online interpretations of memoryscapes. While NPS visitor brochures have sections titles surrounding the meaning of 'never again,' the written contents pertain more closely to the redress movement than to contemporary events. The task of re-interpreting history in the present appears to rest upon each location's respective civil organization. For example, the Manzanar Committee (re)produces the mnemonic resources beyond Manzanar and uses it to engage in civil rights issues at a distance. Below are snippets of passages where experiences Japanese American incarceration are drawn upon to legitimize the Manzanar Committee statements on the topics of Black Lives Matter, ICE, Federal Agents in Portland, local court trials on alleged racist behavior, and presidential elections.

[26] NPS Minidoka, 'Honor Roll', n.d. Available HTTP: <nps.gov/miin/learn/historyculture/minidokas-honor-roll.htm> [Accessed July 20, 2020]

"As survivors and descendants of America's World War II concentration camps, we stand with the Black community and raise our voices and channel our collective rage, despair, and grief to challenge white supremacy. We cannot remain silent in the face of injustice…".[27]

"[Andrew] Yang is right when he said that like everyone else, we should help our neighbors and work to ease the pain and suffering brought on by the inept, criminally incompetent, federal response," Embry added. "Everyone should. Americans, immigrants—everyone must pull together to do what we can to overcome this pandemic".[1]

"…The fragility and the preciousness of civil and Constitutional rights to our democracy is one of the most important lessons to be drawn from the forced removal of 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry during World War II… Our government's forced removal of people of Japanese descent during WWII was not confined to the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) moved into Latin America, especially Peru, where Japanese Latin Americans were forcibly removed without cause and incarcerated at Crystal City, Texas. They were essential to be used as hostages, to be traded for U.S. nationals or prisoners of war held by Japan".[28]

[27] Manzanar Committee. 'Manzanar Committee Decries Racist Violence Targeting African Americans', 31 May, 2020. Available HTTP: <manzanarcommittee.org/2020/05/31/civilunrest-may2020> [Accessed 30 July, 2020].

[28] Manzanar Committee, "Manzanar Commitee Condemns Unconstitutional Deployment of Federal Agents", 28 July, 2020. Available HTTP: <manzanarcommittee.org/2020/07/28/unconstitutional-deploy> [Accessed 30 July, 2020].

6.3 Mnemonic (re)production

Participants used a diverse combination of mnemonic resources to (re)produce their meaning of the difficult heritage. Therefore, it is important first to understand the relationships between the mnemonic resources. Figure 2 visualizes the flow of how mnemonic resources are used in the (re)production of meaning. This figure displays the relationship of how memories and meanings are layered into each other and is an adjusted model of Figure 1 discussed in Chapter 4. Figure 1 illustrated the processes of mnemonic (re)production on an individual level, which guided the data analysis. Figure 2 presents a holistic view of how mnemonic resources are interconnected. Particularly, this shows which mnemonic resources are more connected and to what. This illustration also shows a multitude of functions of victimhood. Firstly, victimhood is the mnemonic resource that was most used by itself. Secondly, victimhood and perpetratorhood are very closely used together in how participants (re)produced meaning. Lastly, victimhood is the only mnemonic resource and meaning that keep loyalty attached to the rest. Loyalty and other mnemonic resources were found not to be directly connected at all. This phenomenon is reflected by the Minidoka online interpretation, as discussed in Section 6.2.3, where the mnemonic resource of loyalty exists in isolation to the other mnemonic resources present.

