Power and Pedagogy: Education in Japanese American Incarceration Camps

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Introduction:

In 1942, Gordon Hirabayashi dropped out of the University of Washington and began volunteering his time helping fellow Japanese Americans find and arrange storage for their belongings before being removed to American concentration camps. Hirabayashi did not plan on storing his belongings, or going to American concentration camps. Instead he decided to challenge the United State's decision to undemocratically remove over 125,000 Japanese Americans without due process of law.[1] Hirbayashi's challenge to the evacuation and curfew orders went all the way to the United States Supreme Court, where he would be ruled against and sentenced to serve time in federal prison. While the majority of Japanese Americans would be forced to live in one of ten prison camps built and run by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), those that openly challenged the government (or who the government deemed as threats and leaders within communities), would be sent to federal prisons or carceral labor camps such as the Tucson Federal Prison camp – also known as Honor Camp. After serving his sentence in Honor Camp, Hirabayashi would find himself in the Idaho based camp, Minidoka, where he would be invited to speak to students within the camp's high school.

Before becoming an influential figure in the history of incarceration, and being instrumental in the fight for redress, Henry Miyatake was a high school freshman in Minidoka high school. He was in Mrs. Pollock's class, herself a former teacher for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as were many of her fellow teachers. It was Mrs. Pollock who enlisted Henry, in his role

[1] Cherstin Lyon, "Gordon Hirabayashi," Densho Encyclopedia, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Gordon%20Hirabayashi (accessed Apr 7 2023).

as class officer, to invite Hirabayashi to talk with their class.[2] Inspired by his fight for democratic ideals and his journey of resistance and standing up for himself and others, Mrs. Pollock and a few of her fellow teachers sprang at the chance to have the famed resistor talk to their students. The presentation, which was given to a joint meeting of three classes, was planned for a one hour class period; it lasted for three.

Gordon Hirabayashi's visit left a lasting impression on Henry, it even got him expelled in his junior year. When Henry was assigned an essay on the American democratic system for Miss Amerman's class, Henry wrote what he felt was the truth. He did not write about the system that Miss Amerman taught about in her class but rather the one which allowed over 125,000 Americans to be incarcerated, which allowed the systematic oppression of wraBlack Americans – Henry had enough. In his essay, which he titled, "American Democracy and What it Means to Me," he aired all his frustrations with democracy, rejected the indoctrination he was getting in class – his essay was not well received by his teacher. Miss Amerman told him that he would have to rewrite it or receive an F in the class, which according to school guidelines, would also mean he got an F in *all* classes. Henry took a leaf from Hirabayashi's book and stood by his decision. Henry would not go on to complete high school.[3]

Henry Miyatake and Gordon Hirabayashi's interactions with the school system are the backdrop for understanding the system of education that was created for the camps. The environments which two figures briefly coexisted in was that of oppression and control, yet they both are representative of the resistance which, by the expulsion of Miyatake, was not the model which the WRA encouraged.

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[2] Henry Miyatake, "Henry Miyatake Interview II," By Tom Ikeda, Courtesy of Densho, May 4, 1998, https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-54-transcript-d413519217.htm; The following two paragraphs come from this interview.

[3] Miyatake, "Henry Miyatake Interview II".

This paper deals with a brief history of Japanese American incarceration and its education system but more than anything is an analysis of the curriculum and goals of the education system. The education system in these camps was one built hastily as Japanese Americans were forcibly removed from their homes, and made to live in concentration camps in deserts and isolated lands within the American interior. Not only were students' educations interrupted, but they were stunted and unsupported by the WRA, except for specific areas in which the WRA deemed useful to their goals. These goals are what this paper focuses on, charting a course through a WRA teachers' handbook for relocation education which represents a standardized curriculum across camps. This paper also works from various other WRA pamphlets and materials which underscored its goals and methods for relocating Japanese Americans. Oral history accounts from students underscore the impact of this education, as well as interacting with the historiography on this topic in addition to connections with broader histories of education from such scholars as Thomas James and David Wallace Adamas. By working through these sources, this paper will examine this history, understanding a history of this incarceration as well as the development of education and school in these environments. Attention will then be given to specific curriculum, focusing on the emphasis and meaning behind the assimilation curriculum and moving to understanding the vocational training and its ties to a broader history of education. Lastly, this paper will begin to investigate the ways in which both students and teachers resisted the WRA's curriculums and found spaces to uplift their own voices.

Through an understanding of this history, it is clear that the education system of incarceration camps acted as a tool of a longstanding white supremacist agenda, one which sought to relegate Japanese Americans to a lower tier of society. It aimed to achieve its goals

through pedagogy that emphasized assimilation which fundamentally rejected Japanese Americans, and through an emphasis on vocational training focused on creating a pipeline of ethnically Japanese labor. Through its school system, the WRA sought to keep Japanese Americans in an artificially stunted economic class as well as take away their voice and power in society – although this worked to varying degrees in practice.

Context to Incarceration and Schools:

In December of 1941, after Pearl Harbor was bombed by the Japanese empire, uncertainty, anxiety, and fear was all too common amongst Nikkei, emigrants and members of the Japanese diaspora. In schools, many Nisei (second generation) students were suddenly made into outcasts in their classrooms, others found sympathy and humanity in their peers and teachers. Virtually overnight, lives changed and after President Roosevelt announced Executive Order 9066, designating the Western coast of the US as a military exclusion zone. The executive order used language which did not target any specific ethnic group; however, General John Dewitt, in his capacity as head of the Western Defense Command, quickly issued curfews for Japanese Americans and on March 27th of 1942, Public Proclamation number 4.[4] Public Proclamation number 4 officially began the forced removal of Japanese Americans, which it labeled as enemy aliens.[5] Within months, Japanese Americans would be forcibly transported first to temporary relocation centers then to one of ten 'internment' camps spread across seven states – California, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, and Arkansas. Families were tagged with identifying numbers and told to bring only what they could carry, they were forced to store,

[4] "Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American Incarceration (1942)," National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives and Records Administration, Accessed April 8, 2023, https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066.

[5] Headquarters Western Defense Command and Fourth Army, *Public Proclamation No. 4, March 27, 1942,* DeWitt, John L. ,https://digitallibrary.californiahistoricalsociety.org/object/18959.

sell, or abandon any other possessions, property, and even pets.

