INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600

UMI®

**REMEMBERING POLITICAL VIOLENCE: THE NIKKEI INTERNMENT
MEMORIAL CENTRE**

by

Kirsten Emiko McAllister

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
December 1999

©Copyright
1999

Kirsten Emiko McAllister

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-48349-5

Canada

The undersigned recommend to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies
acceptance of the thesis

Remembering Political Violence: the Nikkel Internment Memorial Centre

submitted by Kirsten Emiko McAllister, B.A., M.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Thesis Supervisor

External Examiner

Carleton University
December 16, 1999

Abstract

This dissertation examines the role that collective forms of remembering the past play in reconfiguring communities that have been the target of political violence. While political violence can include acts ranging from genocide to political torture, I am concerned with systematically deployed measures that damage or destroy the capacity of a community to continue to function as a social collective. This form of political violence can include programs that uproot communities from their settlements or force their members to disperse physically and then assimilate them into the dominant population.

The dissertation argues that collective forms of remembering operate as a means for historically persecuted groups to reinvent themselves as a community. Yet, remembering the past is a complex process. Measures taken to integrate the members of a community into a hostile population can damage or destroy their lifeworld. This can lead to serious social and psychic damage that destructively works its way across a social body. The literature in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder claims that collectively remembering the violent acts is an essential component in the survivors' process of healing.

This dissertation examines the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) as a case study to examine this problem. A group of Japanese Canadian elders built the NIMC in 1994 to mark the mountainous valley where they live today with their history of internment. They are members of the Kyowakai Society of New Denver, an organization that was set up to represent the 1,500 Japanese Canadians that the Canadian government interned in the Village of New Denver from 1942-1945. The internment camp in New

Denver was part of a larger plan devised by the Canadian government to remove over 21,000 Japanese Canadians from the province of British Columbia during the 1940s.

This dissertation's main premise is that the manner in which a group collectively remembers their past has social and political ramifications. As critics of nationalism argue, remembering the past can be a conservative project. This dissertation is critical of conservative projects. It is concerned with collective forms of remembering that usurp fixed subject positions and static configurations of community life that automatically construct others as threats and social change, as a corruption of idealized traditional practices. Through in-depth study of one historically persecuted group's 'memory project,' the NIMC, this dissertation documents the complicated process of developing collective forms of remembering.

In Memory of

Mr. Shoichi Matsushita

September 21, 1914 - September 6, 1998

Mr. Senya Mori

September 24, 1917 - January 28, 1997

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the following individuals and organizations for the role they played in the creation of this dissertation:

My Ph.D. Supervisor, Alan Hunt for his patience, persistence and the force of his honest engagement, integrity and vision -- all which opened up and brought me back to the essential questions of 'why' -- of justice -- that propelled me forward and onward.

Members of my Committee, Derek Smith who shared his libraries of scholarship as well as imaginative textual strategies for transposing other worlds across the divides of time and place in ongoing discussions, guiding me across the riptides and shallows. Audrey Kobayashi who revealed conceptual routes forward, generous support and grounded me in the necessity of enjoining the complex and contradictory spaces of community, activism and academia in committed, conscious acts for change. Geraldine Finn who shared the possibilities of Merleau-Ponty's work and inspired me to see what shape his words and worlds would take in New Denver.

Kyowakai Society of New Denver, especially Pauli Inose, Kay Takahara, Mr. and Mrs. Matsushita, who, with patience and generosity, taught me how our histories place us in relations of responsibility and caring to those beyond ourselves and our communities.

Ruby Truly, who in opening up the world to me, has taught me that we are committed to what we envision beyond the horizon, to make it happen.

Melanie White, who has shown me in so many ways, what is entailed in friendship. Her intellectual engagement, practical support and her generous, witty and principled comradeship made this dissertation possible.

Jules Pidduck, who engaged me in the hopes invested in the theoretical and political and imaginary worlds of writing and living and scouted out a future horizon.

JC visionaries, Roy Miki, Mona Oikawa and Katherine Shozawa.

Wendy Lerner, for her friendship and sharing her world of aikido

My amazing community of friends across provinces and oceans -- José Arroyo, Behnam Behnia, Stephen Blight, Ana Chang, Dominique Darmon, Michael Fukushima, Shafraz Jetha, Calvin McKnight, Mari-Jane Medenwaldt, Diane Schon, Cindy Sutherland and Tasha Yovetich.

The support and belief of Janet Siltanen and Rob Shields
Ottawa Aikikai, especially Sensei Don Dickie and Gladys Manchester; Jean-René Leduc and Meg Seaker of Kootenay Aikido Renmei. The constant support of the Nakashima family, the kindness of Don and Lise McAllister and my two wonderful brothers Angus Takao and Murdoch Koji.
Most of all, I must acknowledge my parents, Rosalie Chitose McAllister and Carey Douglas McAllister who have lovingly supported and inspired me through all of this.

I gratefully acknowledge support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ontario government (Ontario Graduate Scholarship), Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, National Association of Japanese Canadians' Redress Foundation, Carleton University, Mennonite Central Committee and the Ontario Public Interest Research Group.

Table of Contents

Acceptance Sheet	ii
Abstract	iii
In Memory	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Table of Contents	vii
List of Maps	ix
 Introduction: The Drive to Do Research	
I. The Drive to do Research...	1
II. Introduction to the Research Community	2
III. Research Problem	4
IV. The Socio-political Starting Point	8
V. The Sociological Starting Point	12
VI. Methodological Questions	16
VII. Conclusion	31
 Chapter 1: Re-membering Violence: A Phenomenological Approach	
I. Introduction	32
II. Violent Acts	39
III. What Happened to Japanese Canadians: Signs of Trauma?	55
IV. The Lifeworld	93
V. The Threat of Death	118
VI. The Process of Healing	126
VII. Conclusion: Starting from What's/the Present	130
 Chapter 2: Re-configuring the Social Landscape: Mapping the Past	
I. Introduction	138
II. Mapping What is On/Out of Site	141
III. Visiting the NIMC	181
IV. Reading into Remnants of the Past	191
V. Chronotopes and Memorials	201
VI. Conclusion: What Can Not Be Definitively Represented	207
 Chapter 3: Continuity and Change: An Account from the Perspective of the Elders	
I. Introduction	209
II. Methodological Limitations	211
III. Constructing an Account	224
IV. An Account from the Perspective of the Elders	231
V. Conclusion: Continuity and Change	270
 Chapter 4: A Catalyst for Small Scale Memory Projects	
I. Introduction	273

II. Locating the NIMC in the History of Redress	273
III. A Catalyst for Small Scale Memory Projects	285
IV. 'Re-storing' and 'Re-collecting' the Past	289
V. Conclusion: A Dialogic Understanding of the Past	315
Chapter 5: Visiting the NIMC: a Museum, a Memorial or a Pilgrimage Site	
I. Introduction	318
II. Theoretical Discussion	323
III. Negotiating Dominant Discourses in the Field	346
IV. Mediated Relations	415
V. Conclusion: New Relations with Others	421
Conclusion: Points of Departure	
I. Points of Departures	424
II. The Theoretical and Political Problem	425
III. The Case Study	426
IV. Summary of the Research	429
V. Insights and Contributions	434
VI. Limitations	440
VII. Conclusion	443
Glossary	445
References	446

List of Maps

1. Japanese Canadian Internment Camps in British Columbia	59
2. Distribution of Japanese Canadian Population After the Mass Uprooting	63
3. Map of the Slocan Valley	140
4. Map of the Village of New Denver	145
5. Map by the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre of the New Denver Internment Camp	163
6. Map of the Rosebery Internment Camp	165
7. Map of the Slocan Valley (enlargement of details)	167
8. Map of the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre	183

Introduction

The Drive to Do Research

I. The Drive to Do Research...¹

It was a ten-hour drive from the Pacific coastline of the province of British Columbia. My destination was a remote mountainous valley in the interior of the province. I was expected to arrive at dusk, the moment when night swallows the visual world of day. From the network of red lines on the road map, I traced a route that followed Highway #3 and then cut north along Highway #6. It was not the fastest or most direct route. But it followed the contours of the landscape I would traverse over the next several years. The route passed by Tashme, Christina Lake, Greenwood, Lemon Creek, Slocan, New Denver, Rosebery and then east along Highway #31A to Sandon and Kaslo. They were the geographic nodes of a systematically deployed plan to counter 'a quiet insidious penetration' by an 'aggressive, unassimilable' race of people (Ward 1990: 107). Slowing engulfed by the movement of the passing years, today you see the remnants of mining towns, overgrown fields and serene lakes nestled in mountainous valleys.

Highway #3 was the southern route through rugged valleys, over wild mountain ranges with fast curving descents that unwound unpredictably across rolling savanna. For most travellers it was the slow scenic route. But for those re-collecting the remains of the past, it was the route inscribed with the passage of others, the route in-memory-of-others.

I drove through the heat of the day, stopping only for gas, directions and coffee. As the light began to fade, I cut north up Highway #6, chasing the sunset up the Slocan Valley. Advancing glaciers carved out this long deep valley, leaving rich beds of glacial till in their retreat. The mountains were enormous; the lake, a deep inland sea. The depths of the lake were alive with the silver darts of kokanee, freshwater salmon, whose return to the sea had been blocked by geological movement thousands of years ago. The narrow winding highway climbed high, close to the pale twilight sky. Then it suddenly descended to the valley bottom: a cool rush into the darkness of the night.

The red lines on the map could take me no further. I had reached my destination. In 1942 the bureaucratic machinery of war

---

¹ In order to demarcate the difference between the various texts that I have incorporated in this dissertation, I have used different types of font. 'Courier New' indicates text that I wrote in my fieldnotes, letters, or other documents. 'Ms Sans Serif' indicates published documents written by, for example, NIMC administrators, government agents, journalists or taken from texts such as dictionaries.

transformed the mountains in this valley into natural prison walls. The government used the massive rock faces, the skyline of ridges fortified by ice and howling winds to intern thousands of women, children, men and elderly people.

There are stories about how strangers from different walks of life were thrown together in chaos, confusion and fear. Rounded up from urban neighbourhoods, makeshift logging camps, old mining towns, crowded fish canneries and prosperous farming settlements, they somehow managed to create a semblance of order before they were uprooted again in 1945 and shipped to Japan or forced to disperse east of the Rocky Mountains.

For me this destination was a starting point and a point of departure. The air was saturated with the weight of the past, a presence that haunted this valley. It is a valley that is sedimented with the lost dreams and persecution of the Kootenay People of the First Nation, Doukhobors and Japanese Canadians. And it is a valley that has been constantly re-made and re-imagined through their struggles and hopes.²

II. Introduction to the Research Community

In 1994 a group of Japanese Canadian³ elders⁴ living in the Slocan Valley built the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) to mark this isolated mountainous terrain

---

² This description was compiled from the letters that I wrote to friends and members of my family when I visited New Denver in July 1995.

³ I have chosen not to use a hyphen when I use the word, 'Japanese Canadian' as an adjective and as a noun. I recognize that the failure to use a hyphen when 'Japanese Canadian' is used as an adjective is grammatically incorrect. But in the context of a multicultural society where the federal government recognizes the founding nations as England and France (and sometimes the People of First Nations), the hyphen serves to symbolically hyphenate the identity of one of the many groups of Canadians whose kin immigrated to Canada from countries other than England and France. Many of these groups have been historically constructed as foreigners in Canada, despite their citizenship. After the passage of the federal Multicultural Policy in 1971, there seemed to be a proliferation of 'hyphenated' Canadian identities. In some ways this worked to include these groups in Canadian society. But in a social and historical context where the founding Nations were recognized as English and French, the hyphen seemed more to attach Canadian-ness to so-called ethnics' foreign-ness, making them foreigners who were also Canadians rather than Canadians with particular socio-cultural and economic histories.

⁴ The use of the term elder in the Japanese Canadian community is one of the ways community activists refer to the older generations. Typically, it seems to be used by activists who have worked in left-leaning artistic communities and organizations. I am not certain about the origin of its use but I suspect that it may have been introduced to the Japanese Canadian community through the working relationships that developed between redress activists and First Nations organizations. After the settlement for redress was reached in 1988, in Vancouver, the community with which I am most familiar, events organized by community workers affiliated with the National Association of Japanese Canadian would often invite elders and cultural performers from First Nation communities to Japanese Canadian events. Given that mentor-like relations

with their history of persecution. From 1942-1945, the Canadian government operated six internment camps in this region. Together these camps held over 6,000 Japanese Canadians. Most were Canadian citizens. None had been charged with or convicted of unlawful acts. In the eyes of Prime Minister MacKenzie King's federal cabinet, their crime was their 'race.' The camps were part of a larger plan devised by the government to remove over 21,000 'persons of Japanese racial origin'⁵ from the province of British Columbia.

The Japanese Canadian elders are members of the Kyowakai Society of New Denver. In Japanese, *Kyo* means peacefully, *wa* means together and *kai* means society: Kyowakai Society translates into 'working together peacefully' (Kamegaya in Truly 1995). The Society was established in 1943 to represent the interests of the 1,500 Japanese Canadians interned in the camp that was located in the Village of New Denver. Today, the Kyowakai Society is a community-run organization that represents the interests of the fifteen remaining elders who continue to live in the Village of New Denver on the former site of the internment camp. After the war, the government segregated 900 Japanese Canadians in New Denver. The government kept these Japanese Canadians under its care in New Denver because most were either too ill or old to be able to support themselves. Over the years, with their families, these Japanese Canadians transformed the internment camp into their home community.

Occupying almost one full block in the residential area of New Denver south of Carpenter Creek, the NIMC is a public statement describing how the Canadian

---

between the generations are still practiced, it would be interesting to examine if there is an equivalent term in Japanese for 'elder,' that the community no longer uses.

⁵ The phrase, 'all persons of Japanese racial origin' was used by the Canadian government on a series of public notices that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police posted to instruct Japanese Canadians how to proceed during the various phases of their removal from British Columbia during the 1940s.

government violated the rights of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s. Through its historical displays, the centre presents the experiences of the Japanese Canadians who were interned in the New Denver camp. The centre also offers a site to Japanese Canadians scattered across Canada where they can gather to collectively remember their history of persecution. In its first summer of operation, the NIMC had over 2,000 visitors.

III. Research Problem

This dissertation uses the NIMC as a case study to examine the role that collective forms of remembering play in reconfiguring communities that have been the target of political violence. While political violence can include acts ranging from genocide to political torture, I am concerned with systematically deployed measures that damage or destroy the capacity of a community to continue to function as a social collective. This form of political violence can include programs that either inadvertently result in, or have been intentionally devised to dismantle a community's socio-cultural, economic and political institutions. It might include uprooting a community from its settlement or forcing its members to physically disperse and then assimilate into the dominant population.

The dissertation argues that collective forms of remembering operate as a means for historically persecuted groups whose members have been physically scattered and culturally alienated to reinvent themselves as a community. In order to recollect the past, the members must find ways to regather and reconstitute themselves as a group. They must remember as well as reinvent community venues, social networks, shared modes of speech and frames of reference.

But remembering the past for historically persecuted groups involves more than regathering and reinventing social and cultural practices. Measures taken to dismantle a community and integrate its members into a hostile population can damage or destroy its lifeworld, undermining the community's capacity to function as a social collective. This can lead to serious social and psychic damage. The literature in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder has documented how, not only extreme forms of violence, such as war atrocities, rape and genocide, but also events including the destruction of a community's habitat can induce pathological symptoms that destructively work their way across a social body (Wilson et. al 1988; Herman 1992). Psychiatrists such as Robert Jay Lifton (1967) argue that, collectively remembering the violent acts is an essential component in the survivors' process of healing.

In Canada, the most morally repugnant and socially destructive examples of efforts taken to dismantle communities have involved the People of the First Nations. For example, consider the case of the Sayisi Dene. Federal government officials, concerned about the decline in caribou herds, blamed the Sayisi Dene for over hunting. The officials removed them from their traditional land and moved them to Churchill, Manitoba in 1956. In a location where they were "denied their traditional way of life, unable to speak English and left without jobs or support, [they] turned to alcohol and became mired in a destructive cycle of sexual abuse, domestic violence and suicide" (Nairne 1999: A8). But the Sayisi Dene did not disappear as a people. In 1973, the remaining survivors were moved to Ts'eouli Lake. At this location it was possible for them to rebuild new socio-cultural and economic systems based on their traditional way of life. Re-established as a self-governing economic and socio-cultural unit, they could then begin to address the self-destructive behaviours resulting from their uprooting in 1956 that had destructively ruptured their collective life.

The Sayisi Dene are not the only First Nations who have mobilized their people to address the socio-cultural, economic, psychological and spiritual devastation resulting, for example, from the appropriation of their land or the enforced enrollment in residential schools. Their efforts instruct us that violent acts do not necessarily turn historically persecuted groups into helpless dysfunctional victims who are unable to regather and coordinate themselves as social collectives (Haig-Brown 1988; Fournier and Crey 1998).

As Michael J. Fischer argues in the case of ethnicity, social identity which is based on one's membership to a particular community is not something that is "simply passed on from generation to generation, taught and learned; it is something dynamic, often unsuccessfully repressed or avoided. It can be potent even if it is not consciously taught" (Fischer 1986: 195). I shall argue in this dissertation that the 'mode of being' specific to a particular social collective – which includes habitual ways of interacting and moving as well as inclinations towards certain tastes and smells -- is something that is shaped in relation to a group's lifeworld. The lifeworld is not something that can be easily erased by disciplinary practices or coercive measures. It is the experiential world within which one's body has become psycho-somatically organized. It has durability. At the same time, Fischer argues that ethnic identity is reinvented and reinterpreted with each generation and each individual. This discussion suggests how historically persecuted groups actively engage in creating, challenging and transforming their collective life and identities. This dissertation is concerned with collective forms of remembering as a dynamic process in the transformation of communities.

One of this dissertation's main premises is that the manner in which a group collectively remembers their past has social and political ramifications. As critics of nationalism argue, remembering the past can be a conservative project (Balibar 1991; Goldberg 1993). Representations of violent events can construct the survivors as victims. Victimhood can be mobilized in a number of ways. If it endows the survivors with a sense of moral righteousness, victimhood can be used to justify reactionary nation-building projects (Brunner 1997; Ram 1995). War memorials that have been built to commemorate soldiers killed in the service of their nation can draw on imagery that turns their deaths into heroic acts of sacrifice which are imbued with religious connotations (Ben-Amos 1993; Winter 1995). Trajectories that claim the survival of a community is under threat can incite fear which can be used to pressure the members to follow prescribed cultural practices and norms. Fear can be used to advocate a return to a mythical community based on restrictive gender roles, racial purity and authoritarian forms of leadership. Critical thought, social difference and change can be construed as threats to the integrity of the community (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1989; Parker et. al. 1992).

This dissertation is critical of conservative projects. It is concerned with collective forms of remembering that usurp fixed subject positions and static configurations of community life that automatically construct others as threats and social change, as a bastardization of idealized traditional practices. Through in-depth study of one historically persecuted group's 'memory project' -- a site specific project that involves members of a community in the process of collectively remembering the past -- this dissertation seeks to learn about the difficult process of developing collective forms of remembering. I am interested in collective forms of remembering that work towards building a 'just' society: a society that fosters mutual regard for others' integrity; as well as mutual recognition of

others' capacity and responsibility to act in ways that respect social difference and our fundamental interdependence.

IV. The Socio-Political Starting Point

The NIMC is one of many memory projects initiated by Japanese Canadians in the 1990s. These projects followed in the wake of the successful conclusion of the Japanese Canadian movement to seek redress from the Canadian government for the violation of their rights during the 1940s. I will briefly describe the redress movement because it created the social and material conditions that made projects like the NIMC -- and this dissertation -- possible.

Throughout the 1940s and the 1950s community activists made a series of attempts to seek compensation for Japanese Canadians. But as I will discuss in *Chapter 1*, they found little support from other Japanese Canadians who were immersed in the struggle to rebuild their lives in unfamiliar and in some cases, hostile social environments. During the 1950s through to the 1970s, many Japanese Canadians, especially the *Nisei*⁶ avoided social contact with other members of their community. They did not want to be reminded about their humiliating and painful wartime experiences. Having learned the perils of being marked as racially other, they tried to protect their children, the *Sansei*,⁷ by encouraging them to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society. Few *Sansei* were encouraged to learn Japanese Canadian cultural practices and aesthetic forms, whether the ability to speak Japanese, an appreciation for the salty and pungent tastes of Japanese

---

⁶ Japanese Canadians have a set of social terms that identify each of the generations. *Nisei* are the second generation. Their parents are the *Issei*, the first generation. The *Issei* immigrated to Canada from Japan.

⁷ *Sansei* refers to the third generation of Japanese Canadians. Their parents are the *Nisei*, the second generation.

Canadian foods or the skills to engage in the complex forms of etiquette practiced by their grandparents, the *Issei*⁸ (Adachi 1991; Sunahara 1981).

In this context, mobilizing Japanese Canadians in a movement to seek redress in the 1980s was a formidable task. Activists tried to draw together Japanese Canadians by organizing public forums, holding meetings as well as publishing pamphlets and articles on the case for redress. In order to mobilize Japanese Canadians, it was not only necessary to physically regather them, it was also necessary to 'write' their history, in a sense, writing Japanese Canadians into Canadian history and thus, into the Canadian nation (McAllister 1999). Activists took what had been a shameful secret and turned it into the history of a prosperous community of Canadians whose rights had been violated by the Canadian government. From the recollections of *Issei* and *Nisei*, the activists constructed a profile of loyal Canadian citizens who had contributed to the economic development of Canada in fishing, farming, mining and forestry. Using archival government documents, activists were able to show how the actions that the Canadian government took against members of their community constituted a violation of their rights. Through the redress movement, the Canadian government's destruction of the prewar Japanese Canadian communities in British Columbia during the 1940s became an issue that involved all generations of Japanese Canadians, not just those who had been interned. *Sansei* learned about the traumatic history underlying their fragmented community. *Nisei* and *Issei* had a forum through which they could address humiliating painful experiences in a dignified manner with the support of other Japanese Canadians.

---

⁸ *Issei* refers to the first generation of Japanese Canadians who immigrated to Canada from Japan before World War Two.

In 1988, after eight years of political struggle, the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), the organization representing the interests of Japanese Canadians, negotiated a settlement for redress from the Canadian government. The settlement included a public apology, financial compensation for individuals and funds for community development.⁹

The movement for redress accomplished more than a public apology from the Canadian government and compensation. The movement can be credited with rebuilding a post-war community from the weak forms of association that held together physically dispersed, alienated Japanese Canadians after the majority were forced to leave British Columbia in 1945. But the post-war community is fundamentally different from the pre-war community. The pre-war community was built around networks of political, economic and socio-cultural institutions that integrated the lives of Japanese Canadians in geographically bound settlements which were clustered along the coast of British Columbia. Today, Japanese Canadians are physically dispersed throughout Canada. Unlike in the past, government agencies now regulate and administer most aspects of their economic activities, formal education and training and health care. Most regions with a significant population of Japanese Canadians have community-run organizations. Many of these organizations were established as local branches of the NAJC during the 1980s. Today they focus on issues concerning community development, the administration of the funds from the redress settlement, recording their local community's

---

⁹ In 1988, Japanese Canadians secured redress from the Canadian government with the following terms. It included an "acknowledgment that the treatment of Japanese Canadians during and after the World War Two was unjust and violated the principles of human rights as we understand them today"; a "pledge to ensure, to the full extent that its powers allow, that such events will not happen again"; the recognition "with great respect the fortitude and determination of Japanese Canadians who, despite stress and hardship, retain their commitment and loyalty to Canada and contribute so richly to the development of the Canadian nation"; as well as symbolic redress which included funds granted to eligible individuals, funds for activities that promote educational, social and cultural activities including human rights in addition to funding for a Race Relations Foundation (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 138-139).

history, social services, human rights and cultural activities. Most communities also have a range of social and cultural organizations, such as churches and Buddhist temples, elder-care facilities, community centres, flower arranging clubs, Japanese language schools and *Shin-Ijuusha*¹⁰ support networks. With the funding from the redress settlement, individuals and community organizations have initiated a new direction in the community's development. In keeping with the NAJC's mandate, many of these projects have self-consciously contributed to the development of the community in areas including the arts, education, historical research, social services and social infrastructure.