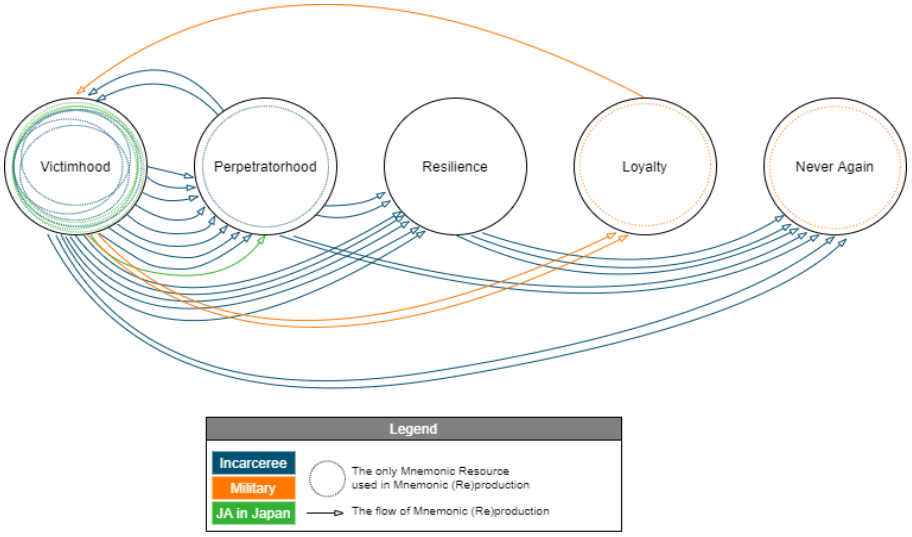
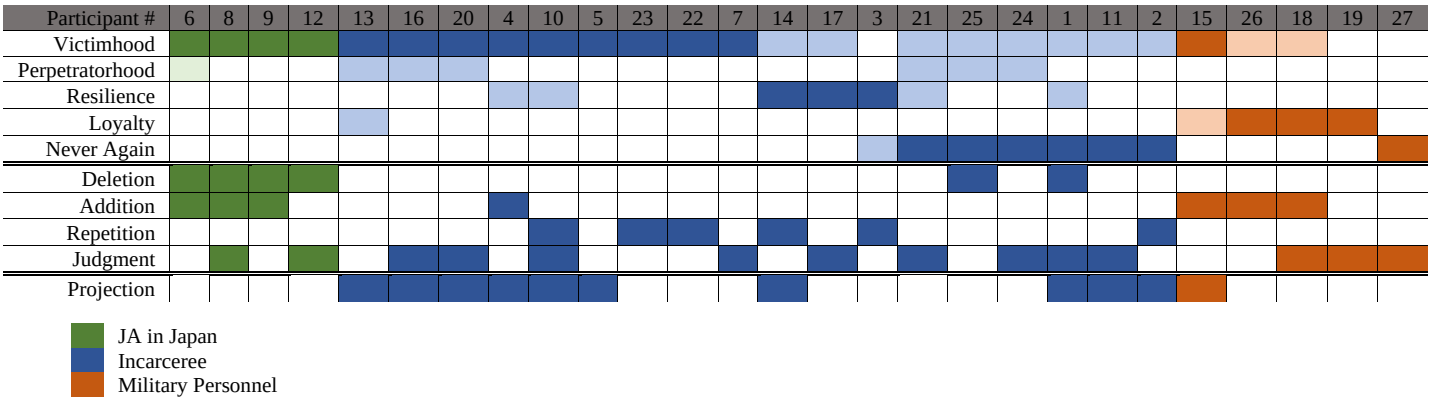


Figure 2 Flow of Mnemonic (Re)production

In addition to the above illustration, Table 5 below provides a summative overview of the findings. Specifically, how the mechanisms of deletion, addition, repetition, and justification are used in the (re)production of mnemonic resources. The table is color-coded by the protagonist's role. In cases where more than one theme exists, the darker shade of the color represents the dominant mnemonic resource, and the lighter shade consequently represents the mnemonic resource used to reinforce the dominant one. The content of the table only reflect the data collected from story completion because the online interpretations of memoryscapes are not written as collective narratives rather clusters of mnemonic resources that each produce their own meaning, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Table 5. Overview of Story Mnemonic (Re)production Findings



6.3.1 Deletion

The mechanism of deletion refers to the withholding of elements of history in the story. In the data collected, the deletion was used primarily for disremembering perpetratorhood.

Four participants constructed stories of characters who spent the wartime in Japan (Participant 6,8,9,12). Interestingly, the deletion was used to disremember perpetratorhood across all of the stories of JA in Japan. This disremembering refers to the minimalization of communicating the US military's involvement in the air raids that brought pain and suffering upon the characters. To illustrate this point, Participant 8 wrote a story of Hiroko situated in a vacuum away from the immediate effects of war looking in at the story of her father at a distance. It is explained early on that her father serves in the Japanese army, and participant 8 repeatedly shared that Hiroko was concerned about his safety: "she was worried for her dad, who was in the army…Hiroko was sad… Hiroko hoped that her father would be ok…". It was then implicitly mentioned that Nagasaki was bombed, and the mentions of Hiroko's father abruptly concludes without mentions of who bombed Nagasaki. Participant 9's story bears a resemblance to the story written by Participant 8 because the character is also viewing the events from a distance. In this story, Hiroko went into the mountains for shelter but was provided no mention of shelter from what? Or shelter from who?

6.3.2 Addition

Element additions in this collection of stories are not merely the opposite effect of a deletion. In these stories, there are a lot less that is said than what is not. Two usages of the addition were identified: 1) the addition of a confession that the story is real, and 2) the addition of details to transform the meaning to perpetratorhood.

The addition of family memory refers to the explicit revelation that the memories used to construct to the story are memories of family members [see Section 5.4 Reflection on Positionality]. This form of addiction tends to end up with the participant steering entirely away from the story stems in order to create room for the addition of real memory. In the case of Participant 12, the participant introduced two side characters Kashi (wife) and Kazuko (daughter). However, during the war, only Kazuko survived because she was sent to the Japanese

countryside. It was at this point in the story that the participant reveals that Saburo was the participant's grandfather. This revelation legitimizes the participant's latter survey response that it is important to remember "how the Japanese suffered." Similarly, Participant 26 created a story comprised entirely of quotes from the participant's grandfather's letter from the perspective of a JA who enlisted to serve in the 442nd. It is revealed at the very end of the story that "The comments repeated here are from my father's letters, which are too lengthy to repeat here." When the story is read in conjunction with the participant's response in the latter half of the survey, it becomes clear that the story of sacrifice and loss are indirectly legitimizing the participants writing:

> *"The Nisei at home SURVIVED, but families were destroyed when sons were lost in war, and the effect on those soldiers who returned can never be measured... There are too many things never talked about and never will be.... there are too many tragic incidents brought by the war that you will never know...."*