Civilian Exclusion orders were posted in towns and cities within the military exclusion zone which ordered that "all persons of Japanese ancestry" had one week to report to a designated local area to be shipped away to relocation centers. The first order, Civilian Exclusion order no. 1, was posted on March 24th of 1942 on Bainbridge Island in Washington State; the last order would not be posted until August of 1942.[6] With the first round of exclusion orders being in March, young Japanese Americans were having the end of their school years interrupted and taken from them. High school seniors were not able to graduate, fifth graders did not make the transition into middle school with their classmates, and college students did not get their degrees. In some cases incarcerated students would receive honorary degrees after the fact, like in the case of the 36 students at the then College of Puget Sound who were given honorary degrees in 2009.[7] Or in the case of students at the Puyallup relocation center, euphemistically called Camp Harmony. The vice principal of Garfield high school came to the fairgrounds alongside a teacher and the president of the girl's club and gave a graduation ceremony and diplomas to as many as 26 students.[8]

Once Japanese Americans got to their temporary concentration camps however, not only did they find no acknowledgement of their previous schooling, they found no plans for continuing school at all. These temporary relocation centers were haphazardly furnished locations (more often than not a race track in which they lived in horse stalls) which were big enough to hold Japanese Americans while the WRA finished building the 10 incarceration camps. It is

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[6] "Civilian Exclusion Orders," Civilian exclusion orders | Densho Encyclopedia, Accessed May 1, 2023, https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Civilian_exclusion_orders/.

[7] Phuong Le, "Years After Internment, UPS Student Get Degree," *The Seattle Times,* May 17, 2009. https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/years-after-internment-ups-student-to-get-degree/.

[8] Yae Aihara, "Yae Aihara Interview," by Megan Asaka, Courtesy of Densho, July 4, 2008, https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-221-8-transcript-1b7bfad1db.htm.

obvious that little planning went into meeting the needs of over 125,000 Japanese Americans who were suddenly removed from their homes and communities. These temporary centers were initially operated by the Wartime Civil Control Administration, which was under the control of the Western Defense Command and General John DeWitt. By May of 1943, it had been a year or more since Japanese Americans were forcibly incarcerated and all prisoners would be moved in one of ten permanent prison camps, operated now by the War Relocation Authority. The WRA began circulating a guidebook in May for incarcerated to navigate their new situation, much of it being information on policies and procedures of camp life. Dillon S. Myer, the WRA director, penned a frank letter to "residents" in which he regretted not being able to communicate with incarcerees because of a lack of government experience with and planning for a large-scale relocation of residents.[9] Myer's admission speaks to the generally unprepared nature of incarceration. When we look at education, the WRA's ill-prepared nature is especially glaring. As of May 1943, more than a year after the first forced evacuation, the WRA informed incarcerees that,

> The War Relocation Authority will provide standard elementary and high-school education for all children of school age at all relocation centers. Teachers will be chosen and courses of study will be laid out in conformity with the standards of the state in which the relocation center is situated. Credits earned in relocation center schools will be recognized inr regular public schools and, in most cases, for colleges and university entrance throughout the United States. The school program at the centers will provide for a minimum of 180 days per year of classroom activities plus vocational experience. All high-school students over 16 years of age will be given an opportunity to receive vocational training in connection with the regular work at the center, and credits earned for such training will be counted toward graduation.[10]

The WRA put education in the context of future tense, and was still being planned for, nearly one year after first being removed. In addition to this, before even implementing the

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[9] Relocation program: a Guidebook for the Residents of Relocation Centers, May 1943, Ddr-densho-356-945, Courtesy of Yuriko Tsukada Collection, Densho, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-356-945/, 4.

[10] Relocation program: a Guidebook for the Residents of Relocation Centers, 4.

education system, they had already planned for the use of vocational education as a way to encourage and push Nisei towards labor jobs rather than pushing them towards further education. The WRA already made plans to stunt the educational journey and growth of Japanese Americans. This does not mean that Nisei got no schooling during this year plus. In fact, the community did the best they could to educate their youth. In the temporary centers, such as Santa Anita, which held incarcerees from Southern California, education was organized by the community after realizing that there were no official plans for education. Amongst the incarcerees were many college graduates and even those with PhDs who wanted to help and share their knowledge with the Nisei students.[11] A similar situation occurred in Tanforan assembly center, populated by many from the San Francisco Bay Area. In Tanforan, their high school had 20 teachers, all of whom had college degrees and yet only three had previous teaching experience.[12] This stems from an historic racism against Japanese in which they were discouraged and even refused employment within public schools – a factor which caused few Nisei to pursue teaching.[13] Anti-Japanese and anti-Asian also extended to the students, with the San Francisco school board excluding Japanese children from public schools and relegating them to "oriental schools."[14] Back in Santa Anita, as schools were being formed by the community, it was acutely obvious that they were lacking any formal support for school supplies and books. With no assistance from the government, books and supplies came from donations sent by libraries, churches, and groups like the American Friends Service Committee.[15] Without the help

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[11] Chizuko Iyama, "Chizuko Iyama - Ernie Iyama Interview," By Steven Okazaki, December 11, 1983, https://ddr.densho.org/interviews/ddr-densho-1012-5-6/.

[12] "Tanforan (Detention Facility)." Tanforan (detention facility) | Densho Encyclopedia. Accessed May 1, 2023. https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Tanforan_(detention_facility)/#Education.

[13] Thomas James, *Exile Within : the Schooling of Japanese Americans*, 1942-1945. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987. 19.

[14] Edwin Maxey, "Exclusion of Japanese Children from the Public Schools of San Francisco," *The Yale Law Journal* 16, no. 2 (1906): 1, https://doi.org/10.2307/785472.

[15]Chizuko Iyama, " "Chizuko Iyama - Ernie Iyama Interview."

of outside groups sympathetic to the situation of Japanese Americans, incarcerees would have been left without any support for their youth. Perhaps it was by design to give no priority to education, perhaps it was an accidental omission, neglected as the government rushed to incarcerate Japanese Americans – regardless of the reasons why, the education and care for young students was given no thought.

To provide no planning for education, even over a year into incarceration, provides the first insights into the agenda intended by this institution. There was no immediate indoctrination but a lack of support which disallowed the ability for young Nisei to develop, feel normal, and feel confident in their own abilities. Stunting the educational growth of a community is one among many ways in which those in power can belittle and attempt to make that community inferior. Another way to do this is directly through the curriculum to uphold whiteness.