Ten years after the settlement for redress was secured, Japanese Canadians continue, almost compulsively, to initiate memory projects. On the one hand, their need to recollect the past indicates how remembering is an ongoing process in the formation and transformation of communities. In this context, the NIMC is one example of how the process of remembering the past has contributed to the transformation of a rural community of elders after the settlement for redress was reached. On the other hand, the ongoing need to recollect the past indicates the importance of developing new narratives to explore different dimensions of the community's experiences. Here, I am not arguing that the narrative developed during the redress movement is no longer relevant. It is relevant and continues to be a vital political narrative in a community where many members shy away from becoming involved in other human rights struggles. My point is that the histories written by redress activists during the 1980s did not systematically explore the social, cultural and psychological effects of the government's actions on different groups within the community (Adachi 1991; Sunahara 1981). While these historical texts drew on the personal accounts that described the social and psychological

---

¹⁰ *Shin-ijuusha* refers to Japanese who immigrated to Canada after World War Two. They are considered the 'new' immigrants in contrast to those who immigrated to Canada before World War Two. In 1989, 25% of the 54,505 Japanese Canadians residing in Canada were 'new' immigrants (Kobayashi 1989: 16, 64).

impact of the government's actions, the main purpose of these texts was to demonstrate how the government's actions violated the civil rights of Japanese Canadians. In this context, an examination of the NIMC offers insights into how a particular group of Japanese Canadians has developed a memory project that addresses the specificities of their experiences.

V. The Sociological Starting Point

An examination of the NIMC offers insights into problems not adequately addressed in a number of fields in the discipline of sociology. It would have been possible to examine the process of collectively remembering political violence by drawing on literature from the field of social movements. Remembering political violence involves constituting the survivors and their kin, whether Jewish or Québécois, as one unified community on the basis of the fact that their rights have been violated. Forming a collective identity based on past experiences of oppression is a powerful method to mobilize disparate, often dispersed individuals (Laclau and Mouffe 1992; Boggs 1986; Carroll 1992). But as I argued in my M.A. thesis, *Cultural Production and Alternative Political Practices* (1993) it can also homogenize a group's history, obscuring internal political conflicts, relations of domination and the social differences amongst the members of the group.

Without denying the importance of utilizing a human rights narrative to mobilize individuals in order to demand changes to discriminatory, potentially repressive political structures, at the same time, it is important to recognize that this narrative has a particular purpose: changing dominant political structures and securing compensation for those whose rights have been violated. Such narratives have a limited life. Once a movement has accomplished its goals, the reason holding the individuals together as a group no

longer exists. New goals and new narratives need to be developed if a group is going to sustain itself as a collective. But more to the point, in the case of historically persecuted groups, there is a need to develop additional narratives that, for example, address the social, cultural and psychological effects that political violence has had on various groups within a community. Political violence does not have a uniform effect on all the individual members and social groups belonging to any one community.¹¹

If community organizations do not encourage their members to develop new narratives -- specifically, new forms of remembering -- their accounts of the past can become repetitive. Repetition can produce a static conception of the past. It can drain the complexity out of particular events, giving them a mythic quality, obscuring the political struggles that configure the contemporary community. The NIMC is an example of a particular group within a larger community of historically persecuted people that has attempted to develop forms of collective remembering to explore the specificities of their members' experiences.

It would have also been possible to examine the NIMC by drawing on the literature from the field of public memorials. On the one hand, like the studies that examine memorials commemorating widely recognized events such as the Jewish Holocaust, the Vietnam war as well as World War One and World War Two, this dissertation examines how the NIMC reorganizes the geographic and temporal relations to what was a site of political

---

¹¹ This is evident in the case of Japanese Canadians. For example, the effects that the government's measures had on elderly *Issei* differed from the effects on young *Nisei* children. Most *Issei* lost the social and economic security they had managed to attain before the war. The prospect of rebuilding their lives in central Canada would have been daunting as most were not fluent in English nor familiar with the economic and social conditions outside of British Columbia. In contrast, young *Nisei* children were usually protected from the harsh realities of camp life by their parents and older siblings. In many cases the older siblings gave up their own career aspirations so they could help support their parents and younger siblings, ensuring that there were funds available for their siblings' college and university education.

violence (Becker 1993; Ben-Amos 1993; Berdahl 1994; Winter 1996). It discusses the interplay of different narratives that intersect the NIMC (Young 1990; Young 1993). It explores the tensions between building a memorial site and turning the local community and its history into a tourist attraction (Klugelmass 1996). On the other hand, unlike the literature in this field, this dissertation does not focus on an event that has international currency, such as the Jewish Holocaust and the World Wars (Young 1990; Brandt 1994). Political and social discourses highlight the scale of destruction and the international status of the actors involved in these events constructing them as iconic moments in the constitution of a world history (Bischoping and Fingerhut 1996). Representations of these events have become contested sites that are mobilized by different forces in the struggle over the moral order of contemporary societies.

The ongoing attempts to challenge publicly, as well as memorialize, forms of political violence that occur on a smaller scale have been given less scholarly attention. This study examines an attempt to memorialize one of these smaller scale acts of political violence. Yet, at the same time, it is important to recognize that during the 1980s the Japanese Canadian redress movement turned the violation of their rights into a national issue. Today the effects of their uprooting, dispossession, internment and dispersal continue to be significant for Japanese Canadians across Canada.

Given that most pre-war communities in British Columbia were destroyed by the government in the 1940s, New Denver has a special significance for Japanese Canadians scattered across Canada. This is the case especially for those in search of their 'roots.' Located on the site of a former internment camp, the NIMC marks a mythic site that embodies the last moments of 'communal life' before Japanese Canadians were scattered across Canada or shipped to Japan. It also marks one of the sites of the trauma that

continues to haunt the contemporary community. Origins and 'roots' are topics of concern for Japanese Canadians in discussions about high rates of 'intermarriage' and assimilation. In some of these discussions, members of the community argue that these trends will lead to the end of the community in the near future. This is a potentially conservative narrative insofar as there is a tendency for it to describe intermarriage in terms of 'the dilution' of the community's 'genetic pool.' The community in New Denver faces the similar questions about survival as the elders pass on and younger generations leave for education and economic opportunities in urban centres. In this context, as I will argue throughout the dissertation, the NIMC provides an example of a collective form of remembering that does not adhere to reactionary narratives that resist change and exclusionary membership to the community.

This dissertation also differs from studies of memorials built to commemorate events like the Jewish Holocaust and World Wars because it examines a project initiated by a small community of 'survivors.' Most studies of memorials examine large scale civic or national projects that involve established cultural institutions, professional architects, artists and historians (Young 1993). In contrast, this dissertation analyzes a memorial in a small rural settlement initiated and operated by elderly residents in conjunction with younger members of their community. The dissertation focuses on how the NIMC facilitates the preservation as well as transformation of community institutions and cultural practices. As such it examines the role of collective forms of remembering in the process of community formation (Connorton 1989).

What is the relevance of this particular case? The violation of Japanese Canadians' rights commands less moral urgency than large scale graphically violent events such as genocide in former Rwanda or East Timor. Since the Canadian government has publicly

acknowledged its actions violated the rights of Japanese Canadians, their war-time experiences seem even less urgent to revisit. Yet attempts to physically expel or culturally erase people who are constructed as racially different are insidiously connected with large scale acts of violence. With the passage of time smaller scale acts of political violence feed into the structural violence of everyday life -- which provides the basis from which it is possible to begin contemplating the idea that exterminating other living entities is a possibility (Farmer 1996).

VI. Methodological Questions

The nature of this dissertation underwent profound changes when I began my research in New Denver and again as I attempted to 'write up' my 'results.' The topic did not change. The research question did not change. But I realized the sociological apparatus at my disposal to observe, document, analyze and then report my research findings was inadequate. It did not provide ways to resolve the issues I faced as a younger member of the Japanese Canadian community working with elders. These issues did not primarily involve questions about ethics or my social responsibility as a researcher to the community with which I worked.¹² These methodological questions were really

---

¹² With guidance from my Ph.D. committee, notably Dr. Derek Smith and the Chair of the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee, Ruby Truly, I was able to address questions regarding ethics and my social responsibility to the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver through a number of formalities and agreements including writing formal letters to ask the Kyowakai Society if I could conduct research on the NIMC and introducing myself to the Japanese Canadians in New Denver through a series of formal introductions and distributing copies of my research proposal and a description of my personal background. In terms of my working relations with the elders, we worked to make a clear distinction between what were social exchanges and formal interviews where I was recording information for my project. I used consent forms for all the interviews; I removed tapes from the research project that elders wished to keep for their families. I also made copies of the interviews on request for the elders and their families.

Working for the Chair of the History Preservation Committee on the Kyowakai Society's summer project meant that, on the one hand, my research activities were double-checked and discussed with the Chair. On the other hand, it meant that through the Chair, the elders had a means to indirectly let me know if I had

epistemological questions about the possibility of making knowledge claims. These questions forced me to question my capacity to 'know' or 'understand' the material I was studying and the community with which I was working. They are questions that anyone conducting qualitative research, and especially those in the discipline of anthropology, at some level is forced to address (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Hammersley and Atkinson 1987; Van Maanen 1988). Yet, in the end, I would argue that they are issues that can only be resolved in the process of field research and the struggle to write about the research.

In order to examine the NIMC as an example of how one community has collectively remembered their experiences of political violence, I had initially identified four research tasks. They included re-constructing the phases of the NIMC's development; describing the administrative structure and daily operation of the NIMC; documenting its physical layout and its historical displays. I also planned to interview members of the Kyowakai Society and the contractors who had been hired to build the NIMC in order to identify the types of relations and practices that were institutionalized in each phase of development.

But before I left for my three-month field trip in the summer of 1996, I began to feel uneasy about how I would conduct my research. In the past I had conducted projects and

---

proceeded inappropriately. I keep in regular contact with the Chair after I left New Denver in part because of our friendship and ongoing work relationship, but also to discuss aspects of my research, her projects in New Denver and issues regarding the dissertation. I received critical feedback on the dissertation from two Japanese Canadians involved in the NIMC, including the Chair, who have academic backgrounds and are appropriately protective of the New Denver community. They both read all the chapters of the dissertation.

I kept regular correspondence with four elders and wrote letters near the end of the project to check again to ask if people wanted 'pen names' or their everyday names in the dissertation. In addition to agreeing to give a finished copy of the dissertation to the Kyowakai Society and copies of archival documents I found that pertained to New Denver, I gave the History Preservation Committee use of my research reports and the drafts of my dissertation that they were produced over the last two years which they have used in their current project.

organized events *for* Japanese Canadian organizations. I had retrospectively examined some of these events and projects in academic presentations and publications but I had not conducted academic research *on* a settlement of Japanese Canadians. Once I reached New Denver I was thrown into a state of epistemological confusion. I lost all certainty about whether I had any basis to make 'knowledge' claims about what I saw, heard or experienced. The confusion arose in part from my unstable position that slipped between 'outsider' and 'insider:' between academic and member of the community. My position as 'member of the community' was also layered with yet other positions as an 'outsider' and 'insider' in this community, as I will discuss below. Like Audrey Kobayashi (1994 (b)) I was committed to aligning my academic objectives with community activism. But I was worried that the disciplinary forces of sociology would creep into my research relations.

According to Dorothy Smith (1990) sociological concepts are instrumental extensions of the relations of ruling. They organize social reality in terms that reduce the complexity of people's lives into easily administrated units. She claims that as a discipline, sociology is predominately preoccupied with explaining and predicting phenomena in a way that aids government agencies to control the social and economic activities of its population. Sociology helps create abstract concepts and symbols in order to transpose "the actualities of people's lives and experience into the conceptual currency with which they can be governed" (Smith 1990: 14).

Because I was not conducting research on activities that directly concerned government agencies responsible for population management in areas such as employment, health or social services, did I need to worry about 'transposing the actualities' of people's lives in New Denver into the 'conceptual currency' of government agencies? Looking more closely at my project it was clear that I was conducting research on activities that were

under the jurisdiction of various civic, provincial and federal government agencies. My research could easily be categorized under topics such as community development, heritage projects, tourism, multiculturalism and non-profit organizations. Would the conceptual practices that constitute these fields of activity slip into the organizational framework of my study?

As in studies of contemporary memorials, museums and tourist sites, I could have restricted my analysis to the institutional form of the NIMC. I could have examined the NIMC as a memorial for Japanese Canadians that was, on the one hand, a local tourist site, and on the other hand, a historical museum. Yet, as Smith notes, the 'ideological organization' of 'scientific' reasoning with its particular categories and coding procedures insulates the process of policy making and theorizing from the challenges made by "the voices of those outside and suppressed by [the organizationally produced virtual realities]" (1990: 96). To restrict my study of the NIMC to its conventional institutional form using the conceptual currency of government agencies would have suppressed the voices not legitimated by -- though I would argue that are not necessarily 'outside' of -- the discursive organization of the NIMC.

Smith argues that the ability to perceive the inadequacies of objectified knowledge lies with those whose experiences are not explained by it, where there is a disjuncture between experience and explanatory frameworks. Smith claims that in particular women's social position, what she refers to as 'experience from the standpoint of women,' provides an alternative model for knowledge. She claims that the "standpoint of women insists that we are always located in particular, actual places, knowing the society only from within" (Smith 1990: 33). In contrast to dominant forms of knowledge, she argues for a sociology from the standpoint of women that begins "from direct experience and

[returns] to it as a constraint or 'test' of the adequacy of a systematic knowledge" (1990: 23).

But my problem lay in the fact that I was aware that what we may identify as 'direct experience' was not 'direct.' How we experience the world is constituted in part through dominant discourses -- through what Smith refers to as the conceptual practices of power. While we have bodies of experience that situate us in different relations to the way the world has been discursively constituted, our bodies of experience are not 'resource bags of resistance.' Experiences are organized into habitual practices as well as compulsive drives and pathological fixations. It takes labour to transform them into a basis for critical analysis.

This means that I could not *rely on* my position as a woman and a woman of colour to provide insights, insights that might be more difficult for those whose everyday lives cohered more smoothly with the conceptual apparatus of mainstream sociology. In relation to the elders in New Denver, I was also a well-educated, middle-class, urban resident with what would be considered a privileged racial and class background insofar as my patrilineage was Scottish Canadian and matrilineage was of a privileged class.

Smith further complicates her position by stating that

[we] do not suppose that there is one objective account of 'what actually happened' against which other accounts are measured....Here ideological practices in encoding and constituting 'what actually happened' will be contrasted with procedures which are directly expressive of the lived actuality in experience. The latter we will call 'primary narrative' modes of expression. Here the difference is not one of accuracy, completeness or truth. It is one of methods of telling and interpreting (1990: 157).

Yet this brings up the problem of how to identify a 'primary' account. Would it be the first time someone articulated an experience into words? Every account is laden with references to the context-of-telling and is organized in response to the perceived intentions and point-of-view of the listener. This means that a primary account would differ radically depending on the context, the medium of communication and so forth. Accounts are efforts to negotiate the impact and shape the terms of 'what actually happened.' In this context how can an account simply convey 'what actually happened'? Moreover, Smith seems to suggest that some procedures for expressing experience are less 'encoded.' Does she mean an utterance that does not consciously utilize analytical concepts? But if, for example, the primary account was shared with an academic, perhaps the speaker would actively incorporate analytic concepts, while if it was shared with a member of their community, perhaps the speaker would actively incorporate complex social codes. Both are 'encoded.' The problem of 'interpreting' an account becomes even more complex in an academic context where, on the one hand, certain forms of analysis and theorizing are legitimated while others are denied legitimacy (Spivak 1988; Bannerji 1993); and on the other hand, there are complex relations of domination involved in reading and writing as well as presenting academic work (Eagleton 1983; Kim 1997; Miki 1998).

From this starting point, I regarded my experiences 'in the field,' the accounts of my experiences in my fieldnotes and my efforts to represent these experiences with an 'analytic suspicion.' I was aware that each was layered with dominant discourses and ideologically saturated habitual practices.

While I was aware of my status as an academic and, with no family connections to anyone living in New Denver -- an outsider -- the elders had a different point-of-view.

One of the *Sansei* members of the community, Ruby Truly, had introduced me to the Kyowakai Society.¹³ The summer before she had invited me to visit the NIMC. I came in the capacity of a volunteer to help make a preliminary assessment of the community's archives. While I did not meet many elders that summer, indirectly it functioned as an introduction. The following summer, Truly had asked me if I would consider working for the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee while I was conducting research for my dissertation. For the elders this meant that I was also closely associated with Truly, one of the respected *Sansei* members of their community. It meant that I would be working for one of their committees as well. From my point-of-view, I regarded the *Issei* and *Nisei* as elders belonging to the Japanese Canadian community. Because the pre-war community was a tightly knit social unit, a number of them either knew my grandparents or they had lived in the settlements where my grandparents had lived and worked before the war. In this context, they regarded me as a trusted visitor. This placed me in a particular relation to them. It meant that they had given me the responsibility to ensure that I did not breach their trust.

One of my greatest concerns was that my position as a trusted visitor would 'camouflage' my position as an academic researcher. But the elders were experienced working with researchers. A month after my arrival in New Denver, they began to wonder why I had not started my research. I felt too self-conscious suddenly to switch my role from their visitor and employee to a researcher. They indicated that my time was running out and if

---

¹³ I had worked with Truly in Vancouver on a number of community projects during the early 1990s. In 1995 she invited me to visit New Denver to view the NIMC that had been opened the year before. During this visit I had volunteered to help develop a preliminary inventory of the community's archives for the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee. Subsequently Truly received funding from the NAJC Redress Foundation to develop an interpretative plan for the History Preservation Committee. She asked if I would be interested in working on the project. By this time, we had already discussed whether it was feasible for me to conduct research on the NIMC for my Ph.D. dissertation. With approval from my Ph.D. committee, the President of the Kyowakai Society and with funding from the NAJC Redress Foundation, I left for New Denver in late June.

I did not start interviewing them, it would be too late! Several elders approached me, indicating that they had information to share with me. Others politely accepted my request to interview them. In addition, I interviewed the President of the Kyowakai Society and two of the contractors involved in building the NIMC.

Because I was working for the History Preservation Committee, I was able to observe the daily operation of the NIMC, the History Preservation Committee's meetings, various community events and interactions between 'tourists' and the NIMC staff. Once I began my research, I swung into action. In between working on the History Preservation Committee's interpretative plan and interviewing the elders, I collected local publications, including maps, postcards, newspapers, tourist brochures and published histories. I squeezed in time to photograph and take notes on the NIMC's layout and historical displays. Near the end of my research visit, the President of the Kyowakai Society also agreed to give me access to the NIMC's files.

With regard to my relation to the elders, they seemed adept at separating our research relation and our social relation. On many occasions, I socialized with them. While they had busy schedules, many went out of their way to invite me to the homes for tea, lunch or dinner. The elders who were members of the History Preservation Committee, notably, Mrs. Inose, Mrs. Takahara and Mr. and Mrs. Matsushita made special efforts to ensure that I felt welcome, offering their company when I was lonely and advice when I needed direction.

Working closely with the elders, I became aware that they had a distinct way of knowing and organizing their world. I was aware that the elders located the NIMC in a field of activity distinct from the fields of activity that constituted it as a memorial, museum or

tourist site. Like anthropologists Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson (1997), my position was that my discipline's 'knowledge' coexisted with other forms of knowledge. As Gupta and Ferguson do not view themselves "as possessing an unique knowledge and insights that they can then share with or put to work for various 'ordinary people'....[They] see the political task not as 'sharing knowledge' with those who lack it, but as forging links between *different* knowledges that are possible from different locations and tracing lines of possible alliance and common purpose between them. In this sense [they] view a research area less as a 'field' to collect data than a site for strategic intervention" (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 39).

The strategic intervention of my project in terms of forging links with different knowledges remained at a basic level. When I arrived in New Denver I was drawn to what I could not quite discern but knew was the visionary force behind the transformation of the internment camp in New Denver into a picturesque residential area for Japanese Canadians and creating the NIMC. It was a form of knowledge specific to the elders in New Denver. Their body of knowledge was made apparent only as I interacted with them and as they continually unraveled my preconceptions with their humour and patient explanations. From Maurice Merleau-Ponty's work in the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1994) I realized that I could never claim to 'know' the way they perceived and inhabited their world. Only those who lived the world of the elders could make this claim. But as an outsider, I could focus on trying to learn what was involved in respecting the terms of their world's existence as well as the terms with which they engaged with others. This would, I hoped, create the possibility for me to engage in mutually respectful interchanges with them, creating a new 'zone' of 'knowledge' together.

This dilemma presented me with one of my main methodological problems. I struggled to unravel the presuppositions forming the basis of my sociological way of analyzing the world. This did not mean that I attempted to 'shut off' my analytic training and, for example, ignore the discursive constitution of the NIMC as a museum and a tourist site. If I was to unravel my presuppositions, it was necessary to examine how dominant discourses constituted the NIMC as well as the region's local history and social landscape. At the same time, I could not assume that dominant discourses seamlessly constituted either the NIMC or the so-called tourists. I attempted to find the incongruities, the ambivalences and the instabilities that dominant discourses never completely managed to contain or control. From these traces, it was possible to find what escaped or defied the regulatory order of dominant institutions.

The process of writing this dissertation has been shaped by the tensions arising from my methodological problems, most of which are not successfully or elegantly resolved in this text. The main tension in this text is rooted in the struggle between, on the one hand, deconstructing the NIMC as it has been constituted through dominant discourses; and on the other hand, reconstructing it by drawing on marginalized voices and traces of the past that situate the NIMC in an 'other' field of activity. To write across this tension, I sought to bring together what I learned from the elders and different fields of academic knowledge.

After reading Jackie Stacey's *Teratologies: A Cultural Study of Cancer* (1997), I realized that it was possible to create a sociological text that brought together and analytically deconstructed the different voices and disciplinary discourses that seek to contain the organic flows and ruptures of, in Stacey's case, the living body and in my case what would be the social body. Annette Kuhn's *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and*

Imagination (1995) revealed that it was possible through 'imaginative acts,' to breath life into what we too often sweep aside as the everyday clutter of our lives – what in this study are remnants of internment camps embodied in social gestures, fading letters, stories. From these remnants Kuhn shows that it is possible to give texture, weight and emotional force to undocumented, untold worlds of people and places that have passed on.

New to this task, I have struggled through the preliminary stages of creating a narrative that sifts through my presuppositions without reducing the study to a self-indulgent personal self-exploration. At the same time, in order to present what the elders shared with me, I had to find ways that did not reduce their accounts into evidence for my own arguments. I had to let go of the need to legitimize their accounts either by drawing on theoretical concepts or making references to sociological texts. When examining the way the so-called tourists related to the NIMC, I also attempted to apply the tension between deconstruction and construction, otherwise it was far too easy to simply dismiss their interests as superficial or voyeuristic. As I discovered over the summer of 1996, the lives of many of those who travelled to New Denver to visit the NIMC were like the landscape in this valley, strewn with remnants of the past. Some of the remnants were sharp and painful, others had become smooth and clear with the passage of time.