6.3.3 Repetition

The feeling of human connection runs through many stories, whether it comes in the form of introducing supporting characters or participants writing a theme centered around the sense of community. and the notion of human connection [often] exist to reinforce the discourse(s) as it expands the individualized memories to illustrate that the experiences are shared by many. Participant 23 used repetition extensively to reinforce the theme of victimhood. In the latter half of the survey, participant 23 wrote that they felt a sense of isolation and that the environment was depressive at Manzanar. These feelings were projected to the mood of the story [also in Manzanar] that the participant created. While words were not repetitively used, the feeling of separation and loneliness are repeatedly established. To illustrate this point, the character Hiroko was continuously separated from her family network, starting from her extended family at the beginning of the war at the mention of her concern for her family in Japan. This was soon followed by Hiroko being separated by her husband and finally during her time at Manzanar. Then in the next step, her son left to join the military, and her daughter left for Chicago. The story ends with Hiroko living in a nursing home. The reasoning of Alzheimer's was then applied to legitimate Hirokos silence.

6.3.4 Judgment

This process refers to mnemonic resources are used to legitimize the (re)produced discourses. Three common uses of judgment were identified as being 1) evaluate and reward loyalty, 2) legitimize activism, and 3) legitimize alternative approaches.

The theme of proving loyalty is deeply connected to stories of soldiers but also exists amongst the incarceree characters. For the characters who enlisted for military service [as proof of loyalty] are rewarded with extrinsic rewards of service medals (participant 15), intrinsic reward of pride (participant 18, 19), and restored 'place' in society (participant 13). Participant 18 rewarded Hiroko for "personally keep[ing] her allegiance towards the US" with pride – and indirectly places judgment on those who did not. To further elaborate on this point; Participant 13 completed a detailed story of a Saburo who was bullied at school because of his race, relocated by the government, punished by the government for his activism, deported after the war, bullied

by Japanese nationals because he was JA, then finally repatriated back to the U.S. Repetition of Saburo engagement with activism was used to show the changes in his opinion over time. For instance, in the beginning, he got involved because he was very bitter about being imprisoned – to which Participant 13 is very saddened to hear. However, today when Saburo looks back and speaks about that time, he regrets his radical activism and is somewhat ashamed of his radical activism.

Acts of activisms are legitimated in these stories as participants evaluate the experiences of their characters and use it to reinforce the discourse of Never Again. For instance, Participant 17 gives purpose to why Hiroko shares her stories on the theme of resilience because 1) she evaluates her experience to be an important aspect of the Nikkei experience, and 2) to fill the role of storytelling that many Japanese American feel uncomfortable doing so.

Three participants have used the storyline of their character to legitimizes alternative discourses such as the decision to permanently emigration after the war and JA that remained silent. Participant 20's story of Hiroko is distinctively different from the others because the sense of victimhood is not resolved in the story. In other cases, the incarcerees either return home or find a new home approximate to where they were incarcerated, or in the case of participant 13 who was also deported to Japan after the war; Hiroko in this story never returned to the U.S. It leaves off with Hiroko not willing to "speak of her time in Hawaii or the camps because it tore her family apart" as a mean of legitimizing the characters decision to not return to Hawaii and in this sense also legitimizing the decision of other JA who did not return to the U.S. Participant 27 completed the only story in which the character did not engage with memories of incarceration nor military service. Because Hiroko "did not have to endure the painful and unjust incarceration of 120,000 People of Japanese Ancestry," that she is able to share her memories of the time. — because she was not a victim. This indirectly legitimizes the unwillingness in many JA who do not wish to speak of that time.

6.4 Projection

To re-iterate the discussion projection in Section 5.1, by which projection refers to the opportunity of accessing 'hidden' feelings assumptions, motivations of participants that have been (re)constructed into the story characters and scenarios (Clarke et al., 2019). The projection was used to better understand the feelings, assumptions, and motivations behind 8 participants (Participant 1,2, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 15) in the process of a joint reading between participants first and the latter half of the survey. When examined at the juxtaposition, the personal experience data help this research to triangulate and better understand the mnemonic (re)production.

For example, participant 5 stretched a story stem to mention that Saburo was physically unfit to enlist, but he would choose not to enlist even if he could because he was No/No Boy. This explicit addition parallels how the participant answered the second half of the survey, saying it is important to remember "the division between the No/No Boys and the JACL." In another instance, Participant 13' used the addition of radical to reference Saburo's activism also creates a distinction between 'regular activism' to 'radical activism.' This distinction can be partially answered by the participant's latter responses to which the participant wrote, "However, on the

[other] hand, I wonder how they might have suffered at the hands of white supremacist vigilantes had they not been interned. People out there are crazy, then as now". As a final example, Participant 15's story is built upon Saburo's decision to prove his patriotism by enlisting in the military and earning that recognition by obtaining the Silver Star. However, the deed for which the Siler Star was awarded remains unclear, perhaps for the reason that "no one should ever have to see or hear about. That is the burden of a soldier". Approaching this quote from the assumption of projection, it could be something that the character sacrificed and endures to this day.