Once in camp, under the leadership of the War Relocation Authority, curriculum would be fairly decentralized, left up to the local camps and some being designed in concert with local school districts.[16] In April of 1944, nearly two years after incarcerees entered incarceration camps, the WRA sent out the Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation which was sent to eight out of the ten camps and meant to be placed in the hands of every single teacher. This document represented a standardized education coming from the WRA amongst almost all the camps. Tule Lake was one exception — a segregation camp for 'disloyal' incarcerees which, by the beginning of 1944, came under martial law. For the remainder of incarceration, Tule Lake's

[16] Hui Wu, "Writing and Teaching Behind Barbed Wire: An Exiled Composition Class in a Japanese-American Internment Camp." *College Composition and Communication* 59, no. 2 (December, 2007):https://login.ezproxy.ups.edu:2443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/writing-teaching-b ehind-barbed-wire-exiled/docview/220711806/se-2. 242.

school system would be non-compulsory, supplemented by incarceree led private schools.[17] The other camp it was not distributed in was in Jerome Arkansas, as it was scheduled to be closed down in May of 1944. For every camp, that was not a special exception, this handbook was the standardized curriculum – a representation of what the WRA wanted every single student, child and adult, to learn.

This document is also telling in that not only does it represent what the WRA wants students to be taught, but it also gives an understanding of what has already been taught. An outline of the curriculum was sent to the camps and had school leaders make their own suggestions for the curriculum using class materials "that had been or could be used in the school to make a more definite contribution to the relocation program."[18] This document is revealing for contemporary study because it incorporated material previously used, while also showing the material that the WRA thought productive to continue using, thus revealing its incredible importance to the history of incarceration camps.

Assimilation and Relocation Narrative:

Objective 30.3.23 of the WRA teachers' handbook for relocation, titled "Americanization," systematically sought to remove Japanese influence and culture of students. Within this objective lay the groundwork to kill the Japanese and save the American, in the vein of Richard Henry Pratt's stance toward Indigenous students. Through this objective, the WRA approached Americanization using two avenues: first to culturally change Japanese Americans

[17] Thomas James, "The Education of Japanese Americans at Tule Lake, 1942-1946," *Pacific Historical Review* 56, no. 1 (1987). https://doi.org/10.2307/3638825. 25-30.

[18] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, April 27, 1944, ddr-densho-171-184, Densho; Courtesy of the Helen Amerman Manning Collection, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-171-184/, 2.

and second to pacify any rebellious spirit or ill will towards the United States. On the cultural front, the cultural reprogramming worked on multiple levels for the various grade levels and ages and starting with elementary school.

The curriculum for elementary schools was interested in reprogramming Nisei's minds, aimed at extinguishing any Japanese culture which may be in their view polluting their young minds. One of the first recommendations for teachers was to acquaint children with normal homes. The handbook told teachers, "Through discussion and constructive play children may be brought to an understanding of normal family relationships and responsibility which are often lost in life on the [*sic*]center."[19] Through emphasizing normal communities, the WRA is doing two things simultaneously: acknowledging the poor and unnatural condition of their own camps but also othering those within the camps. It should also be understood in the closing words of the above quote, "on the center." Possibly a typo, however in a document with few other typos, the wording is reminiscent of government documents referring to activities happening "on the reservation." Such as this line from a public health department letter stating, "No Indian, either on the reservation or off has legal entitlement to medical service under the Indian health program."[20] While not about education, the syntax is reminiscent. It could be possible that some of these curriculums are directly lifted from Bureau of Indian Affairs curriculum documents, where they just replaced "reservation" with "center," further propelling the white supremacist attitudes that plagued this school system. Connections to the education and treatment of indigenous children do not end here, but will be explored more in a subsequent section.

The camps were not a normal life situation for the students. (They were not even normal for the teachers, which is just one of the reasons for the incredibly high rate of teacher turnover.)

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[19] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 17.

[20] William Zimmerman, "The Role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Since 1933," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 311 (1957): 37, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1032351.

However, to imply that Japanese Americans could not create normal homes or have normal family dynamics is to disassociate being Japanese American from being "normal." Keeping in mind that these are young children, perhaps at one of the most developmentally impressionable stages, we can recognize that telling them that no matter what their family situation is, it is far from normal, would in turn lead to the creation of a harmful self-image for many of the children. Since the youngest an elementary school child can be is five years old, these children likely remember their homes, which makes the implication that they needed to know what a normal community looks like all the more insidious. In fact, the WRA tells teachers to "Lead each individual to practice American manners and customs. Help him understand the likenesses and differences of our manners and customs and those of the orient."[2121] At point blank range, the handbook states that Japanese Americans have Japanese values, not American. This is a naming of the practical way that Japanese Americans were othered and thus ostracized from American culture and identity in the instructional ideology of the handbook in parallel with the othering and ostracization they endured through forced removal from their homes. Though not necessarily labeling them un-American, this point of view fundamentally categorizes Japanese Americans as not American—separate from that identity. Their values, without even labeling or identifying what their values and mannerism were, were labeled as coming from a fundamentally different place. This assumption and labeling places a blanket categorization on a broad group of people with no thought to their humanity and individuality. It also ignores a key fact: Nisei, second generation Japanese Americans, were born and raised in the United States and were citizens according to the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution. To tell a young child, one that has grown up in the American public school system, that their behaviors are inherently foreign, could most likely cause a fracture in their identity, one where they would

[21] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 27.

never be able to feel that they can fit in. According to the recollection of Mitsuye May Yamada, she remembered her brother, a ten year old during incarceration saying after experiencing some schooling in camp, "It's too hard… It's too hard being a Japanese."[22] Yamada's brother spoke to this difficulty and fracture, feeling that he could not be Japanese. It felt like an uphill battle for him to "be Japanese" as if that is something one can switch off or decide not to be. He was Japanese, not by how he acted, but by the very nature of his ethnic history and ancestry. The American identity, inversely in more of a constructed identity, one with a specific ethnic background. The very nature of the American identity is one of many identities coming together. He was being told however that he could and should turn off his ancestry, and he felt that he had to. The implication and inherent association with abnormality was a tool used to break down any multiethnic identity, and to plant a seed in Nisei minds that associated Japanese Americans with negative thoughts.

The WRA also treated Nikkei of all ages, preschool to adult students, as people without fundamental manners which compounded their need to pacify Japanese Americans. For preschoolers it was framed as "Training in social habits, politeness to each other and to elders, table etiquette."[2323] Innocuous enough, the classroom is a major space of socialization for young children and as such learn great amounts of social convention through schooling. For older children, the WRA's true motive is clearly stated. For elementary aged students, the curriculum recommendation is to:

> Provide many opportunities for the practices of good manners in many social situations - eating, public gatherings, and so on. Show the children that where there are many differences in conventions, one is not necessarily better than the other, but that we get along better if we do things the way people around us are accustomed to doing them.[24]

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[22] Mitsuye May Yamada, Joe Yasutake, Tosh Yasutake, "Mitsuye May Yamada - Joe Yasutake - Tosh Yasutake Interview," By Alice Ito and Jeni Yamada, Courtesy of Densho, October 8 & 9, 2002, https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-135-transcript-90b40f7e60.htm.