In what follows, I will provide a brief overview of each chapter before proceeding to the dissertation itself. In *Chapter 1* I formulate this dissertation's two central premises. The first premise is that the Canadian government's plan to remove all persons of Japanese racial origin from the province of British Columbia in the 1940s constituted an act of political violence. The second premise is that collective forms of remembering plays a

vital role in rebuilding and transforming the communities of historically persecuted groups.

I argue that the Canadian government's systematic plan to uproot, dispossess, intern and then forcibly disperse Japanese Canadians outside the province of British Columbia during the 1940s destroyed the pre-war communities established along the coast of British Columbia. I argue that this seriously damaged their pre-war lifeworld. In order to understand the potentially destructive socio-psychological effects that can result from damaging a group's lifeworld, I claim that it is necessary describe what constitutes the lifeworld. To do this, I draw on Pierre Bourdieu's work on the habitus and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's work on the habit-body and body schema. I then draw on studies from the field of post-traumatic stress syndrome, notably the work of Judith Lewis Herman and Robert Jay Lifton, to describe the socio-psychological damage resulting from the destruction of the lifeworld.

I also draw on Herman and Lifton's work in order to describe the role that collective forms of remembering violent events play in the process of 'healing.' Both emphasize the social dimension of healing. According to Lifton and Herman, remembering violent events facilitates the ability of survivors to rebuild a new lifeworld, one which recognizes rather than denies the potential for violence. Lifton and Herman also describe how remembering violent events facilitates the ability of survivors to re-establish relations of trust and rebuild their sense of self-integrity. From this chapter, I use the criteria for healing in order to assess the NIMC as a particular form of remembering political violence. As well, my discussion of the lifeworld forms the basis for this dissertation's phenomenological approach.

Chapter 2 introduces the NIMC by describing its location within the changing social landscape of the Slocan Valley. The chapter begins by describing the centre's location in the Village of New Denver. I describe New Denver as it appears today as a quaint village. Then, by drawing on archival documents, I describe how it was configured as one of six internment camps in this region during the 1940s. Next I examine how the NIMC attempts to fix its temporal and geographic relations to the internment camp through its historical displays, and in particular, its use of maps. Using Walter Benjamin's work on aura and authenticity, I deconstruct how the NIMC fixes its relation to the internment camp to establish its authenticity. I draw on fragments of the past, including remnants from the internment camp and the accounts of the elders, to indicate how we can only partially imagine what happened in New Denver during the war, making it impossible ever to fully know or fix the past in any one configuration. I end the chapter by returning to a discussion of the relation between the NIMC and the contemporary landscape of the Slocan Valley. I describe the NIMC in terms of how it functions as a memorial. I argue that by definition, as a memorial, it attempts to defy the erosion of the passing years -- it must remain outside normal time -- in order to mark the changing landscape, with the history of the elders' internment.

Chapter 3 describes the social and political events that led to the development of the NIMC. This chapter draws on the accounts of the elders. They describe the development of the centre in terms of the development of their community as a whole. In this context, the NIMC is a small episode in another history: the history of one of their main institutions, the Kyowakai Society. They trace the history of the Society through the history of their community buildings, some of which were built during the war. I discuss how their perception of the NIMC contrasts my narrow understanding of the NIMC as an educational centre for tourists. If I had restricted myself to this understanding of the

NIMC, I would have gathered information on the NIMC starting with the creation of the NIMC's blueprint in 1991. I would have focused on the challenge of working with contractors who did not have backgrounds in Japanese Canadian history. By regarding the NIMC in a broader context, it was possible to realize that for the elders, the NIMC represented a transformation in their community. It led to a change in leadership from the *Issei* and older *Nisei* to the *Sansei*. As well, it led to a shift of leadership from the women to the men. At the same time, it embodied continuity: the change in the leadership ensured that the community would continue for the next generation.

Chapter 4 examines the narratives that the NIMC used to construct the history of Japanese Canadians in New Denver. I describe how the narrative used in the NIMC's historical displays draws from the historical texts written in support of the movement for redress. I compare this narrative with the narratives developed for the small scale memory projects that were initiated by elders at the NIMC. One memory project spontaneously occurred during the construction of the NIMC while the contractors were restoring two of the internment shacks that were being prepared for one of the historical displays. The contractors had asked the elders, in particular the women, if they had household items with which to furnish the shacks. The women organized themselves in a group, and through the search for household items, began to recollect their experiences in the camp. The second small scale memory project occurred while I was visiting New Denver in the summer of 1996. It was a slideshow produced by one of the elders in collaboration with a younger member of the community. The Kyowakai Society invited the 'old-timers' in New Denver to view the show. It brought together both white residents and Japanese Canadians. I focus on these narratives insofar as they facilitate the ability of the elders to remember their past in their own terms, while generating new relations

with members of their community as well as the non-Japanese Canadian residents in New Denver.

Chapter 5 examines how non-Japanese Canadians and Japanese Canadians who travel to New Denver to visit the NIMC constitute the centre in different fields of activity according to how they relate to it, including as tourist site, a museum and a pilgrimage site. In order to identify the discursive practices of tourism, I begin by reviewing the literature on tourism, including the work of Dean MacCannell and John Urry. I argue that the NIMC appears as a particular type of tourist site -- a museum. After reviewing the literature on museums, I draw on the work of Frantz Fanon to theorize how museum-goers are positioned in relation to exhibits of racial others through 'relations of looking.'

This chapter then turns to my encounters with people who travelled to New Denver to visit the NIMC during the summer of 1996. I examine how non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors related to the NIMC. While I argue that some of the non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors act like 'typical tourists' who objectify the NIMC, I also argue that their relations to the NIMC are complicated. Some non-Japanese Canadian visitors are drawn to the NIMC because they feel complicit in what happened, even though they were children when Japanese Canadians were uprooted from the coast. Others are drawn to the NIMC because they have Japanese Canadian friends or relatives. There are some Japanese Canadian visitors who had ambivalent feelings about the way the NIMC displayed their personal history. Yet others incorporated the trip to the NIMC as an annual family pilgrimage. I end the chapter by discussing how the elders view the range of responses from the visitors. I argue that, on the one hand, the large number of people who visit the NIMC stresses the importance of the elders' efforts to share their history. On the other hand, I argue that the range of reactions displayed by

the different visitors -- including appreciative comments, anger and quiet reflection -- reveals how people have been affected in different ways by the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s -- and that many are still working through the devastating effects.

VII. Conclusion

While their experiences of persecution were devastating, over the years, the Japanese Canadians in New Denver have managed to find the potential to change not by avoiding but by moving through their losses, their humiliation and their pain, re-making what they had envisioned as their future before the war. The elders have not buried what happened to them. Nor have they retreated from the social realm, unable to trust others, feeling vulnerable, incapable of taking action. Instead, the elders have brought the past into the realm of the public. They have reached out to others. Both Japanese Canadians and non-Japanese Canadians from other regions have reached back. By doing so, they have realized that the internment, dispossession, and forced dispersal of Japanese Canadians outside of British Columbia has affected many people. Many people come to the NIMC, seeking a way to articulate and explore how it has affected them, whether in terms of how they were implicated in what-happened or what-happened to them and their families. This experience has changed the elders' understanding of the internment, who is encompassed in the repercussions of that history and their responsibility to others. They know the NIMC is not complete. It is part of a larger, ongoing project of social transformation.

Chapter 1

Re-membering Violence: A Phenomenological Approach

I. Introduction

In order to examine the role that collective forms of remembering play in rebuilding and transforming communities that have been the target of political violence, it is necessary to determine what constitutes political violence. Given that I am concerned with the social ramifications of political violence – its impact on social relations within and between societies – it is also necessary to examine the type of damage it potentially causes.

In this chapter I develop a formulation of political violence that can be applied to the case of Japanese Canadians. During the 1940s, the Canadian government systematically deployed measures to destroy their pre-war communities in the province of British Columbia. It then enacted another set of policies to scatter most of them across Canada while shipping the rest out of the country to Japan. In this context, I define political violence as systematically deployed acts taken against a particular group which damage or destroy their capacity to operate as a social collective. Until Japanese Canadians mobilized in a movement to seek redress from the Canadian government during the 1980s, little remained of the political and social institutions that had integrated their lives in tightly bound geographic communities in British Columbia. Scattered across Canada, ashamed of what had happened to them, they actively avoided each other and tried to forget their past. Japanese Canadians managed to rebuild a post-war community only through the redress movement. But in contrast to their pre-war communities, their post-

war communities are based on weak associations built around cultural interests, such as cooking classes, and social needs, such providing as elder care.

In particular, this chapter examines why acts of political violence such as dismantling a community's key institutions and uprooting and forcibly dispersing its members damage or destroy the community's capacity to operate as a social collective. Drawing on the literature in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), I argue that violence involves more than physical damage to one's property or person. It damages or destroys our taken-for-granted understanding of how the world operates. This is the basis of my formulation of what constitutes a violent act. The literature in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder refers to events that damage or destroy our understanding of how the world operates as "traumatic events." In keeping with writers who theorize symbolic violence (Bourdieu 1991), the structural violence of everyday life (Farmer 1996) and the violence of linear narratives (Young 1990), I have chosen to refer to the events concerning this dissertation as violent events. This is because I am concerned with acts taken against particular groups that are systematically devised to, or inadvertently result in incapacitating the group. Whereas the term, 'traumatic' emphasizes the experience of the survivors, the term violence emphasizes the relations of domination.

In order to understand the social ramifications of damaging or destroying our taken-for-granted understanding of how the world operates, it is necessary to realize that this understanding is not just in our heads. It forms the basis of our most mundane habitual practices and ways of interacting with others. I call this understanding our 'lifeworld' in order to emphasize the way in which it is grounded in our social world. When this understanding is destroyed, we are thrown into shock. All our basic assumptions about the world, including our ability to trust others, become uncertain. The result can be

socio-psychological pathologies that destructively work their way through the lives of the survivors and the ensuing generations. I argue that by using phenomenological texts to describe the way in which we are experientially integrated with our environments, it becomes possible to understand how the destruction of the Japanese Canadians' pre-war communities was a violent act.

With an understanding of how acts of political violence damage or destroy a community's lifeworld, it is possible to examine the role that collective forms of remembering play in re-building the community. Here I am not simply interested in how collective forms of remembering offer a means for members of a group to regather dispersed members of the group or reform dismantled institutions. I am concerned with collectively remembering violent acts as an essential component in the process of healing. Unless groups heal, for example, unless they rebuild their capacity to enter relations of trust with others, there is a danger that they will form regressive communities that view others as threats. Thus in this chapter I also describe what is required in the process of healing. By healing, I do not mean fixing the damage in order to restore the survivors to a pre-violated state of being. Violent acts profoundly change both the worlds in which the survivors live and their understanding of how these worlds operate. Moreover, once people experience violent acts they lose their unconditional belief that the world is a safe and predictable place. Their unconditional capacity to trust others and the world in which they live is damaged. As such, it is not possible to return to the state of being before they were violated. Healing is an ongoing process; it involves building a new understanding of the world that specifies the conditions under which they can engage in relations of trust. To do so it is necessary for the survivors to mourn what they have lost, recognize the way their lives have been profoundly changed and rebuild a sense of self integrity.

Judith Lewis Herman describes the extreme forms of violent acts in terms of breaching "attachments of family, friendship, love, and community. They shatter the construction of self that is formed and sustained in relation to others. They undermine the belief systems that give meaning to human experience. They violate the victim's faith in a natural or divine order and cast the victim into a state of existential crisis" (Herman 1992: 50). A person's fundamental sense of safety in the world -- or basic trust -- with all its assumptions about how the world works is shattered.

While the PTSD literature examines different forms of therapy required to treat the symptoms of survivors, this dissertation is concerned with the cultural practices that historically persecuted groups develop to heal from their traumatic experiences. While the two projects differ, the PTSD literature offers insights into how events that 'shatter our basic trust in the world' incapacitate us. This literature also offers criteria with which we can assess collective forms of remembering to determine whether they foster regressive relations with others.

The primary purpose of this chapter is to describe how the Canadian government's systematic plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia was a violent act. Using the PTSD literature there are two ways I could demonstrate this. I could identify symptoms of PTSD or a sub-category of PTSD amongst Japanese Canadians that relate to the Canadian government's systematic destruction of the social, economic and political networks of activity that configured their pre-war communities. The existence of PTSD symptoms would indicate that Japanese Canadians experienced a traumatic event. The second way to demonstrate that the Canadian government's plan was a violent act would be to explain the way that the destruction of their pre-war lifeworld constituted a violent event.

The first option would be difficult to accomplish. No extensive psychological studies have been conducted on the effects of the Canadian government's systematic plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. It is possible to argue that there are indicators suggesting that Japanese Canadians have experienced socio-psychological trauma. Yet without psychological studies, it is not possible to make conclusions about the nature and the extent of the trauma that they suffered from their persecution.

While the first option would provide indications that Japanese Canadians experienced a traumatic event, the second allows me to explain how the government's actions were violent. In order to explain why the destruction of Japanese Canadians' pre-war communities was a violent act it is necessary to draw on texts outside of the field of PTSD. This is because the PTSD literature tends to focus on extreme forms of violence such as genocide, murder, sexual and physical abuse and torture. The political violence that Japanese Canadians experienced was not as severe as these forms of violence. Yet, there are a few studies in the field of PTSD that examine incidents where the survivors' environments were destroyed, for example, by natural disasters. These studies show that for survivors of natural disasters, the destruction of their environment is a traumatic experience. These events shattered their lifeworlds. If the destruction of one's environment can damage or destroy one's basic trust in the world, it suggests but does not explain, how the destruction of the pre-war communities of Japanese Canadians was also traumatic.

In this chapter, to show how the destruction of pre-war Japanese Canadian communities was violent, I begin by formulating a definition of the lifeworld. I turn to Maurice Merleau-Ponty's work to describe how we are integrated with the environments in which

we live. This makes it possible to use the work of Robert Jay Lifton who combines phenomenology and psychology to study the trauma experienced by survivors of horrific events. His work helps explain how the destruction of the lifeworld is a violent act and how collective forms of remembering the past are required in the process of healing.

It is important to underline again that this dissertation is not a psychological study. It is concerned with cultural practices that historically persecuted groups develop to remember collectively their past as part of their process of healing. This chapter provides a framework to assess the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) as a means for Japanese Canadians in New Denver to remember collectively the political violence they experienced and facilitate their ability to heal.

This chapter is divided into five sections. In the first section I draw on the literature in the field of PTSD, notably the work of Herman, to describe violence as an experience that causes socio-psychological damage which incapacitates individuals and groups. In the second section I question whether it is possible to use the PTSD literature to describe the particular type of violence that Japanese Canadians experienced during the 1940s. I start with a description of the actions that the Canadian government took against Japanese Canadians. I then argue that while no studies have been conducted on the socio-psychological damage resulting from the persecution of Japanese Canadians, there are indications of symptoms from Ochberg's subcategory of PTSD amongst Japanese Canadians. But I argue that without studies on PTSD, it is not possible to conclude that the government's actions caused trauma.

Yet, I argue that the studies which document the destruction of pre-war Japanese Canadian communities provide a basis to demonstrate how their lifeworld was damaged

or destroyed. This approach also provides a description of the specificity of the experiences of Japanese Canadians. To understand the damage caused by the destruction of a group's lifeworld it is first necessary to understand what constitutes the lifeworld. This is the topic of the third section of the chapter. I begin by defending my choice of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological study of the habit-body and body schema to formulate my conception of the lifeworld. One of the limitations of his text, *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1994) is that it does not examine how relations of domination shape the lifeworld. I rectify this limitation by drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's work on the habitus. In the next part of this section I present Merleau-Ponty's discussions of the habit-body and body schema. His work allows me to formulate a conception of the lifeworld that describes how we are integrated with and constitute our worlds.

In the fourth section of the chapter I use Robert Jay Lifton's work to explain how the destruction of the lifeworld is violent. This is possible because Lifton's conception of psychic development, and in particular his conception of the inchoate image, is similar to Merleau-Ponty's conception of the formation of the body schema. This brings up the question as to why I chose to use Merleau-Ponty's work if it is so similar to the work of Lifton. I will briefly explain my reasoning here. Because Lifton's work is located in the field of psychiatry he does not offer a detailed description of how we are integrated with the world. In contrast, Merleau-Ponty provides a detailed description of how we are integrated with the world. This allows us to conceive the material and cultural specificity of our taken-for-granted understanding of the world: our lifeworlds. This also allows us to appreciate the need for historically persecuted groups to develop culturally specific forms of collective remembering. As well, Merleau-Ponty's detailed phenomenological descriptions of what he refers to as the "habit-body" allows us to see parallels with Bourdieu's conception of the habitus. These parallels make it possible to

use Bourdieu's work to conceptualize how relations of domination figure into the formation of the lifeworld.

The fifth section draws on PTSD literature as well as the work of Lifton to argue that remembering the past is a necessary part of the process of healing from the psychological and social effects resulting from damage or the destruction of one's lifeworld. In this section I identify the criteria that must be met if historically persecuted groups are going to heal. I use these criteria throughout this dissertation to assess whether the cultural and social practices generated by building and operating the NIMC facilitate the ability of Japanese Canadians in New Denver to rebuild an understanding of the world that recognizes rather than denies the potential for violence, in addition to rebuilding relations of trust.

II. Violent Acts

1. Relations of Domination

In this section I formulate a working definition of what constitutes a violent act. At first this might seem like a relatively easy task. We all know what violence entails: destructive acts that damage people or property. We may envision crazed criminals bludgeoning innocent victims, repressive regimes attacking its own citizenry, clashes between 'angry' protesters and police, acts of vandalism, the invasion of sovereign territories. Yet what becomes apparent in all of these images of violence is that what we recognize as violent are also violations of our dominant institutions, whether property, civil rights or public order. The tendency to categorize the violation of dominant institutions as violent acts indicates the potentially conservative moral component involved in claiming that a particular act is violent. It suggests that whatever is violent

also violates the dominant institutions of mainstream society. For this dissertation, I do not want to restrict my definition of violence by terms set by established institutions. To do so would leave out victims who have not been granted full legal status, such as migrant workers and children. It would leave out those who have not been granted full social status, such as women, the disabled, gays, lesbians and racialized people. It would also leave out violent acts that do not violate established institutions, yet violate institutions that are central to other socio-cultural groups, such as building gas pipelines or allowing sports-hunting on Aboriginal land (Brody 1992: 231-248).

Typically, we identify genocide, political torture and atrocities committed against civilians during wars as acts of political violence. My definition of political violence extends the definition to include acts that are systematically targeted at groups and either inadvertently or are intentionally devised to damage or destroy the capacity of the group to operate as a social collective (Bischoping and Fingerhut 1996). The inclusion of systematically deployed acts that inadvertently damage the capacity of groups to operate as social collectives complicates my definition. It brings up questions of 'intention.' To commit a violent act against another suggests an intent to inflict physical or psychological damage which potentially incapacitates another person. Intention is a troubling term insofar as it suggests that the person who committed the violent act is responsible only if she or he intended to harm the other person. It suggests that the person who committed the violent act must have the rational capacity to be aware that their actions would inflict damage. And it suggests that they must know what they did was wrong. As the intent to inflict damage decreases, so does the violent nature of an event. This leads us down a slippery slope. It means, for example, that someone who is not legally an adult or is deemed insane is incapable of having a fully developed intent to commit damage. Their acts can still be considered violent. But they are not fully

responsible for their acts because they simply did not know that their actions were wrong or the extent of the damage they would cause. There is even less intent involved in cases where someone harmed another person in the act of self-defence. While the incident they were involved in might be considered violent, their acts or their persons are not considered violent. And if someone, for example, accidentally dropped a metal beam on someone's head, there is no intent to inflict harm and thus the event is not considered violent.

In this context, how can systematic acts taken against a particular group that inadvertently cause damage be categorized as violent? If the damage was inadvertent, there was no 'intention' to commit harm. But if the damage was inadvertently caused because whoever implemented the acts failed to recognize the rights of whoever was targeted, then it is not simply a matter of not meaning to inflict harm -- as in an accident. In this case, harm was inflicted because the person's life or the group's distinct mode of living was not considered to be of value. At one level, the intent to inflict harm thus entails a disregard/disrespect for the social and cultural practices through which other groups constitute themselves as distinct entities living within a particular environment with particular needs and distinct points-of-view. At another level, it involves a disregard/disrespect for the socio-psychological boundaries that constitute them as autonomous entities who are distinct from ourselves. Violent acts violate these boundaries. This does not mean that we must respect and value all the cultural practices of other groups or societies. Some practices may be oppressive and destructive. It does mean, though, that we need to question how the systematic actions that our political bodies take against other groups will potentially affect their integrity as social collectives.

2. As an Experience

To explain violence in terms of experience, I have turned to literature on PTSD. Official recognition of this syndrome is relatively recent. It was added to the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* in 1980¹ (Ochberg 1988: 19). Research on PTSD draws extensively on earlier studies that examine the regressive psychological, physiological and social changes induced by traumatic events as well as different forms of treatment.² For example, PTSD literature draws on Sigmund Freud's work in the late 1800s on sexually abused women and children; Robert Jay Lifton's work in the 1960s and 70s on Vietnam veterans and Hiroshima bomb survivors; and Abram Kardiner's work in the late 1940s on World War One veterans.

PTSD literature tends to refer to what I have called 'violent acts' as 'traumatic events.' According to this literature, what is definitive about traumatic events are the characteristics of the survivors' responses rather than the characteristics of the events themselves. There are continuing debates over what kinds of events can be considered potentially traumatizing (Caruth 1995: 11; McFarlane 1995: 34-37). In fact Cathy Caruth notes how the American Psychiatric Association removed the category identifying what sort of events might induce trauma from the definition of PTSD in their *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Health Disorders* in 1994 (Caruth 1995: 11). Before it was removed, this category had identified traumatic events as "being outside of the range

---

¹ For a list of the symptoms of PTSD from the 1987 American Association of Psychiatrists' *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, see footnote 5.

² Some studies examine the psychoses of perpetrators -- rather than the survivors -- who, for example, commit sexual abuse, rape and war atrocities (Miller 1983; Lifton 1973; Herman 1992). This work overlaps with the post-traumatic stress disorder literature.

of usual human experience and what would be markedly distressing to anyone" (Ochberg 1988: 7).

There are two arguments against the inclusion of this category in the definition of PTSD. On the one hand, feminists have argued that some of the events that induce trauma, such as rape and incest, are not outside the range of usual human experience, though they may be outside the range of dominant male experience (Brown 1995: 101). On the other hand, certain events may induce post-traumatic stress syndrome for some but not for others. The fact that violent acts have different effects on different individuals and groups makes it difficult to identify conclusively what events induce PTSD. Caruth claims that "the pathology can not be defined by the event itself -- which may or may not be catastrophic, and may not traumatize everyone equally.... The pathology consists, rather, solely in the *structure of its experience* or reception: the event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it" (1995: 4). This recognizes the fact that the responses of survivors can vary depending on their psychological profile, their histories and the socio-cultural practices that they utilize to cope with violent events. It also recognizes that certain events may have a more severe impact on some individuals and groups than on others. This does not mean that if full-blown symptoms of PTSD are absent that we can conclude that an event was not traumatic. Frank M. Ochberg has identified symptoms of traumatic stress that many survivors experience which may or may not later reach the threshold for PTSD. They include the following symptoms: shame, self-blame, feelings of being subjugated, morbid hatred and obsessions with vengeance, paradoxical gratitude and defilement (Ochberg 1988: 8-9).