Chapter VII: Discussion and Limitations

In the reiteration of the research objective of this research, this research contains both a theoretical and methodological component. Theoretically, this research contributed to the scholarly understanding of the discourse of the difficult heritage of Japanese Americans during the Second World War and, consequently, how memories are involved in the (re)production of discourse. Methodologically, this research tested the applicability of the Story Completion method in sociological studies of heritage. This chapter will discuss the research findings in conjunction with existing literature, the researcher's experience of conducting Story Completion, and the limitations.

7.1 Discussion of Mnemonic Reproduction

The application of the Mnemonic (re)production theoretical framework successfully revealed the taken-for-granted process (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004) through which meanings of Japanese American WWII history are (re)produced via the interpretation of selected memory. Hereby, filling the gaps in the literature as a critical piece of social research through the investigation of Japanese American participant's projection of assumption onto the characters. This research exposed the various sets of mnemonic resources selected, interpreted, and talked about to (re)produce meanings (Hook, 2001; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). The mnemonic resources of victimhood, perpetratorhood, resilience, loyalty, and never again are selected and (re)produced to project the participants' own meaning of 'truth' (von Leeuwen, 2008). The identified mnemonic resources were successful in transferability, were the deductively revealed mnemonic resources were able to describe the social phenomena of the examined online memoryscapes.

This connection between projected stories of individuals and destination, affirms the memoryscapes assumptions that spaces of memory emerge from the intersectional social conditions and its truth obtained from their relationship to discourse (Kappler, 2017; Massey, 2005). Furthermore, by proving the presence of the same mnemonic resources in both stories and online memoryscapes, this research exemplifies Ainsworth & Hardy's argument that discourse exists beyond texts and can include different socio-cultural institutions and practices that enable the production and consumption of it (2004). This finding of the research also affirms the argument made by Muzaini and Yeoh that spaces of memory create power, dominance, and exclusion (2007). This was evident in the ways individuals and organizations disremember the actions of the U.S. by establishing resilience as the dominant meaning of that history. The collection of stories well reflected mnemonic (re)production processes of deletion, addition, repetition, and judgment. However, online memoryscapes were found to rely on addition and deletion heavily. In this case, the deletion of judgment and the addition of descriptive interpretation on camp design and logistics can be identified as a form of disremembering.

In sum, the mnemonic (re)production framework supports the argument in the existing literature and, through evidence-based investigation, was able to highlight what mnemonic resources used and how they are used to mnemonically (re)produce meanings.

7.2 Discussion of Story Completion

As the secondary purpose of this research was to test the applicability of the Story Completion method onto other fields of disciplines beyond its current. The Story Completion method provided the data to answer the research questions. Whereby, the inductively produced codes of the mnemonic resource model were able to fit the data set collected from the online memoryscape; and the mnemonic (re)production framework was able to enable the visualization of how mnemonic resources are funneled through processes of deletion, addition, repetition, and legitimization to achieve dominance (Van Leeuwen, 2008). However, while the application of the method was fruitful in certain aspects, the emotional distance between the researcher and the target demographic created challenges during data collection, which may have led to a less desirable quality of data (see limitations). The paragraphs below will provide elaboration for the above statements.

The researcher also acknowledges the power of access that a gatekeeper holds (Keesling, 2008). When the researcher approached potential participants through direct Facebook messaging, many potential gatekeepers responded unwillingly to trust a stranger and commented severe distrust towards the SurveyMonkey link. On the other hand, the community centers which agreed to assist the distribution of the survey link the completion rate was low, as noted in Section 5.2 Data Collection. The researcher was able to find one gatekeeper who was committed to sharing the survey link through private messages in their friends' network and yielded 9 (33%) of the total completed surveys. While this boost to the sample size was worthy of a celebration, it may have had sampling implications as 33% of the participants are snowballed from the same source. While quantity does not speak to the depth of participant stories, it is interesting to note that the average word count of participants prior to the gatekeeper snowball only changed from 203 words per story to 205 after the snowball. Notwithstanding, the researcher believes that a deeper involvement with the target population when studying difficult heritage would yield more fruitful results.

Despite the fact that the story completion produced an understanding of the social world through the visualization of how mnemonic resources are processed to discursively (re)produce the participant's meaning. The researcher is doubtful whether this hands-off approach offered more to the research than it took away. In other words, perhaps working more closely and intensely with the target demographic on topics of difficult heritage would see more general willing participation and commitment in this research. Even so, it may be that during more accommodating times, the researcher advises future investigators of this social phenomena to carefully weigh the cost of benefits of the story completion method.

7.3 Limitations

The purpose of this section is to reflect and discuss research constraints, which may have had an effect on the interpretation of data (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). This research was met obstacles across many stages of this research process resulting in the topic, field logistic, and methodological changes. The intention to study the difficult heritage of Japanese Americans was initially intended to use observation and semi-structured interviews as the methods of data

collection. However, observation methods were not possible because Los Angeles County issued an indefinite stay at home orders during the predetermined time of data collection, and all JA cultural organization offices were temporarily closed. The researcher then individually contacted several JA museums and cultural institutions across California, New York, Washington, but received no response. The researcher then expanded the scope to include all Japan Towns in California, only one out of four hesitantly responded. In the face of a general sense of unwillingness to participate, the researcher decided to shift this research towards a more bottom-up approach of studying the mnemonic (re)production of JA memories, and how the participants remember memoryscapes they have visited in the past.