[23] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 17.

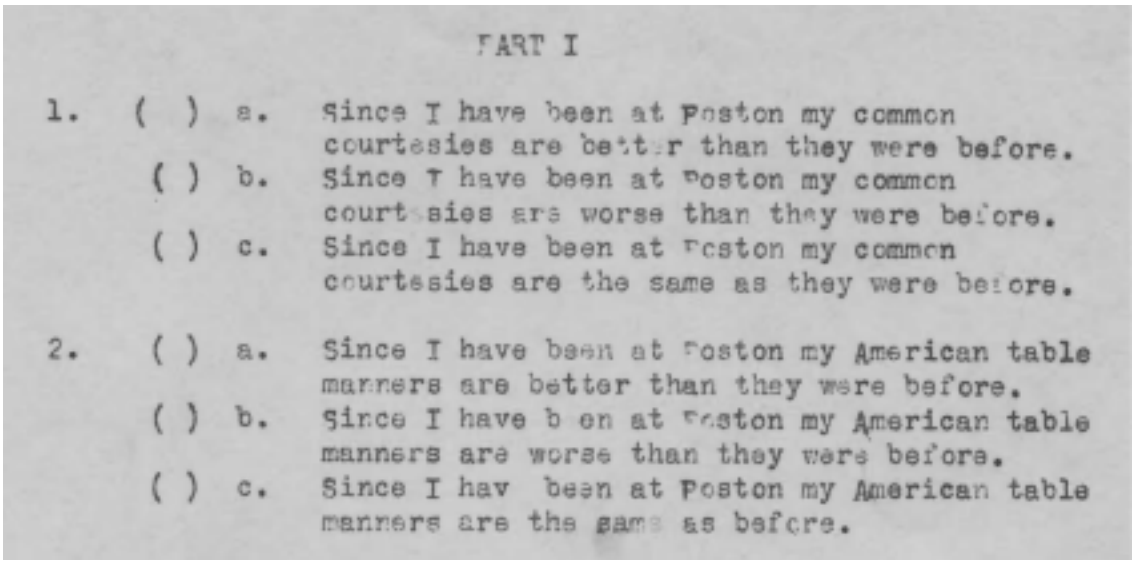
[24] Ibid, 19

For elementary school students, underscoring the importance of good manners in public, while likely good practice, does not necessarily need a full section on its own. However, ignoring that specific point, as it will come up again, a focus on the latter half of the statement is telling. It utilizes peer pressure and fear of sticking out to pacify students. The WRA is building off of the curriculum of cultural reprogramming and putting into practice a way to enforce it. What this is saying is, if they act differently – if they act Japanese, they will make things difficult for themselves and those around them. Putting this in their minds, especially elementary school kids, puts a fear of foreigners into them. Through this curriculum, children were already being told that they acted differently from "Americans." Children may not have understood the ways in which they were different – if they were even differences – but if the WRA's goals succeeded, they would have lived the rest of their lives feeling afraid to fit in and would go along with those around them. This is designed to create a population that wouldn't challenge the status quo, that will go along with decisions in order to not be controversial or upsetting to others. So too did this have the intent of making Japanese Americans followers rather than leaders. By putting in the curriculum the importance of "the way people around us are accustomed to doing" things, it stresses that Japanese American should not want to strive to change anything. With an extreme focus on etiquette, the WRA is striving for a subservient devotee to the United States, in an effort to kill any form of leadership or independent thought.

The objective of the WRA was to relocate the Japanese Americans into non-military exclusion zones, but that objective was nefarious in that they wanted to send out a population which felt less than American, which would feel that they had to play catch up to other Americans. The WRA aimed to make Japanese Americans inferior by causing them to be fearful of going against the status quo, by following those around them, white Americans. This creates a

culture of subordination and deference, never to enter leadership positions or striving to make decisions that may change the status quo, robbing the Nikkei from attaining any semblance of power and influence.

The WRA's goal of making Japanese Americans inferior in society can also be seen through more specific school documents such as a self evaluation given to high schoolers at Poston camp in Arizona. This 20-page document asked high schoolers to evaluate how they have changed since being in camp, with questions following the same format of asking students to rank the degree to which a particular behavior has been impacted by their time in Poston. Questions ranged from asking about students' ability to make friends, use of slang, and how they viewed various types of movies.[25] Many of these questions focus on the behaviors and manners of students, underscoring the intent on othering Japanese Americans through making their manners and culture fundamentally separate from that of an American system. Many questions directly interact with this through their wording,



PART I

1. ( ) a. Since I have been at Poston my common courtesies are better than they were before.
( ) b. Since I have been at Poston my common courtesies are worse than they were before.
( ) c. Since I have been at Poston my common courtesies are the same as they were before.

2. ( ) a. Since I have been at Poston my American table manners are better than they were before.
( ) b. Since I have been at Poston my American table manners are worse than they were before.
( ) c. Since I have been at Poston my American table manners are the same as before.

[25] Self analysis and inventory by high school students regarding the affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945), 1945, ddr-csujad-55-1835, Courtesy of California State University, Sacramento, Department of Special Collections and University Archives, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-csujad-55-1835/?format=doc, 2-3.

Figure 1. *Self Analysis and Inventory by High School Students Regarding the Affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center Residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945).*[26] Picture of Questions one and two in Part one of the self-assessment.

Figure 1 shows the direct nature that the WRA was attempting to control the identity association of mannerisms. With the opening questions of the self assessment, the WRA showed its hand by specifically targeting etiquette. These being the first two questions implies the importance of the concepts to the WRA – if a student didn't finish answering this 20-page document they undoubtedly would have answered the first page. Questions one and two acted as gauges for how well the curriculum was working for students. If they answered that their courtesies and *American* table manners were better, then the curriculum was succeeding, but if they responded with worse or the same, then the WRA needed to reevaluate. Responding with worse and the same is put in the same category because, as demonstrated earlier, the curriculum approached Japanese Americans with an inherent assumption of foreignness meaning that if they were operating with the same manners, those manners would be non-American manners. Calling the table manners American table manners is also revealing as it aided in the earlier mentioned separation of Japanese Amercians from an "American" identity. As explored through the teachers' handbook already, the WRA labeled Japanese American manners and etiquette as being from "the orient," separating them from accessing and identifying as American and this is shown in practice with this student survey.