Psychiatrists such as Herman are adamant that "personality traits count for little in the face of overwhelming events" (Herman 1992: 57). Overwhelming events could include any combination of destructive events. They could include the physical destruction of one's environment by a natural catastrophe³ or by a state sanctioned project to flood Aboriginal lands for a hydro-electrical dam. They could include witnessing or experiencing torture, physical or sexual abuse, murder or accidental deaths. All of these events threaten to annihilate the self and/or the capacity to live.

While those working in the field of PTSD disagree over whether the definition of PTSD should include a description of the events that potentially cause trauma, none overlook the nature of the event in the treatment of survivors. Because there are no studies on symptoms of PTSD amongst Japanese Canadians, in order to determine whether the destruction of the pre-war Japanese Canadian communities was a violent act it is necessary to examine the nature of events that might induce trauma. The PTSD literature focuses on survivors of horrific events such as rape, political torture and the Jewish Holocaust. But there are also a few studies on randomly occurring events such as natural catastrophes (Green et. al 1990; Erikson 1995;). While Japanese Canadians did not undergo a 'natural catastrophe,' these studies offer some insights into their experiences. Like a natural disaster, the government's plan destroyed the pre-war communities of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. As I will describe in the next section, the basis of their livelihoods were destroyed as the government liquidated their possessions and properties, including farms, fishing vessels, business properties and community buildings. But in contrast to natural disasters, violent acts are played out between groups

---

³ The definition of what constitutes a "natural disaster" is becoming increasingly problematic. As Ulrich Beck's book, *Risk Society* (1992) argues, the interconnection between policies regulating industrial pollution and global changes in the climate means that human activities, including policies implemented by corporations and governments are implicated in many "natural" disasters. Natural disasters such as hurricanes and massive floods in this context become "unnatural" results of self-destructive human activities.

who are constituted in relation to each other through relations of domination. In contrast, natural disasters can randomly hit any group.⁴

Ochberg describes the characteristics of violent acts when he compares bereavement to victimization. Like bereavement, victimization involves loss: potentially the loss of loved ones and also "the loss of ourselves, the diminution of ourselves, the loss of hopes and dreams, and the loss of a sense of security..." But where the

...bereaved loses a significant [other, the] victim is deliberately, unjustly harmed or coerced by another human being. The bereaved feels loss. The victim feels like the loser. The bereaved feels sad. The victim feels humiliated. The bereaved may feel like a part of himself or herself has been ripped away. The victim often feels diminished, pushed down in a hierarchy of dominance, exploited, and invaded (Ochberg 1988: 11).

Herman describes the nature of relations of domination in relation to traumatic events that involve captivity. She points to both recognized forms of captivity that involve, for example, concentration camps, and unrecognized forms, such as families. The nature of domination in violent relations is especially evident in domestic captivity. Herman defines captivity as a situation when the victim is unable to flee and under the control of the perpetrator. In domestic captivity, there are usually no physical barriers to escape. "The barriers to escape are generally invisible....Children are rendered captive by their condition of dependency. Women are rendered captive by economic, social, psychological, and legal subordination, as well as physical force." The psychological dimension of captivity involves "the perpetrator's need to exert despotic control over

---

⁴ Yet it is also important to recognize that certain groups may be more vulnerable to natural disasters because relations of domination dictate where they live, for example, on the flood plains of a river rather than on the plateau above the river valley. As well, relations of domination may also affect the extent to which citizen groups, non-profit organizations as well as local, national and international governments mobilize resources to rescue the victims as well as help them re-establish their lives. But it is still possible to argue that there is a distinction between violent acts and natural disasters.

every aspect of the victim's life....Simple compliance rarely satisfies him....His goal appears to be the creation of a willing victim. This desire for total control over another person is common to all forms tyranny" (Herman 1992: 75-76).

In the context of this discussion, I recognize that certain events may be more severe than others and that survivors may have different responses depending on a range of variables. At the same time, I recognize that some events are so overwhelming that all survivors undergo some form of PTSD. I also differentiate violent events from randomly occurring traumatic events such as natural disasters insofar as violent events are structured by relations of domination. The literature on PTSD provides a detailed discussion of the nature of socio-psychological effects resulting from traumatic events. This is the topic of the next part of this section of the chapter.

3. Violent Events: The Uncontainable Effects

This dissertation is concerned with the potential for collective forms of remembering to transform the destructive force of violence. Violent acts can not be neatly contained in the past. Violence has a way of permuting through a society's collective life into its future generations. Rather than being discrete acts with isolated effects, they involve a series of proliferating effects that manifest themselves differentially across a social body. The long term damage makes it imperative that we attempt to understand the nature of violent acts and find ways that facilitate the process of healing.

In this section I describe the immediate response to and the psychological symptoms resulting from extreme forms of traumatic events. This shows the potentially destructive long-term effects of violent acts. The extent to which this discussion can be applied to

the case concerning this dissertation will be discussed in the following section. There are distinct physiological and psychological responses to threatening events. Herman states that traumatic events

overwhelm the ordinary human adaptations to life. Unlike common place misfortunes, traumatic events generally involve threats to life or bodily integrity, or a close personal encounter with violence and death....According to the *Comprehensive Textbook of Psychiatry*, the common denominator of psychological trauma is a feeling of "intense fear, helplessness, loss of control, and threat of annihilation" (Herman 1992: 32).

Typically physiological and psychological responses to danger involve a complex, integrated system of reactions. "A threat initially arouses the sympathetic nervous system, causing the person to feel an adrenaline rush and go into a state of alert." A threat also concentrates a person's attention on the immediate situation and alters ordinary perceptions, allowing them to disregard, for example, hunger or fatigue. As well it evokes intense feelings of fear and anger. These changes mobilize a person for strenuous action (1992: 34).

Traumatic reactions occur when neither resistance nor escape is possible. When this occurs "the human system of self-defence becomes overwhelmed and disorganized. Each component of the ordinary response to danger, having lost its utility, tends to persist in an altered and exaggerated state long after the actual danger is over. Traumatic events produce profound and lasting changes in physiological arousal, emotion, cognition and memory" (1992: 34). Normally integrated functions may become severed from one another. The traumatized person may experience the intense emotions initially associated with the event, but have lost a clear memory of the event itself. Hysteria is an example of this kind of fragmentation. People with hysteria have lost the ability to

integrate the memory of overwhelming life events. The response to the traumatic event may become disassociated from its source taking on a life of its own (1992: 34).

According to Herman, in the face of severe forms of violence, the social circumstances and cultural resources of the survivors do not determine whether they are experienced as traumatic or not. Severe forms of violence overwhelm a person. The American Association of Psychiatrists' *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders* has listed the typical characteristics of post-traumatic stress disorder.⁵ As the syndrome's

---

⁵ Ochberg (1988) provides the following list from the 1987 American Association of Psychiatrists' *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*:

A. The person has experienced an event that is outside the range of usual human experience and that would be markedly distressing to almost anyone, e.g., serious threat to one's life or physical integrity; serious threat or harm to one's children, spouse, or other close relatives or friends; sudden destruction of one's home or community; or seeing another person who has recently been, or is being, seriously injured or killed as the result of an accident or physical violence.

B. The traumatic event is persistently reexperienced in at least one of the following ways:

- (1) recurrent and intrusive distressing recollections of the event
- (2) recurrent distressing dreams about the event
- (3) suddenly acting or feeling as if the traumatic event were recurring (includes a sense of reliving the experience, illusions, hallucinations, dissociative [flashback] episodes, even those that occur upon awakening or when intoxicated)
- (4) intense psychological distress at exposure to events that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event, including anniversaries of the trauma

C. Persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma or numbing of general responsiveness (not present before the trauma), as indicated by at least three of the following

- (1) efforts to avoid thoughts or feelings associated with trauma
- (2) efforts to avoid activities or situations that arouse recollections of the trauma
- (3) inability to recall an important aspect of the trauma...
- (4) markedly diminished interest in significant activities (in the case of young children, loss of recently acquired developmental skills such as toilet training or language skills)
- (5) feeling of detachment or estrangement from others
- (6) restricted range of affect, e.g., unable to have loving feelings
- (7) sense of a foreshortened future

D. Persistent symptoms of increased arousal...as indicated by at least two of the following:

- (1) difficulty falling or staying asleep
- (2) irritability or outbursts of anger
- (3) difficulty concentrating
- (4) hypervigilance
- (5) exaggerated startle response
- (6) physiological reactivity upon exposure to events that symbolize or resemble an aspect of the traumatic event (e.g. a woman who was raped in an elevator breaks out in a sweat when entering any elevator)

name suggests, trauma manifests itself over time both physiologically and psychologically. Trauma is experienced in the dreams, the waking life and the memories of survivors.

Next I will discuss the typical symptoms of PTSD. Herman places the symptoms in three main categories: hyperarousal, intrusion and constriction. Hyperarousal is a condition where the "human system of self-preservation seems to go on permanent alert, as if the danger may return at any moment. Physiological arousal continues unabated" (1992: 35). "[This means that the] person startles easily, reacts irritably to small provocations and sleeps poorly" (1992: 35). These psycho-physiological changes are extensive and enduring. They recondition the human nervous system (1992: 36).

Intrusion is a condition where people relive the traumatic event even though it occurred long ago. Typically they fixate on the event and stasis is induced. It is as if their life has stopped at the moment of the trauma. Herman cites Lifton who refers to these abnormal

---

E. Duration of the disturbance (symptoms in B, C. and D) of at least one month...

Ochberg also notes that...[victims of traumatic events are] more likely to suffer symptoms from the following list, a distinct subcategory of traumatic stress that may or may not reach the threshold for PTSD:

1. Shame: deep embarrassment, often characterized as humiliation or mortification.
2. Self-Blame: exaggerated feelings of responsibility for the traumatic event...despite obvious evidence of innocence.
3. Subjugation: feelings of belittled, dehumanized, lowered in dominance powerlessness...
4. Morbid Hatred: obsessions with vengeance and a preoccupation with hurting or humiliating the perpetrator or humiliating the perpetrator, with or without outbursts of anger or rage.
5. Paradoxical Gratitude: positive feelings towards the victimizer ranging from compassion to romantic love...gratitude for the gift of life from one who has demonstrated the will to kill...
6. Defilement: feeling dirty, disgusted...
7. Sexual Inhibition: loss of libido, reduced capacity of intimacy, more frequently associated with sexual assault.
8. Resignation: a state of broken will or despair, often associated with repetitive victimization, with a markedly diminished interest in the past, present or future.
9. Second Injury or Second Wound: revictimization through participation in criminal justice, health, mental health and other systems.
10. Socioeconomic Status Downward Drift: reduction of opportunity or lifestyle, and increased risk of repeat criminal victimization due to psychological, social, and vocational impairment (Ochberg, 1988: 7-9).

memories as 'death imprints' or indelible 'images' (1992: 38). As abnormal memories they are not assimilated into an ongoing life story. "They are not encoded like the normal memories of adults in a linear, verbal narrative" (1992: 37). Instead they are encoded as vivid sensations and images. The "linguistic encoding of memory is inactivated, and the central nervous system reverts to the sensory and iconic forms of memory that predominate in early life" (1992: 39). "[Memories of the trauma break] spontaneously into consciousness, both as flashbacks during waking states and as traumatic nightmares during sleep. Small seemingly insignificant reminders can also evoke these memories...Thus even normally safe environments may come to feel dangerous" (1992: 37).

"Traumatized people not only relive the moment of trauma through their thoughts and dreams but also through their actions" (1992: 39). They feel compelled to re-create the moment of terror, either in literal, or more commonly in, disguised forms without realizing why they are doing it. While this compulsion can endanger the person, recent theorists claim that repeating the trauma is done in order to "master it" (1992: 41): what I will later describe in terms of integrating the traumatic event into our body schema -- the psychic core that is the basis for our "ground of being" or what Lifton describes as our "inchoate image." The psychic core is the means through which we integrate new experiences with, while adjusting our established understanding of the world as it changes. Violent events shatter or confound this psychic core. By 'mastering' the traumatic event, we rebuild our psychic core in a way that builds an understanding of the world where there is a potential for violent events. As Lifton claims, the disruptive, destructive nature of the traumatic symptoms abate -- but do not disappear -- only when a new psychic core or inchoate image is developed.

According to Herman, while there is an unconscious compulsion to repeat the moment of terror, most survivors do not consciously seek to repeat it. They dread reliving the event because of the emotional intensity of the fear and rage that overwhelm the normal capacity to bear feelings. Thus survivors usually go out of their way to avoid the intrusions. To do so, they typically constrict their lives. But this usually aggravates their condition because it results in a narrowing of consciousness, a withdrawal from others and an impoverished life (1992: 42).

Constriction is a condition where self-defense mechanisms shut down. "When a person is completely powerless and any form of resistance is futile, [she or he] may go into a state of total surrender" (1992: 42). The person escapes by altering her or his consciousness rather than using action to alter her or his situation. This involves psychic numbing. In situations where it is impossible to escape the danger, not only is terror and rage evoked but also, "paradoxically, a state of detached calm, in which terror, rage, and pain dissolve. Events continue to register in awareness, but it is as through these events have been disconnected from their ordinary meanings" (1992: 42-43). There are perceptual distortions, such as a sense of slow motion, with the loss of particular sensations, such as the ability to feel pain. The accompanying feelings include a sense of indifference, emotional detachment and a suspension of initiative and critical judgment (1992: 43). Those who cannot spontaneously disassociate often turn to alcohol or narcotics to produce numbing. Lifton describes psychic numbing as a form of reversible symbolic death to avoid permanent physical and psychological damage (Lifton 1967: 500).

While during the traumatic event, numbing may be adaptive, it becomes maladaptive after the traumatic event has past. It turns into pathological force, inundating the person

with death imagery. This later becomes somatically experienced as entrapment and immobilization. The person becomes "permanently entrapped in what [she or he] symbolically perceives to be a continual threat of death which [she or he] is unable to either dispel or to express in any way other than the 'language' of [her or his] body" (1967: 500). It manifests itself in the survivor's memory, activities and anticipation of the future. With respect to memory, consciousness is constricted, keeping the painful memory split off from ordinary awareness. Only fragments of the memory emerge as intrusive images, but disassociated from the initial event. There is a withdrawal from social life, insomnia, nightmares, chronic depression, fatigue, loss of initiative that cover rage and mistrust (1967: 504). People restrict their activities and the situations they enter in order to create some sense of safety and to control their pervasive fear (Herman 1992: 46).

"[They experience] diminished self confidence in their own ability to make [future] plans and take initiative [with a greater reliance on superstition, such as lucky omens and charms]" (1992: 46). By avoiding situations that "recall the past trauma or planning for the future that involves risk, traumatized people deprive themselves of new experiences for successful coping that might mitigate the effect of the traumatic experience....[perpetuating the effects of the traumatic event]" (1992: 47).

The person's childhood history, emotional conflicts, style of adaptation, social circumstances including her or his support networks and social and cultural resources will have an effect on the way in which the trauma manifests itself (1992: 57-58). For example, as will be discussed below, death threats call up previous experiences that are similar, i.e., already formed psychic images of death. Thus if a person has previously experienced traumatic death threats, such as child abuse, as Herman points out, new

traumatic experiences will be especially complicated and severe. As well, people who are already disempowered with few social support systems are prone to more severe manifestations of PTSD than others (1992: 57-58).

Less literature has been written on the way in which violent acts transform a society across its generations (Miller 1983; Danieli 1988; Klein-Parker 1988; Figley 1988; Figley and Kleber 1995).⁶ The degree to which a society is transformed depends on the nature of the violent acts, how systematically the violence was deployed, the extent to which other social groups and institutions were involved in the violent acts and the various ways they responded during and after the violence occurred.

Yael Danieli's work on the children of survivors of the Jewish Holocaust is an example of a study conducted on the intergenerational dynamics of trauma. She argues that, just as different camp survivors had different ways of coping, so do their children. Yet, nevertheless, according to Danieli, children "of survivors seem to have consciously and unconsciously absorbed their parents' Holocaust experiences into their lives. In the attempt to give their children the best, Holocaust parents taught them how to survive and in the process transmitted to them the life conditions under which they had survived the war" (Danieli 1988: 283). Thus, for example, children of survivors psychologically and sometimes literally live in hiding. Some constantly move their places of residence and others keep double identities. What normally would be typical social processes in North American society, such as separating from one's family to start one's own, become

---

⁶ As Judith Herman (1992) suggests, research on how violence becomes institutionalized and psychosomatically embodied by populations usually arises in conjunction with political movements advocating for the rights of survivors of violence. For example, she argues that this is the case, for rape survivors and Vietnam Veterans. This is the case with writers such as Frantz Fanon (1968), Noel Chabani Manganyi (1977) and Winthrop Jordan (1968) who are concerned with the way the violence of colonialism becomes manifested through the social body.

arduous and highly complex for children of Holocaust survivors. This is due to the fact that during the war, separation from other members of their family meant total and permanent loss.

The children of survivors can also become incorporated into the psychological symptoms of PTSD experienced by their parents. For example, in the process of reliving aspects of the Holocaust, one survivor unconsciously imagined her daughter to be her murdered sister. The survivor did not have the chance to say good-bye to this sister before she was sent off to be exterminated. This meant that the survivor had a need to "control and know every move" that her daughter made. The daughter experienced this 'need' in terms of a "sense of burden, guilt and helpless rage" (1988: 285).

I have now defined violent acts in terms of (1) relations of domination and in terms of (2) the experience of being violated. Is it possible to use this definition to describe Japanese Canadians, who did not undergo the same extreme forms of violence typically discussed by the literature in the field of PTSD. Yet, as I will describe in the next section, the Canadian government systematically planned to destroy their pre-war communities. Like natural catastrophes, the destruction of their pre-war communities destroyed the environments in which they lived. But was this a violent act? It is first necessary to describe the actions the Canadian government took against Japanese Canadians during the 1940s.

III. What Happened to Japanese Canadians: Signs of Trauma?

1. The Plan to Remove 'All Persons of Japanese Racial Origin' from British Columbia

The architecture of the plan to remove "all persons of Japanese racial origin" from the province of British Columbia did not originate with Japan's attack of the United States on December 7, 1941. Nor did it originate with fears arising from Japan's brutal military exploits in Asia during the 1930s. During this period there was a growing movement to stop all Japanese immigration and expel all "Japanese", regardless of their citizenship, from Canada. While British Columbia politicians had been regularly making these demands since the early 1900s, now the federal Conservative Party in Ottawa, the Ontario Conservative Party and well-known individuals in central Canada were among those agitating for the removal of Japanese Canadians (Adachi 1991: 183-184).

The desire to expel Japanese Canadians from Canada can be traced to what Canadian historians such as Forrest La Violette (1948), Peter Ward (1990), Ken Adachi (1991) and Kay J. Anderson (1991) have documented as the xenophobic social climate that structured the everyday life of "white British Columbia" from the late 1880s to the 1940s. During this period, anti-Asian lobby groups and politicians managed to pressure the federal government to enact a complex series of discriminatory actions against Asian Canadians and immigrants. For example, public pressure led the government's refusal to allow South Asians to enter Vancouver in 1914 in what is now referred to as the "Komagata Maru incident." The actions taken against Japanese Canadians and Chinese Canadians differed because of the international relations between Britain and Japan secured through the Anglo-Japan Alliance. While the government imposed exorbitant head taxes for Chinese immigrants and finally banned all Chinese immigration in 1923,

the federal government was more cautious about its treatment of Japanese Canadians and immigrants (Adachi 1991: 137). For example, rather than banning Japanese immigration, the government formed a series of "gentlemen's agreements" with Japan to restrict the numbers of immigrants. These agreements were in operation into the 1930s (1991: 81-82, 93-94).

In this context, the implementation of measures to remove Japanese Canadians from the province can be seen as an extension of the racist regulatory practices that had already configured the province's multi-'racial' population around hostile conceptions of "Asiatic" as well as other racialized groups. There were countervailing forces, such as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a federal party formed in 1932 that sought to extend the franchise to Asian Canadians. But by the late 1930s the heated debates in British Columbia's Legislature and Canada's Parliament centered on Japanese immigration rather than extending rights to Asian Canadians (1991: 181).

When Japan attacked Pearl Harbour, the Canadian government swiftly implemented its plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. Prime Minister MacKenzie King's government invoked the War Measures Act, a move that transferred the powers of Canada's Parliament to the federal Cabinet. A Cabinet Committee on Japanese Questions was struck on January 27, 1942. It was headed by Ian MacKenzie, an outspoken, anti-Asian member of parliament from British Columbia.

The government did not restrict its measures to Japanese nationals. It targeted all people of "Japanese racial origin." Women, the elderly, men, children and World War One veterans -- everyone was categorized as an enemy alien. The government claimed that they had to be removed from British Columbia's coastline because they posed a threat to

national security and because they risked violence from other Canadians. These moves ran contrary to the recommendations made by officials responsible for national security. In 1940, Frederick John Mead, the Royal Mounted Canadian Police (RCMP) officer responsible for West Coast security had advised the Department of National Defence that "the Japanese in Canada" did not pose a threat to national security. At a conference on the "Japanese problem" in Ottawa in January 1942, representatives from the Department of National Defence, the National Defence for Naval Services and the RCMP opposed the incarceration of Japanese Canadians. They maintained that the restrictions in place, which included curfews, confiscation of fishing boats, radios and automobiles, were adequate. (NAJC 1985: 12-13; Sunahara 1981: 125). The Minister of National Defence, J.L. Ralston, went further by refusing to spare men from home defence for the purpose of moving Japanese Canadians. He stated that if Japanese Canadians were to be moved, a civilian body should move them, implying that this was not a security matter (Sunahara 1981: 48).

Soon after Japan bombed Pearl Harbour, the RCMP began rounding up community leaders and "suspected enemies" for questioning. Most were sent to prisoner of war camps in Ontario (Kobayashi 1987: 31). This happened quickly, often with as little as twenty-four hours of notice. The men taken from isolated settlements along the sparsely inhabited coastline left behind panicking women and children. Political organizations and community newspapers, with the exception of *The New Canadian*, were shut down (Miki 1985: 67).⁷ The complex political and communication networks that wove the pre-war communities together began to crumble. Vancouver's media was filled with war

---

⁷ *The New Canadian* was an English-language newspaper. It was initiated in 1938 by a group of young *Nisei* working towards "achieving the democratic goal of full franchise for their community" (Miki 1985: 31). While the publication of information about the government's plans provided Japanese Canadians with a modicum of security, it also provided the BCSC with a direct well-established communication channel to all Japanese Canadians.

reports on Japan's military atrocities. Inflammatory statements made by anti-Asian politicians and organizations increased the general public's hostility against Japanese Canadians. With a growing movement calling for the expulsion of Japanese Canadians from Canada, rumours about their fate began to create waves of fear. On January 14, 1942, the government designated a one hundred mile strip along British Columbia's coastline a "protected area." All male Japanese nationals from 18 to 45 years of age were removed from this area and sent to road camps along the British Columbia-Alberta border (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 22).