The original intention of collecting data in two parts was to explore if there the participants projected story corresponds to the mnemonic (re)production at the memoryscapes they have visited, however, as the memoryscapes could only be visited online. Where the number of management interpretations available online is limited by the resources and commitment of the management office, this created a skew in the quantity of available data, the consequence of this limitation can be seen at the contrast of Manzanar NPS to the other management offices such as Heart Mountain Wyoming Foundation, Minidoka NPS, Tule Lake NPS. This unbalance had a direct implication on the depth of this research to illustrate Manzanar has an online exhibition and an extension writing on the history of the incarceration site, which allowed more data to be collected for analysis. Consequently, more mnemonic resources were identified, and hence a more dynamic understanding of mnemonic (re)production was revealed.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

In sum, this research has explored discourses surrounding the practice of remembering Japanese American WWII memories. The researcher's approach of mnemonic resource and mnemonic (re)production was able to describe the collected data and reveal the processes through which meanings are reproduced. In doing so, this research was able to challenge the taken for granted assumptions behind the meaning of the difficult heritage and contributed to the knowledge gap by explaining the production of meaning through the communication of memory. Furthermore, this thesis research's extension of the story completion method to difficult heritage was successful in demonstrating the strengths and weaknesses of this application and therefore contributes to the growing body of knowledge as a case study. Through this process of application, the findings of this research also confirm the assumption of projection embedded in the story completion method.

To answer the main research questions of what are the mnemonic resources surrounding Japanese American experiences of WWII, and how are discourses mnemonically (re)produced through stories and online memoryscapes? This research has identified victimhood, perpetratorhood, resilience, loyalty, and never again as the mnemonic resources present in the remembering Japanese American WII memories. Moreover, processes of deletion, addition, repetition, and legitimization are employed both by individuals to (re)produce one mnemonic resource's dominance over others. The findings point to the phenomena where the mnemonic resource of victimhood are often used as the 'starting point' of most narratives, the role of resilience and never again as the 'ending point' of most narratives, and that the meaning of 'loyalty' is often disconnected from the rest of the mnemonic resources.

8.1 Suggestions for Further Research

Following the discussion of findings, method, and limitations. This section presents the researcher's recommendation of potential research topics that may extend the understanding of the social practice of remembering Japanese Americans' Difficult Heritage.

Gender and Remembering

During data collection, the researcher noticed a phenomenon where projected stories centered around Hiroko incorporated more mentions of husbands (N=7) where, as mentions of wife in Saburos' stories, appeared only once. Of the seven stories of Hiroko, three of them met their husband while incarcerated. This phenomenon can perhaps benefit from further investigation through more suitable theoretical lenses.

> *"That was when Hiroko met her husband, who was also a nurse that was helping out the people"* (Participant 3).
>
> *"That was when Hiroko met her future husband, Joe, who was in the Air Force*" (Participant 6).
>
> *"During the remainder of the war, Hiroko stayed in camp. That was when Hiroko met her husband"* (Participant 22).

Normalization of Meaning

Although beyond the scope of this research, during the process of data collection and analysis, the researcher obtained deeper awareness of the multitude of political and apolitical civil organizations built upon the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry during WWII. Despite the efforts of organizations such as the Japanese American Citizen League Handbook and NPS Japanese American Confinement Sites Grants that advocate the change of the Japanese American diction, the participants of this research mostly used incarceration in the projection of their stories. It may be interesting to investigate the bottom-up support for and against the introduction of these new terminologies and definitions by challenging the taken for granted dictionary definitions of the words better to understand the multitude of meanings behind each linguistic choice.

Network of Remembering

As the findings suggest, numerous contestations around victimhood, perpetratorhood, and loyalty are present in the practice of remembering the difficult heritage of Japanese Americans. Furthermore, the civil organization that the researcher visited frequently works in collaboration with each other to produce public events. The researcher believes it would be interesting to explore how nodes of civil and public institutions are organized. The researcher recommends future interested students and scholars to utilize a network approach to explore the institutional state and power dynamics behind the ‘governance’ of memory.

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Appendix I: Completed Stories