The ways in which these questions are phrased is not dissimilar to the loyalty questionnaire given to adults in the camps. By comparing questions 14 and 15 of this self assessment with question 28 of the loyalty questionnaire, will demonstrate the similar tactics

[26] Self analysis and inventory by high school students regarding the affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945), 2.

used, as well as the same goals of subordination veiled as Americanization. Question 28 asked Adult Japanese Americans if they would "swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any forms of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization?"[27] If respondents answered yes, they admitted (in the eyes of the WRA) to having had previous allegiance to the Japanese Empire, confirming and thus justifying incarceration. By answering no, would mean that they were disloyal, thus also justifying incarceration. Question 28 was entrapment, it was an attempt to get Japanese Americans to self implicate and/ or reject all semblance of Japanese identity. Questions 14 and 15 of the self-assessment put students in very similar positions. Question 14 asks students about students' attitudes towards Japanese Americans, if they have more, less, or the same prejudices. [28]The implicit meaning of this question being that students already had prejudices, and within the possible answers for students to choose frome, none allowed them to express that they had no prejudices at any point. The WRA is testing students' ability to participate in the white hegemonic culture, allowing for no cultural pride or even identification. The only reason for the WRA to ask this is to test the degree to which Japanese American students are identifying with a culture that fundamentally rejects Japanese Americans. The same can be seen in question 15 which asks if students' attitudes towards Americans are more, or less democratic, or that of indifference.[29]

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[27] The so-called "Loyalty questionnaire," 1943, ddr-densho-72-4, Densho; Courtesy of the Ikeda Family Collection, https://ddr.deansho.org/ddr-densho-72-4/?_ga=2.263757132.1353274655.1680928755-653232644.1669591194, 4.

[28] Self analysis and inventory by high school students regarding the affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945, 8.

[29] Self analysis and inventory by high school students regarding the affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945, 8.

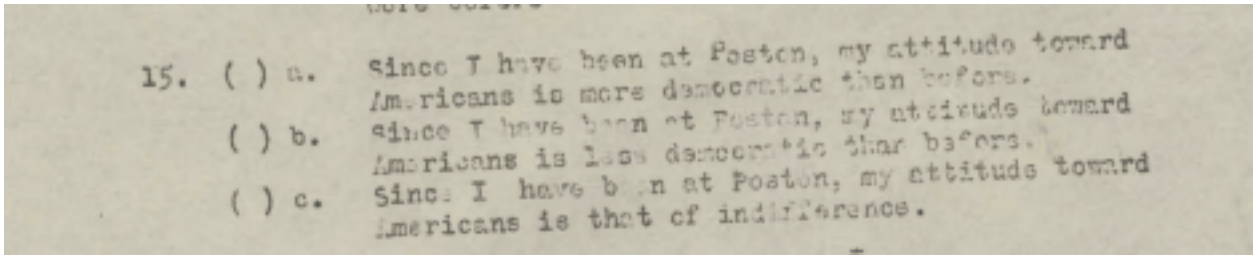
15. ( ) a. Since I have been at Poston, my attitude toward Americans is more democratic than before.
( ) b. Since I have been at Poston, my attitude toward Americans is less democratic than before.
( ) c. Since I have been at Poston, my attitude toward Americans is that of indifference.

Figure 2. Self Analysis and Inventory by High School Students Regarding the Affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center Residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945).[30] Picture of Question 15 of Part II.

The phrasing of this question is important, asking about feeling in terms of democracy fundamentally seeks to gauge students' notions on the validity of incarceration. For a student to feel more democratic about Americans would imply that they are able to identify, and agree with, the democratic teachings which they are learning. For a student to feel less democratic about Americans, would show that they are not receptive to the lessons of democracy they are getting and displays a fundamental dissenting from the WRA. Both these questions are aimed at gauging the extent to which Japanese American students are accepting the indoctrination which made up the WRA's curriculum.

The third section of this survey was filled with questions surrounding the attitudes of students, asking about obedience, ambition, determination, inclinations toward leadership, honesty, dependability, and emotional stability.[31]In truth the only question they needed to ask was on obedience, as this section set out to understand how obedient these students were. It is obvious that obedience was a primary goal of the WRA, making sure that students were able to be properly controlled and kept in subservient positions. All the questions focused on here, as well as several others in the document strive to help the WRA understand how obedient this student population is becoming and how well their goals are working.

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[30] Ibid, 8.
[31] Self analysis and inventory by high school students regarding the affects of the Colorado River Relocation Center residence, Poston Arizona (1942-1945, 13-16.

Vocational and farming emphasis:

The WRA stressed vocational training, so much so that it made up its own section within the teachers' handbook. The goal was to get Japanese Americans relocated and into jobs, yet the WRA stressed industrial labor and jobs of lower economic status, with fewer options for upward mobility. Beginning in elementary education settings, there was a strong emphasis on the concepts of vocational work, and especially industrial work. This fundamental study of vocational theory was done with the goal of indoctrinating young Japanese Americans into the American workforce, but keeping them in industrial and other lower economic strata. Objective 30.3.24A began the strong spotlight on industrial work for these young elementary kids. One of the first suggested activities involved reading materials covering the development of and dependence on the industrial world and a study of the ways in which raw materials are made into textiles.[32] What this is doing is creating a positive image of industrial work for students, which is not inherently nefarious at first. However, when it is combined with the suggested investigation the insidious emphasis becomes clear. These investigations focused on how to enter the job market, concentrating on wage earning and what forms of physical, social, and educational preparations were needed to join these labor markets.[33] The handbook pushes elementary school children toward a career in industry, especially. This sought to build a primary school-to-industry pipeline, creating and forming workers from a young age to go into the industrial workforce. Some, like the WRA, may argue that this is simply just good preparation for young students to keep their options open. However, in looking at the WRA's objectives that is clearly untrue. Vocational training is its own section. Within that section, only industry and manufacturing are

[32] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 30.
[33] Ibid, 30-31.

focused on and built towards. The curriculum does advocate for college and continuing education, which will be touched on later. However, this is done minimally, is not given its own section, nor is it even done by the WRA. Despite this, the fact remains that the WRA was in truth leaving options open for students to pursue, the curriculum directly mentions,

> Visiting typical project manufactories.
> a. Bakery
> b. Garage
> c. Other shops, markets, businesses, etc.[34]