On February 25, 1942, Prime Minister MacKenzie King announced the compulsory removal of all Japanese Canadians from the "protected area" (NAJC 1985: 15). *The Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas*, a report issued by the British Columbia Securities Commission in October 1942 claims that

[after imposing the initial restrictions and removing suspicious Japanese nationals] no further definite action [was taken] until public sentiment became inflamed and the members of Parliament from this Province became so vehement in their denunciation, and the press so vociferous in its expression of indignation that finally, faced with the necessity of establishing some security against possible attack from within as well as without, on March 4th, 1942, the Government of Canada issued Privy Council Order No.'s 1665 and 1666 creating the British Columbia Securities Commission, whose primary duty was to evacuate all persons of the Japanese race from certain strategic areas of British Columbia which has previously been declared "protected" by Order in Council No. 363 (BCSC 1942: 3-4).

The British Columbia Securities Commission (BCSC), a civilian body, was established to organize the removal and internment of over 21,000 Japanese Canadians (refer to map 1). The BCSC took over Hastings Park, the grounds for British Columbia's annual fall fair in Vancouver. Streams of Japanese Canadians from settlements along the coastline, on

Japanese Canadians in Internment Camps in British Columbia

Map 1: Japanese Canadian Internment Camps in British Columbia
 (Source: Miki and Kobayashi: 1991)
 Credit: National Association of Japanese Canadians

Vancouver Island and throughout the lower mainland were shipped into Vancouver and confined in the Park's mass of animal stalls. Set up as a clearing station, Hastings Park held as many as 4,000 Japanese Canadians at a time. Some were held for up to eight months as they waited for the BCSC to find localities outside of the "protected area" that would accept an "influx" of "Japanese." Given the anti-Japanese sentiments of the white population, this was a difficult task. When localities were eventually found, the BCSC sent crews of inexperienced Japanese Canadian men to build rows of tar paper shacks and "recondition" unused buildings to house the internees. The government's swift, smoothly orchestrated plan, threw Japanese Canadians into a state of confusion and panic. Yet the majority continued to trust the government, believing that it would adhere to democratic principles. But that changed when the government began to separate family units, sending men to road camps and women, children and the elderly to internment camps. Different leadership factions formed. On the one hand, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League (JCCL) advocated cooperation, arguing that removal from their homes was a temporary measure. On the other hand, a group of men with young families who formed the Nisei Mass Evacuation Group (NMEG) openly protested the separation of family units, evading orders to go to road camps. The RCMP apprehended them and eventually over 400 were sent to prisoner of war camps in Ontario (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 39-41). In the meantime, men in road camps began protesting by going on strike.

The NMEG's public protests made the government realize that Japanese Canadians would resist measures which threatened the well-being of their families. Fearing more protests, the government changed the policy to separate families. By October 1942, most men were reunited with their families in interior camps. The government relocated another 4,000 people as family units to the prairies where farmers used them as labourers

on beet farms (Kobayashi A. 1987: 32). The Commission also gave certain families the option to arrange independent "housing centres" in a number of isolated locations throughout British Columbia, including Lillooet, Minto and Bridge River. This created further divisions amongst Japanese Canadians. The 1,161 who chose this option were viewed as elite members of the community who broke ranks with the less fortunate. This group was termed "self-support" because they used their own funds to set up and operate their camps. But in fact all Japanese Canadians paid for the costs of their internment. Able-bodied women and men were expected, for example, to pay for their families' food, rent and fuel, whether through the meagre wages the government paid them for working in road camps and performing various jobs in the camps or through their earnings from working on beet farms in the prairies or work placements in Ontario. As well, the government drew on the assets from the liquidation of the properties they left on the coast.

On March 4, 1942, the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property was instituted under the Department of the Secretary of the State. This office was responsible for all of the real estate, personal effects, businesses and farms that Japanese Canadians left on the coast. Its powers were restricted by law to protecting and administrating these properties. But on January 19, 1943, the Cabinet passed a measure empowering the Custodian to dispose of their properties without the owners' consent (NAJC 1985: 17). On the one hand, these assets were used to pay for the costs of their internment. And on the other hand, for "Ian MacKenzie, the forced liquidation of properties...destroyed the physical basis of the Japanese Canadian community, guaranteeing that its members would have nothing to return to when released from detention (NAJC 1985: 16-17).⁸

---

⁸ "[The] confiscation of Japanese Canadian farmlands in the Fraser Valley [also] provided the opportunity to win votes from veterans by supplying them with good, cheap farms." (NAJC 1985: 16-17).

By October 1942, 12,000 Japanese Canadians were installed in government-run internment camps, 1,100 in self-support camps, 4,000 on beet farms, 900 in road camps and 700 in prisoner of war camps. A few were retained in Hastings Park and in detention centres in Vancouver and the rest were scattered outside the "protected area" (refer to map 2) (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 31). In 1943, the Department of Labour established employment placement offices for Japanese Canadians in various towns outside of British Columbia.

On August 4, 1944, Prime Minister MacKenzie King made a speech in the House of Commons declaring that no acts of sabotage had been committed by Japanese Canadians. Yet despite their "unblemished record, the government had decided that Japanese Canadians could stay in Canada only if they were judged loyal by a loyalty commission and if they dispersed across Canada. Those judged to be disloyal [would be immediately deported to Japan]" (Sunahara 1981: 117).

When the United States permitted Japanese American internees to return to their homes along the American coastline, the Canadian government "panicked." Unwilling to allow Japanese Canadians the same freedom of movement, the government created two policies, to deport as many Japanese Canadians as possible and to disperse the rest across Canada. The government used a repatriation survey that asked Japanese Canadians if they were "loyal" or "disloyal." To show they were loyal, they had to relocate east of the Rocky Mountains. Those who refused to leave British Columbia were considered "disloyal." Those who were "disloyal" had to agree to being shipped to Japan. Under great duress, over 10,000 were signed up for shipment to Japan. Some chose Japan because they were angry about the way they had been treated. Others chose Japan

Distribution of Japanese Canadian Population After the Mass Uprooting from the 100-mile Coastal Zone (as of October 31, 1942)

Road construction camps: 945^{*}
 Blue River - Yellowhead 258
 Revelstoke - Scamou 346
 Hope - Princeton 296
 Schreiber 32
 Black Spur 13

Sugar beet farms: 3,991
 Alberta 2,588
 Manitoba 1,053
 Ontario (males only) 350

Camps in BC 12,029
 Greenwood 1,177
 Stocan Valley 4,814
 Sandon 933
 Kaslo 964
 Tashme 2,636
 New Denver 1,505

Self-supporting sites 1,161

Special permits to approved employment 1,359

Repatriated to Japan 42

Uprooted prior to March 1942 579

Interned in prisoner of war camps in Ontario 699

In detention in Vancouver 111

Hastings Park hospital 105

TOTAL 21,480**

^{*}Between March and June 1942, a total of 2,161 Japanese Canadians were placed in road construction camps. Many of them subsequently were allowed to join families in the interior detention camps by October 1942.

^{**}92 persons, representing Japanese Canadians married to non-Japanese Canadians and their children, were issued permits April 11, 1942, exempting them from uprooting orders.

Sources: Canada, BC Security Commission, Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas (October 31, 1942); Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*.

Aerial view of camp at Lemon Creek. Photo Vancouver Japanese Canadian Citizens Association, Redress Committee

31

Map 2: Distribution of Japanese Canadian Population After the Mass Uprooting
 (Source: Miki and Kobayashi 1991)
 Credit: National Association of Japanese Canadians

because they heard rumours about the hostile atmosphere in central Canada where there were few jobs and housing was expensive and scarce. Administrative errors and misunderstandings led yet others to sign for shipment to Japan. For example, some were mistakenly informed that they could later revoke their requests at a later date. They thought this meant that they could sign for "repatriation" in order to keep their jobs in British Columbia -- which the government forced the "loyal" Japanese Canadians leaving for central Canada to quit -- and later revoke their requests if the prospects for settling elsewhere in Canada improved. (1981: 122-124).

Sunahara documents the legal action initiated by *Nisei* organizations to challenge shipping Japanese Canadians to Japan. Their case went to the Supreme Court of Canada. The coordinating body for the case was the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy, an organization run by *Nisei* in Toronto which was formed in 1943. *Nisei* and *Issei-Nisei* organizations across Canada led campaigns and raised financial support for the case. The Committee for Democracy also formed an alliance with the Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians, a national coalition of non-Japanese Canadian political and civil organizations that were increasingly critical of the government's actions. (Sunahara 1979: 11-12). The Supreme Court ruled that government had the right to "deport" Japanese Canadians "but with one exception: the wives and dependent children who had not signed for repatriation were exempt" (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 55).

Over 4,000 Japanese Canadians were eventually shipped to Japan. Four years *after the defeat of Japan* in 1949, due to pressure from groups such as the Cooperative Committee on Japanese Canadians, among others, the Canadian government removed all restrictions on Japanese Canadians. In the same year, along with South Asian Canadians, Japanese

Canadians were finally given the franchise in British Columbia (Kobayashi A. 1987; Miki and Kobayashi, 1991; Adachi, 1979).

Several Japanese Canadians continued to seek some form of justice throughout the late 1940s and into the early 1950s. The Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy was eclipsed by the national organization, the National Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association in 1947. This association sought compensation for Japanese Canadians. Its actions resulted in a Royal Commission to investigate the losses incurred by Japanese Canadians headed by Justice Henry Bird. But the Commission only considered the loss of property and calculated the losses using limited parameters, for example, devalued market values. It decided that it was too time-consuming to pursue individual cases and ended up using broad general categories. For Japanese Canadians, the terms of reference and methods used were inadequate. Miki and Kobayashi claim that the "Bird Commission effectively quelled further protests and challenges to the government's wartime policies and actions" (Miki and Kobayashi. 1991. 56-59).

2. The Applicability of U.S. Studies on Trauma: Comparing Nikkei History in the U.S. and Canada

Is it possible to claim that the measures the government took to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia and dismantle their established communities constituted political violence? It is difficult to use the PTSD literature to argue that the government's actions were violent, because there has been little research on the socio-psychological effects of interning Japanese Canadians in North America. There are a few studies of the socio-psychological effects on Japanese Americans, documenting symptoms of what Ochberg has identified as a distinct subcategory of traumatic stress

that may or may not reach the threshold for PTSD.⁹ Donna Nagata (1993) and Amy Iswakai Mass (1986) present data revealing that amongst American *Nisei* these symptoms include feelings of self-blame for their victimization. For example, numerous *Nisei* explain that the reason there were interned was because they were not "American enough." Mass claims that American *Nisei* felt guilt, shame, or a sense of unworthiness even though they had done nothing wrong. Nagata and Mass describe the way many *Nisei* reduced the "dissonance" between the basic assumptions that they held about America as a just equitable society and how they were treated. As with cases where abused children diligently comply with their parents, hopeful that their good behaviour will lead their parents to treat them well, many *Nisei* identified with their aggressors. They pledged complete loyalty to the U.S. while deliberately avoiding associations with other Japanese Americans (Nagata 1993: 31-33; Mass 1986: 160-161).

Nagata reports that the *Sansei* in her sample of 1,250 did not experience severe "psychopathological" effects though they experienced socio-psychological symptoms from the uprooting and incarceration of Japanese Americans during the 1940s. At the same time, Nagata notes, her study was not clinical and therefore excluded the most severely affected *Sansei*. She notes that *Sansei* reproduced their parents' silence about the internment and blamed their parents' internment for negative feelings that affected their lives. These feelings included low self-esteem, the pressure to assimilate, the unexpressed pain of their parents. They also experienced a loss of Japanese American culture and the Japanese language (Nagata 1993: 209).

---

⁹ See footnote #4 for Ochberg's list of symptoms for the subcategory of traumatic stress that may or may not reach the threshold for PTSD.

No such studies have been conducted on Japanese Canadians. It would be possible to apply some of the findings in Nagata's and Mass's studies to Japanese Canadians. But it is important to identify the differences between the two cases. These differences resulted in very different post-war communities. Some might argue, for example, that the constitutional differences between the U.S. and Canada led to very different redress movements. In the U.S. the Congress created the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, which held nationwide hearings, where Japanese Americans presented testimonies about their experiences (Daniels et. al. 1986: 189). In Canada, negotiations for a redress settlement occurred between the representative body for Japanese Canadians, the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC) and representatives appointed by the Minister of State for Multiculturalism. There were no public hearings.

There were significant differences between the policies implemented to uproot, intern and distribute "persons of Japanese racial origin" in Canada and the U.S. Notably, after 1945, Japanese Americans were permitted to return to their homes along the Pacific coast in California. The Canadian government forced Japanese Canadians to disperse to central Canada or be shipped to Japan in 1945 and 1946. They were not permitted to return to British Columbia until 1949. As well, while the properties of Japanese American were looted and devalued, but unlike Japanese Canadians, the American government did not sell their homes and properties.¹⁰

---

¹⁰The removal of 120,000 Japanese Americans was directed by the U.S. army. In Canada, a civilian body, the British Columbia Securities Commission was in charge of uprooting and interning over 21,000 Japanese Canadians. Japanese Americans were placed in incarceration camps surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards. Most Japanese Canadians were interned in flimsily built camps that were primarily under the surveillance of the federal government's police force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). The camps were located in isolated mountainous valleys. Other Japanese Canadians were sent to work for beet farmers in the prairies where they usually kept in substandard housing. Camp conditions differed as well. For example, Japanese Americans were incarcerated as family units though they ate communally in large mess halls rather than with their own families in separate shacks -- which some accounts suggest contributed

Because of the differences between the American and Canadian "relocation" programs, one can assume that the socio-psychological effects would be different as well. The U.S. studies on the socio-psychological effects of internment on Japanese Americans are probably applicable at some level to Japanese Canadians. But simply applying the findings of these studies to Japanese Canadians will obscure the significant differences between the experiences of Japanese Canadians and Japanese Americans outlined above. Despite the fact that no comprehensive psychological studies have been conducted on postwar Japanese Canadians, there are indications of socio-psychological damage amongst Japanese Canadians, both those who were removed from their homes along the coast of British Columbia in the 1940s and the next generation. One indication that Japanese Canadians have experienced trauma is that in the early 1990s the Japanese Canadian Community Association's Human Rights Committee in Vancouver began to research and address issues around trauma and the process of healing in the community. As a pro-active organization concerned with the rights, well-being of community

---

to the erosion of the pre-war family structure (Kitano 1986: 155). In contrast, Japanese Canadian families were initially broken apart, with the men being sent to road camps and the women and children being sent to internment camps. Japanese Americans were drafted and enlisted in the military. It was only after January 1945, partly due to pressure from Britain, that Japanese Canadians were permitted to join the armed forces, but only as translators. The U.S. constitution held that its citizens could not be held without just cause while there was no legislated protection of human rights even for those born in Canada. Soon after being released from the incarceration camps, the U.S. government paid \$37 million or 10% of what was claimed in losses to Japanese Americans whereas the Bird Commission provided \$1.2 million to Japanese Canadians (Kobayashi and Miki 1991: 51).

There are other significant differences between Japanese Canadians in Canada and the U.S. as well. With a different relation to the British Empire and forms of government, not only did the expression of patriotism differ between U.S. and Canadian citizens, but as well, while second generation Japanese Canadians in the U.S. could vote, provincial legislation in Canada enabled British Columbia to deny the franchise to *Nisei* on the basis of their 'race.' The history of Japanese immigration in the U.S. differs as well. State legislation allowed California and seven other states to exclude 'Orientals' from immigrating to their territories in 1924. (Adachi 1991: 135). Politicians and anti-Asian lobby groups in British Columbia were able to pressure the federal government into creating restrictive legislation on Chinese immigration. For example, Canada imposed a head tax on Chinese immigrants in 1885 (1990: 42) and a total ban immigration in 1923 (Adachi 1990: 137). But the Anglo-Japan Alliance meant that Canada entered a Gentleman's Agreement with Japan to restrict but not eliminate the number of Japanese immigrants in 1928 (Ward 1990: 138).

members as well as the responsibility of Japanese Canadians to support other human rights' causes, its initiative indicates that there are members of the community who suffer from trauma.¹¹

There is a variety of sources that indicate that for many Japanese Canadians, internment, dispossession and forced dispersal were devastating experiences. There are first hand accounts that circulate in community venues about, such, "the *Nisei* Mr. X, who never recovered emotionally from his losses" and "the *Sansei* Y, who angrily denies that her family's experiences affects her." But there is also documented evidence that the internment, dispossession and dispersal were traumatic. Of particular note are the efforts of Japanese Canadians to document, analyze and express their relation to the past through historical research, demographic studies, sociological analyses and cultural texts such as novels, multi-media art, film, video and poetry. In this section I shall briefly discuss the community accounts, sociological analyses and historical research of their experiences. But before doing so, it is necessary to discuss the most recent sociological study of Japanese Canadians by *Shin Ijuusha*, Tomoko Makabe (1998). She rejects one of the central premises of this dissertation. Makabe claims that "the hypothesis that the evacuation-internment experience may be a central component of the distinctive Japanese-Canadian identity had to be rejected by the present *Sansei* group just as it was by the *Nisei*" (Makabe 1998: 164).

---

¹¹ For example, recently, Tatsuo Kage, an active member of the Committee presented a translation of "Emotional Scars and Healing" an article by Dr. Michiaki Horie on post-traumatic stress syndrome in October 1998 edition of *The Bulletin*, a monthly newspaper that serves Japanese Canadians in British Columbia's lower mainland. The article lists the symptoms of PTSD. It was originally written in Japanese for the July 1998 *Geppo*, the Japanese version of *The Bulletin*. It was translated by Ms. Tamiko Yoshikawa another member of the Human Rights Committee.

3. *The Canadian Sansei*: Questioning the Persistence of Ethnicity

The Canadian Sansei (1998) by Tomoko Makabe is the most recent sociological publication on contemporary Japanese Canadians. Insofar as Makabe's conclusions differ from one of the central premises of this dissertation, it is necessary to examine the validity of her conclusions. Her study examines the "persistence of ethnicity" amongst *Sansei*. She claims that the *Sansei* have been successfully assimilated into mainstream Canadian society. She concludes that *Sansei* "are no longer insulated by the ethnic community. They have won a measure of acceptance that their predecessors never knew, and they have been well incorporated into the Canadian middle-class." She argues that the *Sansei* are "nearly identical to the majority group not only in achievement, but in interests, social values, and belief systems." She notes that they lack the criteria for being a minority group: "an awareness of itself as possessing a depressed status relative to other groups in society. This very awareness seems almost completely absent from the minds and souls of the *Sansei* I encountered in the course of interviewing" (Makabe 1998: 164). According to Makabe, *Sansei* have not suffered any intergenerational effects from the experiences of their parents and relatives. This implies that the damaging impact of the internment and forced assimilation of Japanese Canadians stopped with the *Nisei*.

One problem with Makabe's study is her definition of ethnicity. She uses static models of ethnic identity and does not take into account both some of the classic and more recent sociological theories on the dynamic processes of racialization and identity, including work by Frantz Fanon (1968), Stuart Hall (1992), Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989) Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis (1992), David Theo Goldberg (1993) and C. Mohanty (1991). Makabe's operational definition of ethnicity is "dichotomized" into "internal" and

"external" "aspects" of ethnic identity: this includes observable behaviour such as language, religious beliefs and food as well as images, feelings and ideas (Makabe 1998: 88).

In this model of ethnicity, someone has a particular ethnic identity if they possess the correct "aspects" of that identity. Ethnic identity becomes a matter of possessing the required and correct number of aspects as if they were a static set of goods. Problems arise with regard to deciding which, how many and what combination of aspects one must possess in order to be have a particular ethnic identity. Makabe searches for Japanese behaviours and ideas amongst the *Sansei* without discussing how these traits represent Japanese Canadian culture. She does not define or research what might be Japanese Canadian traits amongst the *Sansei*. As well, she does not examine how other ethnocultural groups determine whether another's behaviour, feelings and ideas are imitations or authentic. Underlying these questions is the problem of who decides what behaviour and feelings and ideas mark someone as a member of their "ethnic group." The basis of the idea that one must possess certain traits in order to be a member of a certain ethnic group is conservative. If it is possible to identify the behaviours, feelings and ideas that would qualify someone to be a member of a certain ethnic group then we need to ask which social body or figure has the authority to identify these traits. Underlying this problem is another: what are the implications of choosing one set of traits rather than another? Does it mean if someone refuses to adhere to certain religious practices and gender roles that she or he does not have the ethnic identity conventionally associated with those practices and roles?

This conception of ethnicity does not recognize the way ethnic identity changes over time and differs amongst social groups within a community. It does not recognize that

members of a community negotiate their prescribed and lived identities in various ways in different circumstances, depending how their identities are articulated with their other identities.

The limitations of Makabe's static definition of ethnicity pervade her study. For example, she accepts the statements of her interviewees at face value. This is problematic for a number of reasons. First, she fails to recognize that, in part, it might be the case that the interviewees she has selected lack a language to articulate their "ethnicity" outside of the terms given to them by mainstream culture. What constitutes a group's self-identified "difference" from mainstream groups is collectively generated. Given that she claims that her interviewees are not actively involved in what she identifies as the Japanese Canadian community, it would seem reasonable to suspect that they lack the terms to describe what is entailed in their difference/ethnicity. It would have been interesting for Makabe to analyze the common concepts, practices and experiences that might have constituted them as a group. From the selections from her transcripts there seems to be enough information to do so.

Moreover, by accepting her interviewees' statements at face value, she overlooks statements that indicate a much more complex picture. For example, Makabe insists that "the *Sansei* are convinced that [the war-time events] did not affect them directly or indirectly" (1998: 156). She accepts this as a fact. Yet she overlooks how her interviewees observe the adverse effects of the internment and dispersal on their parents. Even though she lists Nagata's study on *Sansei* in her references, she does not consider how events that have adversely affected their parents would have affected their children. Moreover, Makabe claims that *Sansei* are "completely free from negative 'minority feelings'" (1998: 165) because their *Nisei* parents did not "discuss" their internment and

dispersal.¹² The *Sansei* in her study claim that their parents tried to become "Canadians." One could argue that according to Makabe, the *Sansei* benefited from their parents' inability to discuss their past: in other words they benefited from their parent's trauma.

She concludes that "the hypothesis that the evacuation-internment maybe a central component of the distinctive Japanese-Canadian identity had to be rejected by the present *Sansei* group as it was by the *Nisei*" (1998: 164). Her claim that "overall the *Sansei* have a positive, self-imposed [identity] of so-called ethnic pride" because "they became aware of the advantage of being a member of a 'respectable' minority" (1998: 167). Yet she does not explain why her interviewees adamantly insist that they do not experience racism. Nor does she explain their failure to identify with "the plight of others who have been subjected to racism," coupled with what could be categorized as their racist attitudes towards other groups (1998: 140-142). According to Nagata and Mass, these could be interpreted as signs of disassociation and identification with one's aggressor.