1	Before the war, Hiroko lived **Boyle Heights** and was a **Store keeper.** When Hiroko first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, she **began to secure important priceless and important papers**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **began to write poems.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **leaned on her Wakayama-born neighbors** that was when Hiroko **was most resilient.** Today, Hiroko lives in **Los Angeles** because **her house was waiting for her**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **is angry because it's happening again.**
2	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Seattle** and was a **farmer**. When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **kept on working**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the relocation of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **would be relocated**. During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **worked on someone else's farm.** That was when Hiroko was **22 years old.** Today, Hiroko lives in **Seattle** because **she went back to settle there after the war**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **shares her experience** because **it is important to remember what her family had to go through**.
3	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Tokyo** and was a **nurse**. When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she d**ecided to pack some canned goods and what not to prepare for anything that would happen in the upcoming future.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **decided to take the stuff that she packed before and decided to head to California to look for anyone that was in need so she can help them out**. During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **did the best as she could use her knowledge when she was working as a nurse to help and take care of the ones in need.** That was when Hiroko **met her husband, who was also a nurse that was helping out the people**. Today, Hiroko lives in **California** because **she knew that even if it's just her, her helping other people can inspire others to do the same, and also prove that Japanese people aren't like what they seem.** These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **would just smile and talk about the small happy moments** because **she wants to teach the younger ones that even in such a tragic moment, you can always find ways to get through the situation and find the smallest happiness in it.**
4	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **California** and was a **seamstress.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was sad but did not think it would affect her life**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **and her husband lived in the same internment camp as her parents**. During the remainder of the war, **Hiroko worked for the camp newspaper**. That was when Hiroko **met people from neighboring states**. Today, Hiroko lives in **Tacoma, Washington,** because **her family had nothing to return to in California.** These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **is willing to speak at K-12 schools** because **she feels it is important for the students to know the history.**
5	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Oceanside, CA,** and was a **day laborer.** When Saburo first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, he was a **Day Laborer living in Oceanside, CA.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **was too young to join the Military, but when became of age to join the military and was unfit physically, plus was one of the No/No Boys.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **was a kitchen help**. That was when Saburo **learned about how to cook for a larger number of people at Camp.** Today, Saburo lives in **Carlsbad, CA,** because **he became a successful farmer then later became a flower grower.** These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo, **as a farmer, was able to help Mexican entering the US get their citizenship** because **and helped out people moving to the SoCal to start a new life.**
6	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Los Angeles** and was a **high school student.** When Hiroko first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, she **was in Japan visiting her father, who, after splitting up with her mom, went back to Japan. She was shocked and worried about how she was going to go back to LA.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **worked in a munitions factory in Japan and passed a prisoner of war camp every day on her way to work. She ran into an old boyfriend from LA who was working as a translator for the**

	POW. He was stuck in Japan, just like her! During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **bided her time, waiting for the war to end and wrote daily to her friends in the US. She was shocked to find out that many of her high school friends were in internment camps. She worked on the American base because she was an American citizen who could speak both Japanese and English.** That was when Hiroko **met her future husband, Joe, who was in the Air Force. They fell in love. He moved her back to the US with him. Since she was a citizen, she could easily come back.** Today, Hiroko lives in **Georgia** because **that is where her children are. She is a loving grandmother, and although she and her husband got divorced, family ties are strong, and everyone gets along just fine**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **tells them about the bombs dropping in Tokyo and wondering if she and her brother were ever going to make it back to the United States. She tells them how she wondered if they even knew she was on the receiving end of the bombs. She talks about how hungry they all were and how the food was hard to come by. She talks about hearing the Emperor on the radio and wondering why everyone was crying. She was glad to leave Japan and come back to her real home, the US of A. To this day, she dislikes the Japanese military and the music they played - all patriotic anthems that reminded her of their cruelty to her. She will never forgive them for withholding medicine that was sent to her by the Red Cross.**
7	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Seattle** and was a **butcher**. When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was confused and scared**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **conferred with friends on what is happening.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **was interned at Minidoka**. That was when Saburo **felt lost, ashamed, anger.** Today, Saburo lives in **Seattle** because **many of his friends came back here**. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **talks very little about it** because of the **harsh reality of starting over again at age 43, married with five children.**
8	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Kyushu** and was a **student**. When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was worried about her dad, who was in the army**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **was sad**. During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **hoped that her father would be ok.** That was when Hiroko **heard about the bombing in Nagasaki.** Today, Hiroko lives in **her hometown** because **she wants to take care of her grandmother**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **shares a bit but not much** because **it's a little hard for her to talk about.**
9	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **New York City** and was a **child**. When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was on travel in Japan.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **was with distant relatives in Japan**. During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **went to the Mountains to stay safe from the bombings**. That was when Hiroko **was 10**. Today, Hiroko lives in **California** because **of her work**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **tells the story of an American gi who befriended her and got her back to the us** because **of the kindness of a stranger.**
10	Before the war, Saburo lived in **harmony** and was a **part of his community.** When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he w**ept for the millions of lives to be shattered in the coming years**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **raged at the absurdity and unfairness of the situation.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo r**emained incarcerated**. That was when Saburo **worked the hardest to make the best of a bad situation.** Today, Saburo lives in **harmony** because **he once again feels a part of his community**. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **begs off** because **he prefers to look forward rather than back.**
11	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Kapa'a, Kaua'i, Hawai'i,** and was **a Buddhist minister**. When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was worried about how he would be able to see his family in Japan.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. **Saburo was arrested by the FBI and detained in Honolulu, then sent to Ft. Lincoln to a military prison. After a year, he was reunited with his family**. During the remainder of the war, Saburo **was then relocated four times to military prisons and camps throughout the continental US.** That was when Saburo **worried whether he and his family would be able to stay in the United States.** Today, Saburo lives in **Hawai'i** because **the large Japanese American community remained mostly in-tact and welcomed Saburo and his**