All of these options for various manufacturing and factory jobs gave young students much to consider as they grew up and found the manufacturing industry which they want to contribute to. Farming was also recommended as an area for elementary school children to be pushed towards. However, this was in objective III, Americanization. Firstly, farming being in the Americanization section creates an association between farming and an American identity, marking a correlation between the need to be American and a push towards going into farming. This emphasis on farming is not incidental nor innocent. It is a calculated maneuver to emphasize physical labor over other economically prosperous fields. Students were being pushed into the idea of farming and physical labor from a young age. It was also not purely theoretical as during sugar beet season, it was not uncommon for many boys to be out working the fields, despite protestations from parents.[35]

It is no secret that manufacturing, industry, and farm labor does not pay well and offers little room for upward economic mobility, exactly the situation the WRA wanted Japanese Americans. By especially targeting the younger generation, the WRA attempted to create a pipeline of kids to industry work, to ensure that factories would have workers, and to ensure Japanese Americans filled those jobs. In a society, especially a capitalist society, those with

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[34] Ibid, 30.
[35] James, *Exile Within: The Schooling of Japanese American 1942-1946,* 64.

money have power and by targeting Nikkei with the intent to push them into economically subservient positions is to take away any possibility of power and influence.

The emphasis on vocational and industrial jobs is not dissimilar to the historic treatment of Indigenous youth in residential schools and marginalized groups in the early 20th century. In the horrifying system that was the Indigenous boarding schools, scholar David Wallace Adams notes that the strong emphasis on fields of labor and farming were the result of "the Indian Office's assumption about students' occupational destiny."[36] Essentially, the schools imposed the assumption that manual labor and farming were the most that Indigenous children would naturally be able to achieve, which was in no small part due to the school systems insistence on that very fact. The only reason it would have been true was because the residential schools made it true. This racist assumption comes from a fundamentally wrong and derogatory understanding of Indigenous communities. Residential schools are inherently a white supremacist system, that operated using overt and calculated racist ideas but also operated with this goal of making indigenous peoples subservient within white society. These two systems, incarceration schools and residentials schools, worked alongside the same path with their labor curricula, furthering the white supremacist nature of incarceration schools.

The early beginning of the vocational curriculum itself mirrors these racist and white supremacist attitudes. As defined by scholar of education and history David Tyack, "Simple realism decreed that the public schools should prepare some students directly for subordinate roles in the economy while it screened out those fit for further training in higher education."[37] This idea of simple realism targeted "low status people," using African American and Indigenous

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[36] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* (University of Kansas Press, 1995), 149.

[37] David B. Tyack, The *One Best System: A History of American Urban Education,* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 1974,) 189.

institutions of learning and communities as places for experimentation.[38] It is quite obvious the racist goals that simple realism promotes, seeking to constrain people of color to inferior economic sectors of society, not even deeming them fit for a proper education. Simple realism would also be bolstered by business tycoons like J.P. Morgan, endowing trade schools to create more workers. These trade schools which would eventually be absorbed into the public school system by the early twentieth century.[39] It is more than obvious the racist intentions of early vocational training, a system that targeted marginalized groups in order to force those groups into low economic positions – ripping from them the potential for power and influence.

The vocational targeting against Nikkei does not stop with elementary school students. It similarly targets adults and high school students by emphasizing their practical ability to work. Beginning with the recommendations for secondary education, there is a priority to getting students practical experience in the workforce rather than pushing them towards work. It is noted that this part of the curriculum is for those students "whom the completion of high school will terminate their formal education," with there being the acknowledgement of students who will continue to college.[40] It leaves the option for college open, but as will be examined later, high school students have already come in with a path in mind and relocation being a finite objective, the emphasis obviously was not on older students. In this aspect of the curriculum much of the focus was on having students lead the job search based on their interests, including suggestions involving work experience, talks from outside experts, and research on various fields.[41] A similar suggestion is put in place for the adult courses in that there was a heavy emphasis on experience,

[38] Tyack, The *One Best System: A History of American Urban Education,* 189.
[39] Ibid, 189.
[40] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 31.
[41] Ibid, 32.

especially "the development of skill and speed in an occupation."[42] In both cases, the WRA is creating the most ideal worker to go into whatever occupation they go into. To get an idea of what these jobs would have been, as they were limited to what could be offered within the camps, we can take a look at the list of recommended work areas within the curriculum. The WRA lists twenty-six areas for incarcerees to work which have corresponding courses that have been set up:

Auto mechanics	Firemen
Carpentry	Drafting
House wiring	Refrigeration
Library	Truck-Gardening
Livestock Service	Typing
Shorthand	Stenography
Bookkeeping	Accounting
Office Practice	Business English
Machine shop	Advertising Art
Bookbinding	Cabinet Making
Business Corres-pondence	Clerk-typist
Nurses Aides	Cattle
Industrial Sewing[43]	Commercial Vegetable Products

From these listed jobs which have been given corresponding courses, it is easy to see the types of jobs that were being pushed on Japanese Americans. Of all these listed, and supported courses, perhaps only a few are jobs with great potential for upwards economic mobility. Most of these are either service or manual labor jobs. Again, the WRA is pushing Japanese Americans towards jobs of lower economic status and thus attempting to economically handicap a whole population.

Adding to this is the language requirement that was emphasized for adult vocational courses and the compounding impact that has on economic sustainability. Within the adult curriculum lies the implicit requirement of being able to speak English. It references the objective of being able to speak English as being fundamental to vocational courses, implying

[42] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 34.
[43] Ibid, 34.

that it is necessary for "successful social and personal adjustment."[44] While this is undoubtedly true, that being able to converse in English would help in an English speaking workplace, this fundamentally ignores the contributions to labor by those who don't speak english. It ignores job markets which don't require English language skills, and it also disregards a whole population of workers. Especially for labor jobs such as the ones listed above, those have the potential to be done with minimal or even no English language skill. They can be done through translators or other forms of nonverbal communication. Yet the WRA would choose to encourage a sink-or-swim mentality: that they must learn English or not work at all.

The WRA emphasized an importance on vocational curriculum, targeting all ages of Nikkei with labor oriented prospects. The aim was to relocate a workforce which could not only slot right into the work environment physically, but also culturally. Compounding with the WRA's goals of Americanization and assimilation, their goals were to send out a workforce which would not question their roles, a workforce which would diligently contribute to the economy. Not only that but by pushing Japanese Americans, especially the younger generations, towards lower paying jobs which likely have little economic mobility creates a legacy of economic downturn. Following in the footsteps of racist, white supremacist institutions such as Indigenous residential schools, and the early public school system, the WRA aimed to economically destroy Japanese Americans and their future.