Another problem with Makabe's study is her methodology. The purpose of her study is to make generalizations about the persistence of ethnicity amongst all Canadian *Sansei*. She aims to "[forecast] the future of the Japanese-Canadian group and their community" (1998: 9-10). She claims that survival of Japanese Canadians as an ethnic group depends on whether or not *Sansei* become involved with the community. But her sample is not representative. To produce her sample, she uses a method called snowballing. For the snowballing method, the researcher asks her interviewees or social contacts for the names of potential interviewees whom in turn, she asks for more names of potential interviewees. With this method, the sample typically consists of people from the same

---

¹² Nor does Makabe consider some of the cultural texts written by Japanese Canadians that explore the disturbing relations and identities within the community. For example, there is *Nisei*, Joy Kogawa's novels *Obasan* (1983) and *Isuka* (1992) and *Sansei*, Kerri Sakamoto's recent novel, *The Electric Field* (1998).

social networks rather than selections from different networks. As such, snowballing produces a selective sample. The selectivity of her sample is evident insofar as Makabe reports that of the sixty-four *Sansei* she interviewed, half resided in Toronto. A high proportion of the interviewees lived in the province of Ontario. Nine out of the sixteen towns and cities where the interviewees lived were in Ontario, three from British Columbia, one from Quebec and three from the prairies. There is no indication that she attempted to select *Sansei* from different demographic groups to insure that the numbers of *Sansei* in her sample representing these demographic groups were proportional to the demographic composition of the actual population of *Sansei*. While Makabe scatters her test with the admission that she can not make generalizations about all Canadian *Sansei* from her sample, she constantly uses terminology and constructs statements that indicate that she is making generalizations about all *Sansei*.

Makabe also relies predominantly on the accounts of her interviewees and her own studies. She does not consider other indicators that might demonstrate the "persistence" or the loss of ethnicity amongst *Sansei*. For example, she does not list the proportion of *Sansei* in the membership of different Japanese Canadian organizations across Canada. She does not list the local and national projects and activities *Sansei* have initiated and in which they have participated. She overlooks the large numbers of *Sansei* involved in historical research, artistic projects and publications. Moreover, Makabe dismisses one of the most important post-war developments: the movement for redress. Without presenting any figures, she claims that there were only a few supporters and even fewer activists involved in the redress movement (1998: 148, 151, 153; 1995: 31-36). She reports that most Japanese Canadians involved in the redress movement were *Sansei*. But she uses this as the basis for discrediting the redress movement. She draws on quotations from her interviewees -- few of whom were actively involved in the redress

movement -- to suggest that the redress should have been an issue for the *Issei* and *Nisei* "victims" and not the *Sansei*. She also suggests that most *Issei* and *Nisei* were against the terms that *Sansei* activists negotiated with the government, notably, financial compensation (1998: 151-153). She ignores earlier efforts by *Issei* and *Nisei* who, like the *Sansei*, demanded justice as well as compensation. For example, there are the efforts the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League that culminated in the Bird Commission. Despite her dismissal of the redress movement, to her credit, she does not dispute the suffering that *Nisei* and *Issei* underwent during their internment and forced dispersal. To this point I shall return in the next part of this section of the chapter.

While Makabe argues "the *Sansei* are convinced that [the war-time events] did not affect them directly or indirectly," it is difficult to accept her conclusions. Makabe uses an outdated static model of ethnicity, her sample is unrepresentative, her analysis, simplistic. She also fails to consider a wide range of data that would have provided evidence countering her conclusions. Most significantly and most interestingly she dismisses the significance and the impact of the movement for redress, an event that was instrumental in building a post-war Japanese Canadian community in Canada. Having presented why it is not possible to accept Makabe's conclusions, in the next part of this section of the chapter, I will present indications of the trauma Japanese Canadians experienced from the government's plan to remove them from the province of British Columbia during the 1940s.

4. Evidence of Trauma

a. 'Silence' in the Community

One of the most common stories about Japanese Canadians circulating in Japanese Canadian community venues is that they have been 'silent' about their wartime experiences. On the one hand, it is still possible to hear first and second-hand accounts about *Issei* and *Nisei* who previously found or still find it difficult to discuss what happened to them in the 1940s. On the other hand, there is a myth of silence that continues to construct Japanese Canadians as passive victims, despite efforts by *Issei* and *Nisei* to challenge the government's actions during the 1940s and 1950s, despite the success of the movement for redress and despite the post-redress production of texts examining the past not just by artists, filmmakers, writers and video artists but members of communities across Canada who have produced autobiographies, community histories, memorial gardens, oral histories, History Preservation Committees and archives (Tamayose 1998). In this part of the chapter I want to briefly identify indications of this 'experience of silence' among Japanese Canadians while noting how this 'silence' has been reproduced not in itself as the refusal or inability to discuss the past but as a construction of Japanese Canadians as victims.

It is possible to hear similar stories about 'the silence' and 'breaking the silence' from different Japanese Canadians in different regions across Canada. I will recount the version I learned while active in Vancouver's Japanese Canadian community from 1989-1993. I had just finished my B.A. in geography and wanted to become involved in grassroots politics. After investigating a few organizations, the enthusiastic welcome by the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association convinced me to 'stick around.' As I talked to community activists and read historical texts, I learnt that Japanese Canadians were

'silent' about the past because of the feelings of shame, disempowerment, resignation, pain and loss that resulted from their experiences of persecution during the 1940s. Like members of other communities who have been persecuted, many Japanese Canadians dealt with their devastating experiences by trying to 'forget the past' and avoiding any association with it. Instead they tried to assimilate into the mainstream of Canadian society. This was especially the case through the 1950s and 1960s. Economically, socially and emotionally devastated, members of the community focused on re-building their lives in new environments outside of British Columbia without the support of pre-war institutions. In the late 1960s, inspired by Black Power and Asian American movements as well as the era's grassroots activism, the younger generations as well as radical new immigrants from Japan, began to explore their community's history. These activists encountered many *Nisei* and *Issei* who refused to discuss the past. They were shocked when they discovered what happened to their parents, relatives and family friends. This is when they discovered that the Canadian government had interned their families and liquidated their properties, forced most to scatter across Canada and shipped over 4,000 to Japan. The efforts made by many *Nisei* to avoid associations with the past was evident in their negligence in teaching their children Japanese Canadian cultural practices or involving them in the community activities. The *Nisei*'s refusal to discuss their past marked the next generation not only with ignorance, but loss. It meant that the *Sansei* lost their immediate connection to their grandparents' generation, the *Issei*, who primarily spoke Japanese and were familiar with Japanese Canadian cultural practices. Part of the grassroots movement in the 1970s thus involved a cultural re-birth. *Sansei* traveled to Japan in order to learn more about their grandparents' history, culture and language. They published journals like *The Powell Street Review* and *Rikka* and initiated cultural events such as the Powell Street Festival. *Sansei* activists also began to explore new forms of self-expression through photography, writing and taiko drumming. (Adachi

1991: 361-363; Sunahara 1981: 167-168; Shikaze 1989; Kayahara 1989; Takasaki 1990)

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s as *Sansei* activists unearthed the events following the imposition of the War Measures Act in 1942, they began to mobilize members of the community in a movement for redress. While many *Nisei* and *Issei* supported the movement there were others who remained ambivalent about bringing up the past. They were hesitant about criticizing what happened to them. Some were fearful of a backlash. When asked, many *Nisei* described the destruction of their pre-war communities as a 'blessing-in-disguise.' As noted, Nagata (1993) and Mass (1986) as well as Ochberg (1988) argue that the inability to criticize their persecution shows a paradoxical identification with the aggressor where the survivors actually feel gratitude. As well, there were and continue to be indications that many blamed themselves for what happened to them. They believed that their 'clannishness' in the pre-war years caused the racism launched against them and argued that the forced dispersal helped them assimilate into the larger society (Adachi 1991: 362). They summed up the panic, confusion, humiliation and pain that members of their community experienced when their government branded them as enemy aliens, separated their families, liquidated their properties and possessions -- as a 'blessing.' If this was not a denial of their own suffering -- then it was a denial of the losses and suffering expressed by other Japanese Canadians. The need to re-frame not only their own experiences but the experiences of others who openly criticized what happened to them and expressed their pain and anger -- as a blessing -- points to symptoms of denial, an inability to integrate the degree of devastation that happened to those intimately related to them and, potentially, themselves.

Through the process of mobilizing the community to seek redress from the Canadian government as well as the plethora of post-redress community projects funded by the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation, Japanese Canadians began to develop a new relationship to the past. As mentioned above, artists and writers began to explore the community's past. Many *Nisei* also began to write autobiographies, community histories, have internment camp reunions and so on. Through the movement for redress, the 'silence was broken.'

Yet at the same time, the myth of silence continues to circulate. Without denying that many *Issei* and *Nisei* still find it difficult to discuss what happened to them, at the same time, it is important to consider the construction of the 'myth of silence.' With no systematic studies of the various ways that Japanese Canadians have conceptualized their internment and dispersal at different political moments during the 1950s through to the 1990s, there is a tendency for Japanese Canadians, notably established writers and researchers, to make generalizations about community members that circulate in self-representations, for example in literary works, essays, films and articles in community newspapers. One popular generalization has been that especially the *Nisei* have been resolutely 'silent' about what happened to them. For example, this portrayal is evident in popular novels such as *Ohasan* (1983) by Joy Kogawa and *The Electric Field* (1998) by Kerri Sakamoto as well as sociological texts such as *The Canadian Sansei* (1998) by Tomoko Makabe.

Kogawa's and Sakamoto's novels are set in the period after the war and before the redress movement. In each novel, characters appear who are protean redress activists. The other characters are disturbed or annoyed by the 'noise' these obsessed *Nisei* make about the past. While the novels are set in the past, with so few representations of Japanese

Canadians, these characterizations circulate inside and beyond the contemporary community, becoming stereotypes as opposed to past characterizations of certain groups within the community. For example, Mark de Valk's film 1992, *The Pool: Reflections on Japanese Canadian Internment* reproduces this characterization drawing on interviews with Joy Kogawa and her father, Reverend Nakayama. The myth of silence has been related to the popular epithet, 'a blessing in disguise.' Embedded in the myth of silence is the construction of Japanese Canadians as passive victims, immobilized and incapable of action (McAllister and MacFarlane 1992). It is interesting that members of the post-war generations subscribe to this myth when there is documentation of several Japanese Canadians groups that had demanded reparations and justice during and after the 1940s.¹³ Further research might reveal a relation between the ways members of the post-war generations construct their parents -- victims of racist policies -- and themselves which suggest unresolved feelings of anger and disempowerment.

b. Historical Studies

Historical studies provide especially potent descriptions of the social devastation experienced by the *Issei* and older *Nisei*. I am referring in particular to research that was conducted in the 1970s and 1980s. This research was conducted to support the drive to mobilize Japanese Canadians in the movement to seek redress from the Canadian government. These texts describe the racist political climate that undergirded the violation of Japanese Canadians' rights during the 1940s. In particular these texts focus on the economic losses and the violation of the rights suffered by Japanese Canadians. At the same time, in order to call attention to the gravity of the violations, they use

---

¹³ See Sunahara (1981) and Miki and Kobayashi (1991) for examples of *Nisei* and *Issei* who organized Japanese Canadians to intervene in measures that the federal government took against them, including the liquidation of their properties and the "deportation" of Japanese Canadians to Japan in 1945.

expository language, drawing on interviews to describe the social and psychological devastation resulting from the measures implemented by the government. Of particular note, are books such as *The Enemy that Never Was* (1991; originally published in 1976) by Ken Adachi and *The Politics of Racism* (1981) by Ann Gomer Sunahara, *Nikkei Legacy* (1983) by Toyo Takata as well as political pamphlets produced by the NAJC, such as *Democracy Betrayed: the Case for Redress* (1985) and *Redress for Japanese Canadians: a Community Forum* (1984) and *Justice in our Time: Redress for Japanese Canadians* (1987). Also of note are life histories such as Knight and Koizumi's *A Man of Our Times: the Life-history of a Japanese-Canadian Fisherman* (1976) and articles such as Kobayashi's "The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians"(1987).

In *The Politics of Racism*, Sunahara draws from interviews with "inmates" to describe the humiliating conditions of the detention centre in Hastings Park in east Vancouver:

To the inmates of Hastings Park, the stink of the livestock barns was more than an irritating smell. It was a constant reminder that to Canadian politicians and their white electors, Japanese Canadians were no better than animals. The psychological effect of the stink only added to the despondency of the inmates. Weight loss, headaches, skin rashes, dysentery, short tempers, and nervous anxiety affected almost everyone as they sat and waited, locked in a foul-smelling world (Sunahara 1981: 58).

With regard to the internment camps Sunahara describes the depression and anxiety of the internees: "Trapped in the camps by inertia, poverty, uncertainty and fear, the inmates slipped further and further into a 'reservation' mentality, living their lives from day to day with little hope for any improvement in their situation" (1981: 111).

There are indications that the separation of family members, the depressing, impoverished conditions in the camps and on beet farms, the "repatriation" program and

so on, led to painful schisms, breaches of trust and unresolvable conflicts within families and amongst groups within the community. While undocumented, these conditions were also conducive to different forms of physical, verbal and sexual abuse.

A Man of Our Times: the Life-history of a Japanese-Canadian Fisherman, the life history of *Issei*, Ryuichi Yoshida, a fisherman and labour union activist, provides descriptions of some of these schisms, conflicts and breaches of trust. For example, Yoshida recounts that

Each camp had troubles among the Japanese themselves. We had a Japanese foreman for each camp. Foremen understood English and followed the supervisor's advice on managing each camp. In Roseberry (sic) the foreman was hated and there was a continuous change of foremen. Some people thought it was better if they didn't follow any advice from the government. They even declined to do things that were beneficial to them [like bringing in the water system or cutting wood]. I was the foreman in charge of cutting down trees for firewood for a while. But these people insulted me all the time, so I quit. (Knight and Koizumi 1976: 78)

Conflicts increased when the Canadian government started the "repatriation plan" whereby people remaining in the camps had to choose between being sent to eastern Canada or being shipped to Japan. Because Yoshida and ten other Japanese Canadians in Roseberry believed that Japan would be defeated, they tried to dissuade people from being shipped to Japan. In his account it seems that he is mostly referring to *Issei*. Part of the context for their decision to be shipped to Japan was that, on the one hand, they feared discrimination would be worse in central Canada and, without any economic or social connections, the prospect of re-building their lives in an unknown predominantly English-speaking environment seemed daunting. On the other hand, after three years of

internment, with all of their assets liquidated, many *Issei* felt confused, angry and desperate.¹⁴ Yoshida recounts that

I was called a betrayer and a traitor. People threw rocks at our house and insulted us on the street. It is impossible to describe the amount of hate there was towards us. [When Japan was defeated].... We tried to convince them not to sign [the repatriation papers]. We said that Japan would be in very hard times and it would be better if they stayed here. Some still did not believe that. Others were so angry with all the discrimination that they would not listen. I think most of the *Issei* signed those repatriation papers at first. The *Nisei*, not very many signed.....After the war ended, there was a big turmoil. People began to think more clearly and there were many people who wanted to cancel their signatures for repatriation. So we hired two influential white lawyers and started a cancel movement....At New Denver and Roseberry over half those who signed...finally canceled. In the meantime, most of the younger people -- most of the *Nisei* -- were sent to the east (1976: 81-82).

Perhaps just as significant as Yoshida's description of his experiences during the 1940s are his incidental references to his and Mrs. Yoshida's increasingly troubled daughter, their only child. His references are noteworthy insofar as one would not expect an *Issei* man to make many references to his children, especially a daughter, in a formal presentation of his life history. Nor would one expect him to make comments about what might seem like trivial aspects of growing up. As you read his text, you realize these

---

¹⁴ In addition, T.B Pickersgill, whom the government selected to coordinate the repatriation survey noted in correspondence to Mr. A McNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, that one of principal factors encouraging repatriation [shipment to Japan], seems to be that voluntary repatriates will be kept in British Columbia. Another important factor encouraging repatriation has been the reaction in the other provinces to our announcement. They have repeatedly raised the question of the unfavourable reaction in other provinces to permanent settlement in those provinces...I stated to [concerned Japanese Canadians] quite frankly that this bad reaction was fairly universal across the country and undoubtedly it would make conditions more difficult for the Japanese taking employment in those provinces...." (Pickersgill 1945). This indicates the Japanese Canadians' trepidation about relocating to central Canada. According to Sunahara, Pickersgill disapproved of the repatriation policy but thought it was better that someone such as himself take the job rather someone who was "sadistic" and "carried it out to the letter" (Sunahara 1981: 118). In addition, it is important to note that those who chose to voluntarily "repatriate" were allowed to continue working or take up new positions in British Columbia until they were deported. Those relocating eastward, unless they were employed before they chose to relocate eastward, were not permitted to find work in BC. As well, those who chose to repatriate were given free transportation and repatriation grants to ensure their funds up to a minimum of two hundred dollars per adult and fifty dollars per child (Department of Labour 1947: 14).

comments register a loss of connection to his daughter and then, subsequently, the loss of the daughter's control over her own life.

Throughout the text the daughter appears as a source of anxiety, first as child who liked "to play more than study." Later, in the Rosebery camp where "it was a carefree life" for young men and women, Mr. and Mrs. Yoshida "used to worry about her association with boyfriends." He recollects that the first time she used nail polish he was very angry and threw the bottle away because he thought it was "too sultry." He reflects, though, that "it was not even red polish, it was natural colour" (1976: 81). Finally, at the conclusion of his life history, we realize that his anxiety foreshadows the sad life of his daughter in Vancouver after the war. He notes she had a miscarriage and then later, her 20-year-old son died of an unknown cause. He states that his daughter was "very shocked" and "lost for a little while." While he states that they feel she "has recovered herself," he describes her as very nervous and notes how "she goes to the horse races and spends all the money she earns" (1976: 94). Usually Japanese Canadians families try to hide members who have vices such as gambling or long term illness, especially a "mental" illness. The fact that the Yoshidas only progeny is a daughter who lost children and subsequently lost her wits, represents a tragic end. The experiences of *Nisei* like Yoshida's daughter are not represented in many studies on Japanese Canadians. Notably, they do not appear in Makabe's account of successful career-driven *Nisei*.

Historical texts written to support the redress movement also document how the lives of *Issei* and older *Nisei* have been constricted by feelings of fear, shame, anger and pain. In *Democracy Betrayed*, the NAJC recounts Mr. Hideo Kokubo's feelings not just of loss, but the feeling that part of his life had been taken away from him:

When the war ended, Mr. Kokubo wanted to return to British Columbia, but permission was refused. In order to find their eldest daughter, Tsuneko, who had been trapped in Japan by the war while visiting relatives, the Kokubos accepted "repatriation" in the summer of 1946. Mr. Kokubo returned to Canada in 1952 and endured 5 years of poverty and debt in order to re-establish his livelihood as a fisherman. Apart from the confiscation of his boats during the war, the thing he regrets most is the loss of 10 of the most valuable years of his life, between the ages of 30 and 40. These years were spent in prison camp and exile and can never be returned to him (NAJC 1985).

In *Redress for Japanese Canadians*, Tom Shoyama, a prominent *Nisei*, describes the *Nisei*'s hesitance to discuss their experiences of internment, the "psychic scars" and deep splits that the internment and dispersal out of the province caused in families and in different communities:

Initially, I, like many of the older *Nisei* [sic], I'm sure, and similarly perhaps many of the *Issei*, was rather doubtful or hesitant about prying to open up this issue and to pursue it with our country. Those of us who actually went through that experience recall all too vividly the deep pain, the deep disillusionment, the frustration, the sorrow and the anger that all of us experienced one way or the other.... We remember, despite the assurances of the B.C. Security Commission who were trying to "relocate" us across the country, how many hostile environments, how many hostile critics we had to meet. And the psychic scars of all that, I am sure, have been very, very long lasting, very, very deep. I think the worst aspect of the whole experience was the way in which it split and rendered divisions within our own community.... I know people found themselves in deep disagreement even with members of their own family as to how we should react (Shoyama 1984: 32-33).

The socio-psychological damage indicated in these passages must be considered in relation to the way the government physically dispersed Japanese Canadians across different regions of Canada and shipped over 4,000 to Japan. The government disbanded their pre-war institutions, incarcerated community leaders in prisoner of war camps and separated families. As result, most Japanese Canadians were immersed in the struggle to find adequate housing, secure work, feed themselves and save enough to reunite

members of their families who were scattered across Canada or stranded in Japan. It was difficult to rebuild strong community networks under these circumstances. There were few community forums through which they could articulate, examine and collectively find ways to cope with what happened to them. While the myth of silence identifies the socio-psychological trauma experienced by Japanese Canadians, it obscures the material barriers that made it difficult for Japanese Canadians to regather as a community. Next I shall briefly discuss some of the sociological studies on the effects of the Canadian government's plans to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia.

c. Sociological Studies on the Contemporary Community

Historical studies usually restrict their discussion of the impact of the government's actions on the contemporary Japanese Canadian community to their concluding chapters. There are only a few sociological studies that analyze the impact of the government's actions on the post-war Japanese Canadian communities. These sociological studies examine the structural and demographic changes following the dispersal of Japanese Canadians in 1945. Notable studies include Mona Oikawa's *'Driven to Scatter Far and Wide': the Forced Resettlement of Japanese Canadians to Southern Ontario: 1944-1949* (1986) and Audrey Kobayashi's *A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians and Social Implications for the Future* (1989). Keibo Oiwa has also published a short article on the residential patterns of Japanese Canadians in Montreal from 1942-1952 entitled, "The Structure Dispersal: The Japanese Canadian Community of Montreal, 1942-1952" (1986). An important contribution will be the forthcoming publication by Mona Oikawa on the transmission and interpretation of war-time experiences by Japanese Canadian mothers and daughters.

Kobayashi produced *A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians and Social Implications for the Future* (1989) for the Federal Government's Department of the Secretary of State following the redress settlement in 1988. This is a valuable study insofar as it is the only large scale comprehensive study of the demographic structure of the Japanese Canadian population. Kobayashi provides concrete data on how the post-war demographic structure of the Japanese Canadian community was affected by the government's plan to remove all Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s. The study shows how the demographic structure of the current community "including especially the geographic distribution...but also the age structure and patterns of education, occupation, marriage and immigration -- all of which affect community needs and need to be taken into consideration for short term and long term planning -- have been affected in numerous ways by the uprooting and dispersal of the population" (Kobayashi 1989: 1-2).

For example, she examines the effects of the dispersal policies. Ninety percent of 21,000 Japanese Canadians living in Canada were removed from their homes along the coast. Of the 7,000 who never left the province, there were 1,000 who were living outside of the protected zone of 100 miles along the coast. They were the only Japanese Canadians allowed to remain in their homes. Approximately 14,000 were dispersed to the Prairies, Ontario and Quebec with the largest numbers in southwest Ontario. The majority were sent to Toronto. Four thousand were shipped to Japan, This represented a 17% loss of the population. At the same time, approximately 2,500 children were born during this period. Kobayashi underlines how this represented a massive change in the demographic structure of the Japanese Canadian population. She notes that we must also consider the "psychic" impact which precipitated not only from the large scale demographic re-arrangement of the population but also from the small-scale reorganization of social

relations from, for example, the separation of family units and the way Japanese Canadians were constantly being "uprooted" as they were "shunted" from camp to camp, to temporary hostels and from town to town (Kobayashi 1989: 4-7).

A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians also has valuable information with regard to how pre-war social networks affected some of the war-time and post-war geographic redistribution of population. Published historical studies tend to focus on the impact of the dispersal policies. This means that we tend to use the experiences of Japanese Canadians who were dispersed to Toronto and the surrounding regions, to describe the experiences of all Japanese Canadians, including those living in the prairies, British Columbia and Quebec. In part, this focus might be due to the fact that the historical studies are concerned with the period up to 1949 before the restrictions on the movement of Japanese Canadians were lifted. As a result, these studies do not study the subsequent movement of Japanese Canadians, for example, to British Columbia or the lack of movement from particular regions such as the prairies and Quebec. Kobayashi draws our attention to data that indicate that more research is needed on the dynamics of the post-war settlements in the prairies and British Columbia. Notably she indicates that those who were sent to work on prairie beet farms were mostly from the Fraser Valley. Many came from families who immigrated from Kyushu in Japan. This meant that degree of mutual support was greater than it would have been if they had been strangers. Kobayashi indicates that this pattern suggests why many chose to remain in, rather than leave the prairie provinces after the restrictions on the movement of Japanese Canadians were lifted. Similar patterns can be seen amongst Japanese Canadian fishers living in Steveston before the war. Many were from Wakayama prefecture. With encouragement from fishing companies in British Columbia, they returned to Steveston after the war (1989: 10).