	family back to their Buddhist church at the end of the war. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **is vocal about his experience** because **he never wants another group of Americans to live what he and his family lived.**
12	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Tokyo** and was a **noodle shop owner**. When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was scared.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **lived in Japan**. During the remainder of the war, Saburo **stayed in Tokyo but sent his daughter away to the countryside. Saburo and Kashi, his wife, perished in an air raid. Saburo was my grandfather. My mom was orphaned in the war. Kazuko my mother doesn't like to talk about the war**
13	Before the war, Saburo lived in **San Jose, CA,** and was **a 16-year-old Nisei.** When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was completely shocked about Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. At school, other boys whom he played sports with turned on him, calling epithets like "dirty Jap," and "sneaky Jap," and threw rocks at him.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo, s**till being a teenager at the time, was relocated to Santa Anita Racetrack in Southern California and several months later to Heart Mountain, Wyoming.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **lived in the internment camps with his family. He was very bitter about being imprisoned.** That was when Saburo **got involved with an anti-government, pro-Japanese activist group called the Hoshi Dan. Due to his activities, he was sent to Tule Lake camp, put in jail for a while, and sent to Japan after the war**. Today, Saburo lives **back in San Jose as an old man of 94 years. He looks back on his youth. While he still believes it wasn't right for the government to lock up Japanese Americans, he regrets his radical activism. He was living in Japan after the war was a terrible experience with food shortages, no money, and a reverse prejudice and resentment by Japanese people towards Japanese Americans. He made friends with American military men who helped find jobs at the base and eventually made it back to the US.** These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **is reluctant to say much** because **it brings back too many bad memories, and he is somewhat ashamed of his radical activism.**
14	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Los Angeles** and was a **student**. When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was playing baseball with his friends.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **was forced onto a bus alongside his parents with only his suitcase and sent to Tule Lake.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **was interned.** That was when Saburo **was very confused.** Today, Saburo lives in **Northern California close to where he was interned** because **there was no home for him to return to in Los Angeles**. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **jokes about how he had to eat potatoes every day and tries to focus on the positives** because **that was the only thing that helped him get through his internment.**
15	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Los Angeles** and was a **gardener**. When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was worried about the rest of his family in Japan.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **decided to enlist to prove his patriotism.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **fought with the 100/442.** That was when Saburo **earned his Silver Star.** Today, Saburo lives in **Los Angeles** because **that's where he feels is home**. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **is hesitant to share** because **there are things that he has seen in combat that no one should ever have to see or hear about. That is the burden of a soldier.**
16	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **America** and was an **American born Japanese.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was afraid it would affect her family.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **was sent to a concentration camp with her family.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **Felt that it was unjust the way Japanese Americans were picked for the war.** Today, Hiroko lives in **Fear and anger** because **the government failed to protect her as citizens of America**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **believes what happened to her and her people were unjust** because th**ey were forced to war based on race prejudice.**
17	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **San Diego, CA,** and was a **high school student.** When Hiroko first heard the news

	about what the U.S entry into the war, she **rushes home to ask her parents if they heard the sad news, and listens to the radio to find out more details.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **is sent to Santa Anita race tracks with her family (minus her father, who has been sent elsewhere). Later, they are sent to a camp in Arizona.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **and other the other teenage residents of the camp try to make the most of the years they spend there by attending school and participating in activities.** That was **when Hiroko met many of her closest friends that she continues to stay in touch with today.** Today, Hiroko lives in **Los Angeles** because **her parents knew other Japanese Americans in LA who could help them find a place to live. Once their family resettled in LA after camp, they stayed in the same city.** These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **openly speaks and writes about the experiences** because **she thinks people should hear about that aspect of the Nikkei experience, but also because she understands that many Japanese Americans feel uncomfortable doing so. She understands that because she, a Nisei teenager at the time, may not have had as many negative memories of the camp experience as the Issei generation, she has good and bad memories of her time in camp.**
18	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **a small town outside of San Francisco** and was a **daughter of a 1st generation farmer.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was still a high school student.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **decided that she would help out the American military in some way or the other as soon as she graduated high school.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko, **along with her family and other Japanese Americans living in her town, were sent to the nearby civilian assembly centers.** That was when Hiroko v**olunteered herself to the army to prove her loyalty towards the US and to help the US war efforts.** Today, Hiroko lives **San Francisco** because, **after the internment, she and her family were able to receive some compensation through the Claims Act, and returned to their original hometown.** These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **is both proud and saddened by the memories** because **she was able to personally keep her allegiance toward the US, while she realizes the injustice of what people of Japanese ancestry had to endure.**
19	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Los Angeles** and was a **high school student.** When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was scared of what would happen to him**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **ended up in a heart mountain internment camp.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo became **a lumberjack and lived in Chicago**. That was when Saburo **joined the 442**. Today, Saburo lives in **Los Angeles** because **that's where he was born and raised.** These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **would speak about it** because **he was proud of what he did.**
20	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Honolulu, Hawaii,** and was a **housewife**. **Her husband was a business proprietor.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **and her family started discussing what they should do about their eldest son, who had just left for Japan.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **and her family got sent to a camp in Arkansas.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **stayed in Arkansas with her children, while her husband was sent to a different camp.** That was when Hiroko **decided that she didn't want to be separated from her husband**. Today, Hiroko lives in **Yamaguchi-ken** because **she never went back to Hawaii after the government sent her and her family back to Japan**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **doesn't speak of her time in Hawaii or the camps** because **it tore her family apart.**
21	Before the war, Saburo lived in **Los Angeles** and was a **Restaurant Owner.** When Saburo first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, he **was concerned about the safety of his family and the people of his city.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Saburo **felt confused and angry about how the government was treating JAs. He didn't understand why his family had to leave their home when they had done nothing treasonous.** During the remainder of the war, Saburo **focused on the hope that the innocence of JAs would come to light and a better life for his family to return to.** That was when Saburo **decided to forgive the mistake of his government so that he could instead focus on what he could do to uplift his community.** Today, Saburo lives in **Los Angeles** because **it is where he grew up because it was the home; he was proud of and held important memories**. These days, whenever people approach Saburo to share memories of that time, Saburo **smiles gently, yet sorrowfully,** because **he wishes to**