The National Japanese American Student Relocation Committee and the College Search:

This narrative of forced introduction into fields of manual labor becomes complicated when also understood in terms of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council

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[44] War Relocation Authority. Teachers' handbook on Education for Relocation, 33.

(NJASRC). Created in May of 1942—not by the WRA or US government, but by the American Friends Service Committee—this religious organization's goals were to help college aged students relocate to schools in the midwest and east coast to continue their education. Milton S. Eisenhower, the director of the WRA by this time, would be the one to request the NJASRC to help students find opportunities of higher learning and the organization was able to relocate 4,000 students in its time.[45] The WRA itself was not doing the relocating; rather, it was outsourcing and encouraging it to be done by the NJARSC. This complicates the agenda of the WRA when it comes to education, at the same time trying to make subservient Japanese Americans but also enabling pathways to higher education. While the NJARSC was doing incredible work, and the support from the WRA was a great means of encouragement, there remain holes in which themes of white dominance still prevail.

Conditions to get permission for leave were not very simple and was a complicated process. Luckily for these students, NJARSC and the WRA were not antagonistic and entered into this with the goals of helping and relocating these students. One of the first steps would be for students to fill out a questionnaire which would help match them with colleges and programs. Questions ranged from level of education already attained, academic interests, family life, references, and financial status.[46] Finances were an important facet of this application as students and families had to pay for these costs by themselves. Much like if students were attending college before incarceration, they would have to pay tuition, room and board, and transportation costs by themselves, something that the government required sufficient confidence in before

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[45] "National Japanese American Student Relocation Council." National Japanese American Student Relocation Council | Densho Encyclopedia. Accessed May 1, 2023. https://encyclopedia.densho.org/National_Japanese_American_Student_Relocation_Council/.

[46] National Student Relocation Council Questionnaire, 1942, ddr-densho-356-791, Courtesy of Yuriko Domoto Tsukada Collection, Densho, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-356-791/.

approving student leave.[47] This did not mean that all 4,000 relocated students had the financial means. Luckily there was the option for students to ask for loans and scholarships from those that they knew[48] but they also had access to scholarships from the relocation council itself.[49] These options for financial help were incredible outlets for students and display the incredible compassion which was held for Japanese Americans. However it is obvious that these options would not be available for every single student of college age. It is well documented the financial abuses done to Japanese Americans as a result of incarceration. Some estimates of financial losses range from 1-3 billion dollars, which has not been adjusted for inflation.[50] This, coupled with the poor pay for employees within camps, only being paid $12 for unskilled labor and at most being paid $19 a month for professional work, provides an understanding of how hard it would be for Japanese American families to begin to think about paying for college. It cannot be assumed that colleges across the east coast would admit students with free rides out of sheer compassion and so a condition is created in which Japanese Americans have been forced into an economically depreciated situation and expected to operate normally. There were options for loans and scholarships and yet it is still true that because of the inherent inferior position that Japanese Americans were forced into, there is no telling how many families and students felt discouraged to even apply for student leave.

It is also worth noting that outside connections also helped get students into colleges in other ways such as the example of Kenji Kurita and College of Puget Sound President Franklin R. Thomas. Kurita, a former pupil of President Thomas when he was a Professor at another

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[47] How to Help Japanese American Student Relocation, February 20, 1944, ddr-densho-156-190, Densho; Courtesy of the Bigelow Family Collection, https://ddr.densho.org/ddr-densho-156-190/, 4.
[48] National Student Relocation Council Questionnaire.
[49] How to Help Japanese American Student Relocation, 4.
[50] Varner, Natasha. “Sold, Damaged, Stolen, Gone: Japanese American Property Loss during WWII - Densho: Japanese American Incarceration and Japanese Internment.” Densho, April 4, 2017. https://densho.org/catalyst/sold-damaged-stolen-gone-japanese-american-property-loss-wwii/.

University, got letters of recommendation from the President which were sent to multiple Universities. However, even these recommendations were not a guarantee of enrollment as Kurita related, “The University of Denver doesn’t seem too willing to admit Japanese students, but I’m enclosing the letter I received from Denver, and I would like to have your Advice. The University of Colorado has closed their quota for Japanese-American students.”[51] Despite efforts from students, their connections, the NJARSC, and the WRA, Universities had the ultimate power of who they wanted to accept and how many.

It is also true that while 4,000 students were accepted into colleges and allowed leave, these were students qualified and already on track for college. It is tempting to assume that the encouragement of college education from the WRA would imply a more varied emphasis on indoctrination for students; however when looking at where they were targeting their curriculum, it becomes clear that college was a lesser evil for the WRA to endorse. Those students who applied for leave would already have been on track to go to college, or had even completed some college. The farther along a student is in their education, the more likely they are to have career aspirations or ideas of post schooling life, thus less susceptible to accept training and indoctrination into farming and labor if that was not already their goal. This curriculum would have been lost on them. Where this curriculum would have the largest impact was exactly where the WRA implemented it, with young children who didn’t know better and hadn’t had much previous education to encourage different career aspirations. To simultaneously encourage Nisei students to pursue higher education as well as push them into industries of farming and manual labor displays the complicated nature of education policies. What is not complicated is that the

[51] Kurita, Kenji. Letter, Kenji Kurita to R. Franklin Thompson. 1942. RG 01: Office of the President, RG 01, Box 66, Folder 2. Archives & Special Collections, Collins Memorial Library, University of Puget Sound. https://digitalcollections.pugetsound.edu/digital/collection/ephemera/id/6979/rec/5.

shadow of white supremacy clouds both of these policies, in either an active or passive role. While it cannot be understated how important and impactful the ability for 4,000 Japanese Americans to attend college was, the ability to gain leave for college was one out of necessity rather than compassion.