It is important to consider the factors that shaped postwar resettlement patterns in British Columbia and the prairies given that the percentage of the Japanese Canadian population in British Columbia and the prairie provinces in 1951 and 1986 was respectively approximately 66% and 50% (1989: 6, 16). The recognition that there were different resettlement patterns across Canada and that this was partly due to the adherence of pre-war social affiliations is something that the most recent sociological study of Japanese Canadians, for example, by Makabe (1998) fails to consider. Her selective focus on particular groups of *Sansei* in the region of Toronto in fact reproduces a biased representation of Japanese Canadians. While government placement officers and Christian organizations facilitated the re-organization of the post-war social networks amongst Japanese Canadians in Ontario and Quebec (Oikawa 1986; Oiwa 1986), Kobayashi's study suggests that in contrast, in the Prairies and British Columbia, Japanese Canadians also drew support from their pre-war affiliations. Oral histories from the Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives in Vancouver also provide information about how Japanese Canadians returning to British Columbia received support from their pre-war connections in the fishing industry while re-building their lives in British Columbia.

Kobayashi also highlights the fact that, given the large number of marriages to partners of other ethnicities as well as increases in the Japanese Canadian population through immigration and birth, "the number of Japanese Canadians is expanding much more rapidly than ever before" (Kobayashi 1989: 2). Her point is significant given that in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the study was published, certain members of the Japanese Canadian community were arguing that the Japanese Canadian community would disappear in the next generation because of the high rates of intermarriage. By

indicating the actual numbers of Japanese Canadians were growing, the report indirectly questioned their definition of ethnicity/race. What is the basis of ethnic membership? If it is 'genes,' then, given the rate of intermarriage, the community is doomed to racial extinction unless they start importing 'pure Japanese' and indoctrinating Japanese Canadians to procreate with other people of Japanese descent. If such a program succeeds then, the community is in danger of veering towards a reactionary race-based nationalism.¹⁵

Kobayashi's major conclusions include a number of significant findings. While in the 1940s there was a deliberate policy to disperse Japanese Canadians to rural areas, they have become strongly urbanized. Over 90% of Japanese Canadian marriages occur with partners of multiple ethnicity. About 25% of the Japanese Canadian population is made up of Japanese immigrants, of which the largest group is young, single women. Japanese Canadians have both income and education levels well above the average for Canadians. Yet Kobayashi notes that income and education levels vary regionally with the highest levels amongst *Sansei* in urban areas and eastern Canada (1989: 63-64). She underlines how all of these demographic changes resulted from the government's policies to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia and then disperse them across Canada. More studies are needed to examine the social as well as psychological significance of these demographic trends.

Mona Oikawa's *Driven to Scatter Far and Wide* examines the implementation of the Canadian government's policies aimed at systematically destroying pre-war Japanese Canadian communities in British Columbia. While Oikawa does not examine the

---

¹⁵ See Kobayashi's article, "Colouring the Field: Gender, 'Race,' and the Politics of Fieldwork" (1994) for a discussion of what constitutes a critical, politically committed relation to a community.

experience of Japanese Canadians, she provides an important analysis of "the articulation of racial ideology and the capitalist economy." She examines how this articulation operates through the interpretation and implementation of policies aimed at the "Japanese problem" in the 1940s in the coordination of war-time and post-war government bodies and civil organizations. Within a context where the definition of Canadian citizenship was rooted in a British identity, she examines how supposedly benevolent civil organizations such as the United Church and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) believed the government's policies were beneficial and aided the government in the process of assimilating Japanese Canadians. Oikawa's study brings to light how the "goal of assimilation was used to justify the means of government repression and denial of human rights" as well as produce a large mobile supply of cheap Japanese Canadian labour that fed into Canadian industries, agriculture production and the domestic economy of individual homes (Oikawa 1986: 102-103).

Oikawa describes the social ramifications of the government's assimilation policies. For example, she describes the social impact of separating *Nisei* in their late adolescence and early twenties from their parents, older siblings and relatives. Young *Nisei* became integrated into new social structures when they were sent to central Canada. For example, Christian organizations facilitated the dispersal of Japanese Canadians to central Canada by providing residences and investigating prospective domestic employers for women. The government directed organizations such as the YWCA to maintain regular contact with the women they helped place in domestic positions in order to provide "social and educational well-being" (1986: 79-80, 83-84, 86). Taken outside of the strictures of their families, with their social and economic activities no longer integrated with other Japanese Canadians through networks of community institutions – young *Nisei* did not reproduce pre-war community structures. Keibo Oiwa (1986) also

notes the role of Christian organizations in assimilating Japanese Canadians into Montreal's population during the 1940s. This further facilitated the disintegration of the well-coordinated social order of pre-war Japanese Canadian life. Oikawa states that "this pattern of organization, where white Canadians had control over the lives of those uprooted from British Columbia, was based on material and political conditions that dictated that Japanese Canadians must remain dependent" (Oikawa 1986: 85).

At the same time, Japanese Canadians did attempt to re-assemble community organizations. Some managed cautiously to form associations in their new locations to provide each other with economic and social support. Japanese Canadian Church groups tended to re-establish congregations. Others formed political organizations, such as the Japanese Canadian Citizens' League to demand reparations. Some of these social and economic organizations quietly disbanded once their members found housing and networks through which they could find jobs. Others continued to function in order to meet the social needs of Japanese Canadians (Adachi 1991: 356-357). More research must be conducted in order to explain how these groups formed and why they changed or disbanded. But overall, it can be concluded that the government succeeded in dismantling the well-organized social, economic and political networks that had integrated Japanese Canadians together in various configurations before and -- for different reasons -- during their internment.

In this section of the chapter I have presented information that describes the effects of the Canadian government's plan to destroy their pre-war communities in British Columbia. I used the community accounts and historical studies to indicate that Japanese Canadians have suffered socio-psychological damage from their experiences of historical persecution. The extent and the nature of the damage are difficult to discern without

more thorough research. Therefore it is difficult to use conclusively the PTSD literature's definition of stressful or traumatic events to define what Japanese Canadians experienced as a violent event. The sociological studies I presented indicate that their pre-war communities were destroyed and that the post-war members of the community were re-configured into new social and economic units, especially in central Canada -- though there are indications that weak forms of association based on pre-war social networks persisted amongst those who stayed in or returned to British Columbia and the prairie provinces. The high rates of intermarriage, urban settlement, levels of education and income amongst the *Sansei* as well as the significant proportion of new immigrants from Japan, show that the changes initiated during the 1940s continue to unravel across generations. From these studies it is possible to claim, as Audrey Kobayashi states, that their pre-war social fabric was torn apart (Kobayashi 1989: 4): or as I will argue, their lifeworld was severely damaged.

To understand why the destruction of the lifeworld is a violent act, it is first necessary to examine lifeworld in terms of how subjects are integrated with the taken-for-granted environments in which they live. This is the task of the next section of this chapter.

IV. The Lifeworld

1. Why Phenomenology Rather than Psychoanalysis or Discourse Analysis?

Insofar as there are no conclusive studies that demonstrate the internment and forced dispersal caused socio-psychological damage -- trauma -- amongst Japanese Canadians it is necessary to explain why these events were violent. In the previous section, I drew on studies by Kobayashi and Oikawa to show that the implementation of the government's policies to "rid the province of British Columbia, once and for all, of Japanese

Canadians" resulted in "the destruction of the Japanese Canadian community as it had existed in pre-war British Columbia" (Oikawa 1986: 1). To discuss what this involved, it is necessary to move beyond a description of the physical destruction of their pre-war communities. My argument is that the government's actions against Japanese Canadians resulted in severely damaging their pre-war lifeworld.

In order to explain how the destruction of a person's lifeworld is a violent event, I will first formulate a conception of the lifeworld. I draw on Merleau-Ponty's formulation of how we are integrated somatically and psychologically with the worlds that constitute and are constituted by us. I begin by briefly explaining why I chose Merleau-Ponty's work rather than the work of other theorists who conceptualize the way the body is configured in relation to social spaces. In particular, I discuss why I chose the work of Merleau-Ponty to develop a framework based on phenomenology rather than psychoanalysis or discourse analysis.

Unlike theories of subjectivity that rely on psychoanalytic frameworks, the conception of the subject that Merleau-Ponty elaborates in *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1994) describes the way in which we are integrated with our social worlds. As the work of Fanon (1968) demonstrates, a phenomenological conception of subjectivity does not exclude the use of psychoanalysis. But psychoanalysis on its own does not account for the significance of the culturally specific organization of a subject's social environment. It is necessary to recognize the significance of the relation a subject has to her or his environment in order to understand the resulting shock – the trauma -- that occurs if the subject's social world is destroyed. As I will argue below, phenomenology recognizes the significance of the culturally specific social environment of the subject.

It could be argued that a discursive analysis would be more suitable than a phenomenological analysis because it would allow me to formulate how relations of domination figure into the relationship between the subject and the organization of social space. Yet there is a tendency for discursive analyses to focus on how discourses configure populations as opposed to how subjects negotiate these discourses. For example, articles drawing on the work of Michel Foucault in edited collections such as Mike Featherstone et. al.'s *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* (1991), Graham Burchell et. al.'s *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmental Rationality* (1991), Brian Turner's *Regulating Bodies: Essays in Medical Sociology* (1992) and Ann Laura Stoler's post-colonial study, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995). These studies examine the constitution of subjects through discursive practices that are deployed across populations by regulatory agencies. They do not focus on strategies used to usurp discursive regimes or how these discourses are lived.

These texts are generally concerned with people only in as much they are rendered into "raw material" that is "invested with properties that make them pliable to new technologies of control" (Hewitt 1991: 223). Attempting to avoid the trappings of humanism, this approach avoids discussing human volition and instead focuses on the complex of experts and institutions that discipline the human body into new regimes of action that "extract economic utility from it whilst rendering it politically docile" (Hewitt 1991: 228). Yet the recognition that individuals *need to be* disciplined, administered and rendered "politically docile" implicitly acknowledges that the human body has some sort of independent impetus. This fact is not ignored by those using discourse analysis. For example, some writers in the collections cited above discuss the potential for resistance. For example, Colin Gordon points out that Foucault's

modern biopolitics generates a new kind of counter-politics. As governmental practices have addressed themselves in an increasingly immediate way to 'life', in the form of the individual detail of individual sexual conducts, individuals have begun to formulate the needs and imperatives of that same life as the basis for political counter-demands. Bio-politics thus provides a prime example of what Foucault calls here the 'strategic reversibility' of power relations, or the ways in which governmental practices can be turned around into focuses of resistances (Gordon 1991: 5).

Likewise, Foucault makes it clear that he does not discount the capacity of people to engage in anti-hegemonic activities, in what he refers to as the "insurrection of knowledges against institutions and against the effects of knowledge and power that invests scientific discourse" (Foucault 1980: 87). While most of his extended studies examine the operation of regimes of domination, in his interviews and short essays, he discusses the "insurrection of knowledges against institutions." For example, he argues that the role of the "intellectual" is "ascertaining the possibility of a politics of truth. The problem is not people's consciousness but the political economic, institutional regime of the production of truth" (1980: 133).

Foucault does not provide an elaborate theoretical account of the "insurrection of knowledges." It is clearly not the main topic of his research. Nor is it the primary concern of many who use his work. As such, it does not provide a way to discuss how subjects negotiate discursive practices. This dissertation requires an approach that will allow me to examine how subjects negotiate discourses, whether as people who are positioned as tourists in relation to the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre or as members of pre-war Japanese Canadian communities who have been reconfigured through government policies into new social and economic units. While I will draw on

discourse analysis in later chapters, I will not use it as the theoretical framework for this dissertation.

Studies that draw on phenomenology, such as the work of Frantz Fanon, Herman and Lifton, recognize that no set of discourses can completely maintain control over every aspect of an individual's or population's psychological-chemical processes, analytic capacities and socio-cultural practices -- throughout her or his life. It is not possible to maintain discourses in a stable and constant manner across space and time, through different lived and imagined zones of a person's or group's life. Moreover, Freud has also shown how a person's psycho-somatic processes do not mechanically re-organize themselves in order to adjust to or to develop a new stable system in relation to the profound violations they have experienced. Our psycho-somatic complexes have a vitality of their own. When they are violated, a series of unpredictable pathological symptoms can erupt.¹⁶ To begin to formulate how this psycho-somatic complex is constituted in a way that is distinct from but not independent of the organization of our social environments, I first turn to the work of Pierre Bourdieu.

---

¹⁶ The unpredictable nature of pathological symptoms which are difficult to control indicates that there is a distinction between discursive practices as they are deployed through various media and agencies -- and -- the socio-psychological complex of the human subject. Psychoanalytic and discursive examinations of cultural texts sometimes conflate the textual and practical mechanisms of various discourses and narratives with the psychological processes of human subjects. The deployment of discourses, for example, through the organization and coordination of social spaces can not be conflated with the somatic and psychic processes of living entities. While living entities are intermeshed with these discourses, the principles regulating the impulses of the living entity differ from those regulating the deployment of discourses. In the disciplines of communication and film studies, this problem is referred to as the "question of the spectator." On the one hand, there is question of analyzing the text and, on the other hand, there is the question of how the people process the text in their lives.

2. Pierre Bourdieu's Formulation of the Habitus

The subjects concerning this dissertation are racialized. In addition, their cultural mode of experiencing the world differs from modes which are organized around the dominant cultural norms. These subjects are not simply "raw material" that are constituted as racial others. Fanon (1968) and other colonial writers such as Manganyi (1977) show it is possible to use existentialism and phenomenology to describe how colonizing societies are organized in ways that are different from and also denigrate the colonized's socio-cultural modes of experiencing the world. This demonstrates that it is possible to theorize how relations of domination and other cultural modes of experiencing the world figure into the formation of our psycho-somatic complexes.

While Fanon and Manganyi do not explain the processes by which relations of domination become embodied, it is possible to do so by drawing on Pierre Bourdieu. In many ways, Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a simplified version of Merleau-Ponty's concept of the habit-body. As such, it is possible to use Bourdieu's conception of the habitus to elaborate Merleau-Ponty's work on the formation of our psycho-somatic complexes, which I will elaborate in the next section of this chapter.

Bourdieu examines how the relations of domination that organize our social environment become inscribed in the organization of the subject's body. The habitus is a set of dispositions that is inculcated through processes of training and learning during the formative years of our lives. By providing us with a specific type of cultural capital -- which includes specific types of knowledge and skills -- dispositions give us the capacity to act with differing amounts of success in various social contexts. Success is based on the reception of our gestures and utterances. Because dispositions are inscribed in the

ways in which our bodies are "organized and deployed" Bourdieu argues that they are lasting and preconscious rather than consciously calculated. Moreover, dispositions reflect the social structure through which they were acquired. This means that dispositions acquired by those from reputable families who attend prestigious institutions embody symbolic capital or social prestige that commands authority in dominant social venues (Bourdieu 1991: 12-14). Others from working class neighbourhoods or ethnic 'ghettos' can have dispositions that mark them as inferior, passive or dangerous.

Bourdieu claims that because our dispositions are preconscious, rather than calculated, it is not possible to simply imitate the dispositions which embody others with legitimacy and some cases, authority. While he states that individuals seek to maintain or alter the distribution of cultural capital, the competence of a speaker is based on her or his ability to conform in the linguistic and social norms that dominate a particular venue. This determines the efficacy of his or her utterances and thus his or her legitimacy and in some cases, authority (1991: 67).

If the speaker attempts to adhere to the linguistic norm, but lacks the training and the lengthy exposure necessary to sufficiently inculcate the unconscious capacity to conform to the norm, she or he will be self conscious. She or he will thus speak with tension, "hyper correcting" and censoring her or his speech and stiffly following rules with regard to pronunciation and syntax (1991: 55-63). Someone who attempts to mimic or perform unfamiliar manners of speech is usually tense from the effort to concentrate on maneuvering her or his tongue in the correct manner, responding with the appropriate intonation, holding the head at the right angle and mastering the appropriate speed of delivery and rhythm of speech. As Mikhail Bakhtin argues, forms of speech can not just simply be appropriated. Not "all words for just anyone submit equally easily to this

appropriation, to this seizure and transformation into private property: many words stubbornly resist, others remain alien, sound foreign in the mouth of the one who appropriated them...; they can not be assimilated into [her or his] context and fall out of it. Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily....it is populated -- overpopulated -- with intentions" (Bakhtin 1981: 294).

One's legitimacy is not just based on the ability to follow the grammatical rules of a language or the rules of cultural conduct with regard to a social exchange. One must be able to inhabit a language and the language must inhabit the person. A language is not something distinct from the social body. Forms of speaking are generated through shared practices. These practices implicitly incorporate the habits of specific bodies from particular social environments. For example, there are habits that form bodies in mining communities in the Atlantic provinces which would differ from those which are organized around work that involves administrative work in the Department of Health in an office based in Ottawa.

A speaker who is familiar with the linguistic norms in particular social venues will speak with "ease," at times stretching the criteria prescribed by the norm. The ease with which a speaker produces an utterance symbolizes their cultural capital in that particular venue. It garners legitimacy (Bourdieu 1991: 56). The efficacy of their statements does not just depend on the ability of the speaker to produce an utterance that technically conforms to the linguistic norm of the market. Its value is also based on what Bourdieu calls the "law of price formation": "the capacity of the various agents involved in the exchange to impose the criteria of appreciation most favorable to their own [linguistic] products" (1991: 67). According to Bourdieu, the form that an utterance takes in a linguistic exchange between speakers in a particular venue is not just determined by the "prevailing

linguistic forces." It is also formed by the relations of power that shape the exchange as it occurs between different social groups (1991: 67-68). His main point here is that the capacity of a speaker to garner authority depends on her or his "statutory capacity," the "recognized capacity of an authorized person...to use, on formal occasions, the legitimate language" (1991: 69). Bourdieu points out that "the capacity to manipulate is greater the more capital one possesses" (1991: 71). He also claims that with an increase in the degree of domination by authorized speakers in addition to an increase in the formality of an exchange situation, the more the law of price formation favours the products of a dominant linguistic habitus. In this situation, the dominated speakers, the speakers with less cultural capital, are always "under the potential jurisdiction of formal law" (1991: 71).

While Bourdieu is not directly concerned with theorizing how racialized people negotiate dominant venues, his method nevertheless offers a means to approach this problem.¹⁷ His distinction between habitus and venue, or what he calls "market," is key. When the dominant linguistic and social norms are based on dispositions that presuppose a particular gender and race, those marked as racial and sexual others have a difficult time securing legitimacy, never mind authority. Such is the case even if they have been 'raised' in the country where they currently live, whether Canada or Britain. Their racialized or gendered bodies cannot conform to the dominant norms.

Racialized subjects inculcated with dispositions particular, for example, to Ontario, would have a greater capacity to manipulate their delivery and thus the efficacy of their utterances than racialized immigrants. But because of processes of racialization, they nevertheless undergo various degrees of delegitimation in dominant venues. This is the

---

¹⁷ Mikhail Bakhtin offers an explicit method to do this as I have argued in my MA thesis.

case in informal settings where, for example, they order a beer at a neighbourhood pub or in a formal setting where, for example, they attempt to negotiate a loan with a bank. The tension and unease experienced in the act of speaking or simply being in these venues are evident in the tension portrayed, for example, in the heightened attention that results from the requirement to deal with lower levels of legitimacy which they negotiate through whatever tactic is appropriate in the given situation. This is most blatantly evident in cases when racialized and/or sexually othered persons make authoritative statements in formal venues, whether at a public meeting in a rural town or an academic conference. When despite perfect word usage and sentence structure as well as a thoughtful application of theory, their statements are not comprehended by the "legitimate" members in those venues, the problem is not their flawless delivery but rather that legitimate members are stupefied by the fact that a racialized, sexually othered person is *assuming* the authority to speak.¹⁸

Here I am not suggesting that members of racialized groups do not, like other members of a nation-state, attempt to secure cultural capital associated with the dominant groups and use it, for example, to assert or attain status positions or to gain entry into prestigious artistic, intellectual and political fields in their society. But in contrast to those who are accepted as legitimate within the fields that are structured by processes of racialization, the *relation* that racialized people or other subordinated groups have to dominant venues is different.

---

¹⁸ The ability of a racialized person to communicate authoritatively is of course complicated by the class, gender, status, age, the venue and personal histories. Also the assumptions about a person's membership of particular racialized, gendered groups are relevant. For example, the forms of delegitimation, legitimation and the counter-tactics that are available for non-white gay males in their 40s reporting an attack at a police station in a rural town are different from those available to heterosexual Chinese Canadian women in their early 20s gathering at one of Canada's artist-run Parallel Galleries in a cosmopolitan setting.

While discourses work to rearrange coercively and integrate all subjects into the regime's systems of organization, at the same time, these discourses presuppose a certain body/practice in, for example, what have become the standard dimensions, activities and habits around which social space is organized. The presupposed body and accompanying practices draw a horizon that becomes shared by the subjects privileged by the discourses. This horizon is affirmed in the built environments of domestic housing, the preservation of historical buildings, the physical dimensions of furniture and building fixtures, the cultural capital required for professions, the length of the workday, the social separation of work and home and the range and shapes of available clothing items.¹⁹

Bourdieu's conception of habitus offers insights into how the relations of domination are inscribed into bodily practices. He claims that learning and training inculcate specific dispositions into our bodies. These dispositions enable some to conform to the social and linguistic norms regulating social venues. The ability to conform to these norms grants them legitimacy. Those who can not conform to the norms are not granted legitimacy. As such, we embody the social structure through which these dispositions were acquired. Our capacity to acquire legitimacy and assert authority in different social and political venues is also shaped by relations of domination. The greater our cultural capital and the

---

¹⁹ Norms based on the body of the privileged subject that are presupposed in a society's built environment are also present in the discourses that rearrange and integrate the population into the society's neo/colonial relations of exploitation. While recognizing that the means of living in contemporary societies has been predominately organized around relations of exploitation, it is important to acknowledge that everyone is not exploited in the same manner or in the same degree. Relations of exploitation are articulated either with already existing relations of subordination or non-oppressive social relations (Lutz 1987). Because the management of and the interaction between populations have never been confined within a nation-state's borders, this encompasses relations with groups who lack formal membership, whether within or without its direct jurisdiction. For example, historical and contemporary relations of subordination and exploitation, specific to racialized peoples, encompass relations specific to neo/colonization. These relations include the slave-like relations in free-trade zones and the sex industries in the third world as well as the disproportional measures taken by wealthy nations to intervene and aid victims of civil war and genocide in former territories such as Rwanda and Yugoslavia. As such it is possible to see how political and economic relations between the economic north and south are imbued with norms regulating the built environment, public decorum and immigration policies of northern nations.

more formal the venue, the greater our ability to assert authority. Bourdieu argues that we have agency insofar as we struggle to maintain or gain cultural capital. He claims that our actions -- the determination to maintain or gain cultural capital -- are determined by the criteria of success or norms prescribed by the social venues in which we operate.