	share the acts of resilience and selflessness yet pass on the pain felt from the injustice so future generations will fight to prevent it.
22	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Fresno, California,** and was a **student**. When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was not sure what that would mean for her.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **stayed in camp.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **stayed in camp.** That was when Hiroko met her husband. Today, Hiroko lives **in Torrance, California** because **her family ended moving into the area**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **smiles** because **she knows that it is a familiar face that went through similar hardships.**
23	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Los Angeles, California,** and was a p**rivate school teacher.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she **was not only concerned for her family in America but also for her family in Japan**. A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **and her husband were relocated to different camps because of her brother's military service in Japan (he was an admiral).** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **was interned with her children in Manzanar.** That was when Hiroko **'s sons joined the US Army, and her daughters left the camps to become domestics in homes in the Midwest areas of the US. (Ohio and Illinois).** Today, Hiroko **lives a nursing facility** because **of her Alzheimer's**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, Hiroko **recalls only her childhood in Japan** because **she has lost the memories of the years between then and now.**
24	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Japan** and was a **peasant.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, she w**as shocked.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **thought this was not the way to go for the relocation of all people of Japanese ancestry.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **fought for peace.** That was when Hiroko **found out her in purpose in life**. Today, Hiroko lives in **America** because she **wants to change the oppression that was brought to her people**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, **Hiroko is in tears** because **she suffered greatly.**
25	Before the war, Hiroko lived in **Los Angeles** and was an **elementary school student.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, **she was too young to understand much, but she knew something was upsetting her parents.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. Hiroko **was confused. It was fun to see her friends at the canters and camp. It was fun to meet new Japanese friends. But it wasn't her normal life in Los Angeles. There were a lot of things her family didn't have anymore.** During the remainder of the war, Hiroko **went to school and played with her friends.** That was when Hiroko **knew her parents were protecting her from something. Hiroko died in 2020 at age 83 due to complications of Alzheimer's disease. Prior to her death, Hiroko made sure her family knew about the injustice of the internment camps - calling them concentration camps. She fought for redress from the US Government. She let people know that the children were physically protected in the camps - the parents tried to make camp life seem normal. But as she got older, she realized they could not protect her from the emotional harm she endured, include extreme prejudice when they left camp (she was age 11).**
26	Before the war, **Saburo lived in Seattle, Washington, and managed his father's hotel. On August 27, 1941, he registered for Selective Service**. When Saburo first heard the news about what the U.S entry into the war, he **[wrote] Dec. 10, 1941: "Most terrible thing has finally happened, We all have to be good Americans and fo the best we can--I think that things are going to be pretty hard for the J's around here but don't won't worry-- everything is going to be all right... 1/25/42 I've got to go to the Armory to get my health examination for the army.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. **Saburo [wrote] "Things are beginning to look pretty bad for us here-- looks like we are orphans without a country. We will have to pack our things and make the best of tithe only thing that worries me are my folks here and the hotel-- however, while there is life there is a way, so the best thing a person can do is to fight- this is the biggest event in American history, and things have comets ahead and you conniver tell what is going to happen.. nothing looks bright right now. I will tell you as soon as I find out what happened...7/7/1944 with E Co 3 Bn, we lost Taka Okada, my buddy, and took part in fighting in Italy, we would go to France and take part in action saving the "Lost Battalion" of the 141 Inf. We should suffer extensive casualties**. During the remainder of the war, **due to his hotel management experience, he was transferred to take charge of an R&R military hotel in Mannheim< Germany. It was the Mannheim Hoff, which still stands. Noon of**

	the Veterans of the 442 that returned to Seattle ever spoke of their combat experiences. The comments repeated here are from my father's letters, which are too lengthy to repeat here...I may have the only letters repeating his wartime experiences... Yukio Kuniyuki Jr.
27	Before the war, **Hiroko lived in a hotel on Weller St in Seattle that her parents managed and were a student.** When Hiroko first heard the news about the U.S entry into the war, **she was with her friends at a bowling alley.** A few months later, Executive Order 9066 was issued, which authorized the exclusion of all people of Japanese ancestry living on the west coast. Meanwhile, Japanese American servicemen/women continued to serve in the military, and more would enter into service in the years to come. **Hiroko moved to Detroit. During the remainder of the war, Hiroko lived in Detroit and worked for a photographer touching up photos in colour...**that That was when **Hirohito realized there's were some Americans who did not discriminate against Japanese Americans**. Today, Hiroko **lives in Seattle because that is where her husband's family lives**. These days, whenever people approach Hiroko to share memories of that time, **Hiroko is open to sharing because she did not have to endure the painful and unjust incarceration of 120,000 People of Japanese Ancestry.**