Resistance:

A history of acts of oppression are truly incomplete without also giving attention to resistors, resistors such as Gordon Hirabyashi or Henry Miyatake. Hirabayashi who stood against a government doing an injustice, and Miyatake who voiced a dissenting opinion against the indoctrination he saw in the school system; both punished in large ways respective to their situations, yet both becoming names synonymous with resistance. Acts of resistance like these happened within the camps, acts that took place in the classrooms by both teachers and students, sometimes in concert. The WRA may have had the goals of making Japanese Americans less than in society, but that does not necessarily mean that this handbook was implemented in every classroom. Professor of composition and English literature, Hui Wu, studied this resistance within a high school composition class in the Arkansas camps. Through a study of Virginia Tidball's class, Wu examines student essays which were all saved from Tidball's class and also have her pen marks and comments, or lack thereof. In essays, students questioned relocation and evacuation itself, underscoring the racism and prejudice brought against Japanese Americans. In one essay a student wrote, "[Issei] worked hard to give their children the necessities of an American way of life. Though undergoing many hardships, they did reach their goal only to be resettled by the

order of evacuation under the emergency for our protection and public security."[52] This student was critically engaging with the ideas of racism by underscoring the treatment of Japanese Americnas and the inherent hypocrisy. This student is also doing something important, which is going after the school system. They recognized the work and struggle of the previous generations to provide for the younger generations, to give them the American way of life, an inherently assimilative one. And here is this student, in a classroom and school system that works off the assumption that Japanese American are still foreign and need to be assimilated. This student was not only calling out the racism of America but also challenging the very basis of curriculum for incarceration schools. Inherently going against the school system, and its goals. Teachers did this too, in an examination of a composition class, which the above also comes from, we can see the teacher's reactions to essays that challenge the ideals of indoctrination. Hui Wu examines Tidball's class and her students' essays, alongside her reactions to them as can be examined from the physical documents. To excerpts like the above, Tidball's comments would be minimal to none, a silent grader which can be explained as negligence towards grading or, as Wu aptly argues, "her quiet statement of her position under complicated, paradoxical political circumstances."[53] For Tidball, someone with a record of troves of friendly correspondences with many former incarcerees in the post-war period,[54] with teachers evaluations indicating that her classroom was one that allowed student voice in conversation and mutual respect,[55]it is unlikely she would simply neglect her student's essays. She fostered a productive and open classroom, had a healthy rapport with students that continued post-incarceration and most of all, these essays were

[52] Wu, "Writing and Teaching Behind Barbed Wire: An Exiled Composition Class in a Japanese-American Internment Camp," 246.
[53] Ibid 251.
[54] Hui Wu, "Writing and Teaching Behind Barbed Wire: An Exiled Composition Class in a Japanese-American Internment Camp," 250.
[55] Ibid, 254.

saved, presumably by Tidball herself. All these essays originate from an archived file with the University of Arkansas libraries labeled "Virginia Tidball Papers" indicating a donation from her or her family. Why would she have kept essays that she didn't care to grade or give feedback on? The very act of preserving these essays, is an act of resistance. By saving the words of these students, it forever saves and immortalizes the words of these students into the record of history.

There were other acts of resistance in the classroom, the anecdote from Henry Miyatake on Gordon Hirabyashi is one such example, albeit likely one of the more standout examples. For the teachers involved in bringing Gordon Hirabyashi to the classroom, Mrs. Pollock being one of three that Miyatake recalls being involved,[56] their action was one directly going against the goal of subordination. If teachers were supposed to coerce students to be submissive in society, bringing not just a resistor, but one that had already challenged the United States in the Supreme Court flies right in the face of any attempt to ensure students remain submissive. For students like Miyatake who were young and already had the idea that incarceration is wrong, Hirabyashi would become a role model – the ideal being promoted, that of resistance rather than submission. Miyatake never makes the statement, but perhaps the visit from Hirabayashi is what inspired him to become one of the most outspoken voices in the fight for reparations.

Conclusion:

The goal of the War Relocation Authority was just that, to relocate Japanese Americans out of the military exclusion zones. Another goal of theirs was to ensure that Japanese Americans left the camps in worse shape than when they came, not necessarily physically (although there are plenty of anecdotes on quality of food and other aspects of physical safety), the WRA's goals

[56] Henry Miyatake, "Henry Miyatake Interview II."

were to beat down the person mentally. The WRA wanted to relocate a person who felt even more unsure about themselves than they likely already had, who felt even more like they didn't fit in, who felt inferior. The goals were to ensure that Japanese Americans would stay out of the spheres of power, money and influence. These goals were structured through the school system's focus on vocational training, a mask to push young children into industrial and factory work, low paying jobs that would cut off prospects for economic upwards mobility. Following the guidelines of a racist and targeted attack on marginalized groups through vocational training, the goal was to beat down marginalized groups, disallowing them from holding power or even hoping for a future of economic prospect. The other goal, of othering Japanese Americans, was achieved by telling them they needed to be American, when in fact, they already were. The WRA used a framework of American identity, which in truth was simply a white identity, unattainable to anyone who wasn't white. For Japanese Americans, especially the young children who were most likely born and raised in the United States, they could not change their "oriental" mannerism or culture because in all likelihood, it was a farce. An excuse to make Japanese Amercians constantly feel like less-than, not allowing them to ever fully feel American. Undoubtedly, through American propaganda and the memories of their forced removal, Japanese Americans already felt like the other, felt that they were being rejected, this would have only furthered that and contributed to the rejection of any semblance of multi-ethnic identity. By telling Japanese Americans they had to adapt to be American was to say they had to change their hair, their eyes, their heritage, they had to make themselves non-Japanese and make themselves white as fast as they could or they would never fit it. Japanese Americans were doomed to fail their course in Americanization the minute they were born. This topic, however, speaks to the importance of teachers who had the power to resist the intention of curriculum, sometimes in

subtle ways and yet more overt in others. Curriculum can act as a weapon and an agent of evil and sometimes all it takes is the incredible courage of an individual, teacher or student, to do what is right.

This is the incredible danger of education. It has the potential to indoctrinate and create unattainable standards and identities. While they may not state it, education systems have the potential and perhaps goal to exclude. It is an unfortunate theme in history that leads into the contemporary school system. From the hostility towards transgender youth to the socioeconomic barriers of schooling, the school system has never truly been for everyone. This represents the incredible importance to studying such histories be it residential schools or Japanese American incarceration schools. These are microcosms of hate and hostility and the very worst of the education system. Through the studies of these histories, these patterns can be recognized, and hopefully fewer people will fall prey to a corrupted education system.

Schools and the education system can do so much good, and can unlock the incredible potentials within people — but only if used with patience, understanding, and inclusion. These facets are fundamental and create a safe space rather than one of exclusion. We learn about this so that Residential schools are not repeated, so that incarceration schools are not repeated, so that racial hierarchy and superiority has no place in schools – or anywhere else. As a historian it is not enough to name the ills of the past but to situate them within the larger history, to understand the patterns they exist in, and to recognize them when they reappear in contemporary times, no matter how different they may look. As activist and former incarceree herself, Yuri Kochiyama said, “Our ultimate goal in learning about anything is to try and create and develop a more just society than we have seen.”[57]

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[57] Nina Wallace, “On Yuri Kochiyama’s 95th Birthday, 5 Enduring Quotes to Celebrate with - Densho: Japanese American Incarceration and Japanese Internment,” Densho, November 2, 2019,

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