One of the limitations of Bourdieu's conception of the habitus is that it does not provide a detailed formulation of how the process of inculcation works. Without a detailed formulation of inculcation, it is possible to argue that our dispositions are structurally determined. His formulation of agency is limited insofar as our actions are determined by the prevailing norms in the social venues in which we operate. His formulation makes it difficult to theorize how subjugated subjects -- those whose habituses are organized around codes of interaction negated in dominant venues creatively negotiate their lack of cultural capital in dominant venues. If they do not adhere to the "criteria of success" or norms in dominant venues are they simply constituted as illegitimate and lacking credibility in these venues?

While one of the limitations of Merleau-Ponty's conceptualization of the body in *The Phenomenology of Perception* is that it does not analyze how relations of domination shape the formation of the habit-body. He does provide a detailed formulation of not only how the body becomes inscribed with particular practices, but how the body is integrated through a dynamic relation with the changing social worlds which we inhabit.

In order to examine how marginalized subjects manage to live within the normative parameters of the dominant regimes while creating alternative venues or 'markets' I have turned to Merleau-Ponty's work. He explains how the organization of our bodies in relation to particular activities and environments has a duration, while at the same time,

it is dynamic. This allows us to understand the shock or trauma experienced when a person's social world is suddenly destroyed, as was the case of Japanese Canadians. It also allows us to realize that residues of that lifeworld have a duration that can not easily be erased from our bodies.

3. Merleau-Ponty: the Habit-Body and Body Schema

Merleau-Ponty provides a detailed description of how our bodies are integrated with the ongoing, changing world, through his formulation of the habit-body and the body schema. With these concepts he provides a detailed discussion of *the processes through which* our bodies are integrated with the world. We are not simply configured by the structural organization of our environments. The ways we inter-relate with others and our environments are shaped by the way we integrate new experiences and encounters with our past experiences and our already established assumptions about our social environments. This formulation allows me to conceptualize how the lifeworld -- our taken-for-granted understandings of the world -- is generated in relation to but not determined by geographically specific environments.

In what follows, I shall describe Merleau-Ponty's conceptions of the habit-body and the body schema. The habit-body and the body schema can be thought of as sensory maps of the social environments in which we live. The body schema is a more enduring map than the habit-body. It is like the master map, developed over time from the habit-body, which forms through interaction with the social and built environment. Over time, from repeated actions and similar encounters, we develop assumptions about the dimensions of the world, its patterns -- the way it operates. These assumptions are not "in our heads" but embodied at a physiological and psychological level in our bodies. They are

embodied in the way we move and interact with others. This is what Merleau-Ponty refers to as the habit-body: a habitual taken-for-granted way of moving and interacting. These assumptions sediment into an enduring image of the world in which we live. This is the body schema. It integrates new experiences with previous experiences and orients us in a particular way towards the world. With this rough sketch of the habit-body and the body schema, I will now present a more elaborate description of Merleau-Ponty's discussion of how we are integrated with our environments at a sensory level.

Merleau-Ponty argues that the activities of our various sense organs integrate us with the world rather than generate impressions of it. While the stuff of experience is distinct from the stuff of phenomena, they are inseparable (Merleau-Ponty 1994: 304). Sense organs do not just go into action and cause us, for example, to see something. There must be a perceiving entity. The ability to perceive something depends on our ability to organize a field of perception. The first operation of perception is "to create for itself a field, either perceptual or mental, which can be surveyed...in which movements of the exploratory organ or elaborations of thought are possible" (Merleau-Ponty 1994: 29). From this field, what Merleau-Ponty calls the "horizon," a "figure" emerges into the foreground. It emerges or "comes to our attention" from the horizon. It comes to our attention because it already has significance.

Merleau-Ponty argues that past experiences determine what figures have significance. As infants our first perceptual experiences are primary acts that structure the consciousness and set forth an a priori. This allows us to recognize other phenomena or figures that seem to share these structures. But what we subsequently recognize, what is brought to our attention, is not limited to recalling what are already established as significant figures. Already established perceptual structures and figures provide us with

"perceptual fields." They are the structures and figures that are already significant to us. They are meaningful. Objects or people or patterns that have similar structures, catch our attention. On the one hand, the act of recognizing the perceptual structure in a new figure affirms the pre-existing structure. On the other hand, the articulation of the pre-existing sensory information with the new information reworks the original perceptual structure. As such, perception is dynamic while never shedding the influence of past perceptual acts (1994: 30). This means that "being" has a duration. Subjectivity is not just a partial unstable condition that is determined by and can be quickly reconfigured through various discourses.

Bodies have substance; they have weight, texture, density, volume, energy, which settle into configurations lodged in or against culturally specific modes of movements and ways of interrelating with others. The results of reconfiguring bodies into new disciplinary regimes, as Michel Foucault recognizes, are not predictable. Disciplinary practices can lead to psychic breakdowns. Freud theorizes the socio-psychological pathologies resulting from the rampant incest that was part of the patriarchal organization of middle-class nineteenth European society -- in his early discussions of object cathexis and transference (Herman 1992: 12-20). This is evident in the cases where repression, fixation and other psychological pathologies develop in response to violations launched against us whether in terms of what is typically understood as verbal/physical abuse and torture; the disciplinary regimentation in institutions such as the military; or the adoption of rational-logical forms of communication that operate on a logic of control that necessitate psychological repression, displacement and an aggressive need for control. The development of these pathologies demonstrates that our bodies operate with a logic that does not just submit and placidly re-order itself in line with dominating discourses.

It is important to underline that the perceptual structures identified by Merleau-Ponty are not impressions or images floating in (and out of) our minds, but rather are embodied in the way we habitually move in relation to the world. What Bourdieu refers to as "dispositions," Merleau-Ponty refers to as our "habit-body." The habit-body is formed through recurring interactions with consistent "stimuli" and typical situations. Habitually taken-for-granted responses develop over time to the taken-for-granted somewhat consistent settings in which we live. The habit-body assumes the existence of these taken-for-granted settings as much as the objects and situations in these settings "appeal to" the habit-body to respond in a typical manner. In this way the habit-body secures an assumed horizon of action in which we act (Merleau-Ponty 1994: 83).

The body assumes a permanence. It is not a permanence in the world as an object, but a permanence particular to us as we experience the world through our bodies. Our bodies are our constant point of reference through which we continue to experience the world. Yet this permanence does not imprison us to one view. While from our particular perspective, we might be able to perceive only one facet of a figure, our permanence allows us to "nevertheless...believe in the existence of the hidden sides and equally in a world which embraces all of [these sides] and co-exists with them...[We can do this] in so far as [our bodies], always present to [us], and yet involved in so many objective relationships, sustains their coexistence with it and communicates to them the pulse of its duration (1992: 92) The nature of this permanence can also be illustrated with respect to interactions between people. "We sustain around us a system of meanings whose reciprocities, relationships and involvements do not require to be made explicit in order to be explored....In this small world, each gesture, each perception is immediately located in relation to a great number of possible coordinates" (1994: 129). For example, when I

chat with a friend, my comments contain references to my perception of various dimensions of her character and vice versa. I do not need to reconstruct the events and conversations through which these dimensions were ascertained. This permanence allows us to communicate. Yet at the same time, these acquired or sedimented thoughts continually draw sustenance and are transformed from my present thoughts (1994: 130).

The permanence of the body is grounded in what Merleau-Ponty refers to as the body schema. The body schema both underlies and is further developed by the continual formation of the habit-body. Merleau-Ponty likens it to the "inter-sensory or sensorial motor unity of the body...that is not confined to contents [i.e., sensory data] actually and fortuitously associated in the course of our experience...[It] is in some way anterior to them and makes their association possible" (1994: 99). He claims that the body schema can be understood as a dynamic law of constitution. It is not a static image that integrates the different parts of the body or different sets of sensory data into a larger operating system. It is an "attitude directed towards a certain existing or possible task" (1994: 100). It is not based on a "spatiality of position" but a "spatiality of situation." For example, this means that the possibility of apprehending the sensations of heat felt in my left hand as I reach out towards a hot stove element depend on some sense of the situation already in play -- whether because I am intent on checking to see if the element is on or perhaps I am cooking and aware that some elements are hot or I might be generally aware that in the kitchen or when I am around household appliances, there is a danger of being burnt, cut or electrocuted. The apprehension of sensations as particular figures is a dynamic process dependent on the synthesis of experiences from the past, present and potential future. The body schema, as the sensory motor that unifies the body has the capacity to associate those experiences.

The body schema itself is motivated or 'propelled' by an impetus to extend itself towards the world. This impetus, what Merleau-Ponty describes as an intentional arc, is the animating force of perceptual consciousness. The intentional arc is the impetus that directs us towards, in a sense to grasp, to reach out towards the world (1994: 230-231). Merleau-Ponty describes, but does not theorize, the nature of the intentional arc other than to suggest that it is the pulse of life that animates self-propelled physiological systems, impelling them to seek out, secure and adapt to their surrounding conditions in order to ensure sustenance. The pulse can dissipate and the system can tend towards entropy. This is evident when we are sick and we literally become limp.

Merleau-Ponty's discussion of how we are integrated with the world makes it possible to understand the shock that follows when the worlds assumed by our habit-bodies and our body schemas are damaged or destroyed. The destruction of these worlds is experienced as a stress or shock by our body schema. In the next section I further examine the nature of the body schema and its relation to the way that the world is configured in socially and culturally specific ways by examining parallels between Merleau-Ponty's habit-body and body schema and Robert Lifton's inchoate image.

4. Parallels with Lifton: Psychic Flesh

In his studies on groups that have undergone horrific experiences, including Vietnam veterans and Hiroshima bomb survivors, Lifton (1967; 1973; 1979) examines how violent events violate our foundation of being, or what he refers to as our inchoate image. I will argue that his formulation of the inchoate image is similar to Merleau-Ponty's conception of the body schema. As such, his work offers insights into what is involved in violating the body schema or, more specifically, destroying the world that is assumed by the habit-

body and, consequently, in the formation of body schema, or what I shall refer to as the lifeworld. Lifton also provides us with an explanation of how the body schema or inchoate image is rendered through culturally specific imagery. This makes it possible to realize the significance of culturally specific forms of remembering violence for different historically persecuted groups.

I will begin my discussion of Lifton's work by briefly establishing the similarity between psychic images and the habit-body and the similarity between the inchoate image and the body schema. Lifton differentiates between individual psychic images and psychic constellations. An individual image is created through the central nervous system in "immediate interaction with whatever is encountered from the outside. [In contrast, the] psychic constellation is a more complex and enduring symbolization containing many images" (Lifton 1979: 38). Out of all the psychic constellations, the 'self' incorporates the most psychic images. But the self involves more than just an integration of individual images. The psychic constellation, or what Lifton later refers to as the inchoate image, is similar to Merleau-Ponty's formulation of the body schema. Like Merleau-Ponty, Lifton claims that the self has its own unique dynamism. He describes the life of the self as "an overall sense of organismic vitality" (1979: 38). This is similar to what Merleau-Ponty describes as an intentional arc: the impetus that continually compels us to reach outwards towards the world. For Lifton this vitality is central to existence, where stasis represents a sort of death, extinguishing organismic vitality.

The process of maintaining this vitality is "the central motivating principle for psychic action, for the creation and recreation of images" (1979: 38). Lifton discusses this process in terms of a vital image. Every organism is born with a vital image, "an inclination towards enhancing its own life process" (1979: 39). It is initially directed

towards receiving the nurturing it requires. Lifton refers to this vital image as the inchoate image. "It determines the direction of an organism's activity and calls forth the energy for that activity" (1979: 40). It is far from fixed but rather

is an inborn psychobiological plan or scenario which, if realized, allows for increasing malleability. The image is inchoate because it is essentially a vector or direction of the organism, prior to image-awareness it presages. The inchoate image is a product of evolution and the beginning [of an] individual life cycle....With early psychological development the inchoate image gradually takes on psychic flesh in the form of sensory impressions and increasingly symbolized constellations of feeling, including ideation. This formative sequence is no less somatic than psychological (1979: 40).

Like Merleau-Ponty's body schema, the inchoate image is not a fixed "picture," but rather a *capacity*. It underlies the development of the particular way in which we orient ourselves in relation to the world. Like the body schema, the inchoate image assumes the constancy of the world. At the same time it is dynamic. It directs us towards and is open to the changing configurations of the world. In as much as we are integrated with the world as perceptually experiencing organisms, this capacity continually compels us towards the world to grasp its changing configurations. The body schema is the means by which we synthesize and transform our past experiences in relation to our new experiences of the changing world as we are situated in it.

In this way, like the body schema, the inchoate image is integral to how we experience the world. It forms what Lifton calls our "foundation of being" (1979: 36). As indicated above, Herman describes our experience of the foundation of being in terms of basic trust: our ability to establish our sense of safety in relation to the world. Basic trust is possible because of the way the body schema embodies a constancy of the world. With basic trust our everyday lives do not loom with the potential for unpredictable events,

disasters and violence. Before discussing how a threat to this basic trust constitutes a violent act, it is first necessary to discuss how our experience of basic trust, or what Lifton calls continuity, is culturally rendered through symbolizations of immortality.

5. Psychic and Organic Life: Collective Images of Immortality as Continuity

In order to understand what constitutes a threat to our basic trust -- our sense of the world's constancy as it is conveyed through our inchoate image -- Lifton claims that we need to understand one of the central aspects of the existential fact of "being": our sense of immortality. Death threatens what he refers to as our "sense of immortality."²⁰ Death represents the annihilation of psychic and/or organic life. In contrast, immortality is the symbolization of continuity, "an individual's experience in some form of collective life-continuity" (Lifton 1979: 17). Our sense of immortality does not exclude the notion of death. Lifton claims that we "require symbolizations of continuity -- imaginative forms of transcending death -- in order to confront genuinely the fact that we die" (1979: 17). The need to grasp birth as well as death as experiences of the self is an existential matter. It is not a need to imagine the event or moment of birth or death in themselves. It is a need to form a relationship to the existential fact that one was born and that one will die (1979: 46). Contrary to Freud, he argues that the struggle toward a sense of immortality is in itself not an "irrational" denial of death that is compensatory and illusory (1979: 13); rather, it is the psychic expression of our "existential and organismic state" (1979: 18).

---

²⁰ Contrary to Freud, Lifton argues that castration anxiety can be subsumed under fear of death rather than vice versa. He also argues that Freud's notions of death instincts and life instincts (libido) do not adequately capture our symbolizations of immortality and death -- because they are set in opposition rather than integrated in a dialectic relation (Lifton 1979: 47-52).

Lifton begins by describing five modes through which continuity is expressed in terms of immortality: biological, theological, creative, natural, and what he calls experiential transcendence, which is the basis of the four other modes. Briefly, the biological mode involves symbolically living on through previous and forthcoming generations. The epitome of this mode is the imagery of the family with its endless chain of biological relations. This expression of immortality is not simply a matter of what contemporary science understands in terms of biological reproduction. It is symbolic. It can be extended outwards to the tribe, a social organization, subculture or nation. Thus, for example, one can have the sense that after they die they will live on through the continuity of one's nation. The termination of that nation can represent a threat to this sense of continuity and precipitate existential crises.

The theological mode involves a "spiritual quest and realization [by a] hero-founder that enables [her or him] to confront and transcend death and produce a model for generations of believers to do the same" (1979: 20). Membership in such a sacred community grants members conditional access to this spiritual power. Whether this power is understood in terms of dedication, capacity to love or moral energy, its "final meaning is life-power and power over death" (1979: 20-21).

The creative mode of symbolic immortality grants people access to human continuity through their contributions to ongoing creative enterprises, whether artistic, scientific or in the everyday realm. By contributing to an ongoing creative enterprise the contributor "becomes part of an enterprise larger than [themselves], limitless in its past and future continuity" (1979: 21). Lifton presents the example of caregiving. In caregiving there is generally a perception that the activity of caring for others will have timeless consequences on the patient/friend and potentially her or his community of family,

friends and co-workers. One's creative efforts reach beyond yourself and become incorporated in a larger ongoing process.

The fourth mode of symbolic immortality is associated with how we conceive the natural environment around us. Lifton presents only a sketchy description of this mode. He suggests that nature symbolizes the source of all life, something that encompasses us in a way that goes beyond us, the "ultimate aspect of our existence." Thus, he points to the devastation Hiroshima bomb survivors initially experienced when a rumour spread that the trees and grass would never again grow in their city. "The image contained in that image was that nature was drying up altogether, life being extinguished at its source, an ultimate form of desolation that not only encompassed human life but went beyond it" (1979: 23).

The fifth mode of symbolic immortality is the experience of transcendence. Unlike the other modes, it depends entirely on "a psychic state -- one so intense and all-encompassing that time and death disappear" (1979: 23). As an adult, it is the sensation whereby "the self feels uniquely alive -- connected in movement, integrated.... What [the sensation] eliminates is the destructive side of the death symbol -- proximate imagery of separation, stasis and disintegration as well as ultimate imagery of meaninglessness and impaired symbolic immortality" (1979: 26).

Freud describes this state as a regression to an earlier stage of an infant's development where the ego has not separated from the outer world and experiences itself as all expansive (Lifton 1979: 25; Freud 1962: 11-17). He describes this inner experience as an "oceanic feeling" or "sensation of eternity," where the ego includes everything. It is an "inclusive -- indeed, all-embracing -- feeling which corresponded to a more intimate

bond between the ego and the world around it" (Freud 1962: 15). According to Freud, in adult life this feeling occurs when ego boundaries have not been properly established. For an example, he claims that this is the case when people are in love. But of more concern for Freud are the extreme cases where the failure to maintain boundaries in an ongoing situation. As a pathological condition, for example, it includes cases where individuals fear that others will engulf their existence and suffocate them.

In contrast, Lifton argues that the feeling of transcendence is not *necessarily* a regression. He concurs with Freud that this ecstatic feeling is a "rediscovery" of the inner harmony and unity of early childhood. This is possible because the memory of a "still active image-feeling of intense inner unity remains." But the rediscovery is experienced in terms specific to adult life. Experiencing aspects of previous stages does not constitute a return to the original state. We never "return" to exactly the same inner structure of the self. The inner structure of the self -- the inchoate image or, Merleau-Ponty's body schema -- is constantly readjusting to new experiences as they are integrated into psychic constellations/habit-body. We constantly extend previous structures or psychic images beyond earlier limitations (Lifton 1975: 25). Rather than regressing or progressing through the stages of development, or retaining problematic residues of previous stages, they are dialectically related.

Nor is it the case that feelings of connectedness specific to transcendence are necessarily a result of the failure to maintain boundaries. According to Lifton, the experience of transcendence involves "symbolic re-ordering," what he also refers to as "centering." Centering allows us to connect new experiences with our past experiences. This is not just a matter of accumulating new information and organizing it into useful patterns of retrieval in accordance with how psychic constellations have organized past experiences.

It is a matter of integrating while adjusting our established psychic constellations to new experiences. In Lifton's rather sketchy description -- a description that he delegates to a footnote -- he claims that centering is a process whereby the self is re-ordered along what he identifies as the key dimensions of experience: the temporal, spatial and emotional.

Through centering, it is as if we settle ourselves, as if sitting in a familiar old chair, back onto established psychic constellations. We re-immense ourselves with what have become familiar patterns. This allows us to align immediate encounters or experiences with previous encounters or experiences. It allows us to adjust our established psychic constellations to the changing world. The absence of centering makes the self static. Centering makes it possible to anticipate future encounters: to unify the "immediacy of the body and mind" with more abstract, for example, "immortalizing" meanings; and balance "impassioned images with those less important to the function and structure of the self" (Lifton 1979: 26-27). Through centering we form continuity with our past experiences.

At the same time we are able to centre only insofar as we also have the capacity to decenter ourselves from involvement. Decentering allows us to make judgments and open ourselves to new experiences (Lifton 1979: 26-27). The capacity to center and decenter depends on how strongly grounded the individual is in her or his "biological being, individual life and collective life." By grounded, Lifton means how strongly the individual's psychic images and ideas are anchored in their experiences (1979: 26-27): are they delusions or do they dynamically cohere with the individual's location in the world?

The process of centering in the experience of transcendence requires shared cultural imagery that touches upon issues of life and death. These shared cultural images are what Lifton has described as symbolizations of immortality. These symbolizations of immortality give a sense of continuity, for example, through what Lifton has described in terms of symbolizations of biology, theology, creative enterprises and the natural environment. As a symbolizations grounded in particular cultural practices, they can provide us with the means to centre ourselves through highly orchestrated events, such as religious conversion; or everyday practices, such as athletic efforts or intellectual creations. As collective practices they not only provide energy for what is experienced as an ecstatic experience but also "order and form within which [the experience] can be immediately understood and later absorbed. Through such traditional symbolizations of life-continuity and ultimate meaning, the moment of ecstasy is given firm context within which it can connect with prior and subsequent experience of a more prosaic kind" (1979: 26-27).

In sum, symbolizations of immortality give us a means to centre ourselves, where centering entails *connecting* new experiences with already integrated experiences, i.e., psychic images, and more particularly what Lifton describes as more enduring psychic constellations by which he specifically means -- the self -- the inchoate image or body schema. Having established that these symbolizations are experienced through cultural practices and training, it is possible to now consider what constitutes a death threat.

V. The Threat of Death

1. Symbolizations of Death: Collective and Individual

Like symbolizations of immortality, symbolizations of death have culturally specific forms. Lifton briefly describes four symbolizations of death prevalent in the late

twentieth century. The most fundamental symbolization is the image of death "as the end of life, as a form of organic and psychological destiny, part of the natural history of each of us. [This] basic perception is resisted, denied and distanced via psychic numbing..."(Lifton 1979: 46-47). "A second symbolization of death is mimetic...., [where] life imitates death: the loss of vitality, being frozen in some sort of death terror..." (1979: 47). A third meaning of death is "as an ever-present limitation that gives shape to existence." This understanding relies "on a heightened understanding of the natural function of death as a counterpoint to life" (1979: 47). And a fourth meaning of death is inseparable from disaster, holocaust and absurdity. Lifton elaborates this meaning of death.

One's individual death can not be separated from the sense that (as Hiroshima survivors put it) 'the whole world is dying.' This perception is truly unnatural. It is partly a product of our holocaust-dominated age...[connected to] imagery of extinction that haunts contemporary man....But even in the absence of holocaust, people can equate the end of the self with the end of everything...[Here] one's own death is anticipated, irrespective of age and circumstances, as premature, absurd, unacceptable" (1979: 47).

At an individual level, how we perceive the prospect of our own death is essentially wrapped up with the establishment of our own boundaries of the self. When we consider the prospect of death it raises the question of distinguishing between what is experienced as *my* world and what will become *the* world. The equation of *my* world with *the* world reflects a failure to recognize that the self has boundaries. This would be a pathological manifestation of what Freud calls the oceanic feeling where we are undifferentiated from the world. Like Freud, Lifton holds that one "needs that distinction in order to have the capacity and courage to relinquish the self; and only in that capacity can death be anticipated as a destiny that is inherent in the very existence of the self..." (1979: 47).

To conceptualize how we symbolize our individual deaths, Lifton distinguishes between two images of death: a state of non-being and an event that involves the process of dying. The image of a state of non-being coheres with an understanding of a world that is distinct from oneself insofar as it implies the world goes on existing after we have died. And the image of dying coheres with what we would experience as *my world* insofar as the process of dying involves our experience of the world as it is necessarily integrated with the world.

According to Lifton, these images of death are dialectically integrated in the psychic constellation of our "self." This allows us to "perceive them together in unitary anticipation." For example, when we think of our own deaths, on the one hand, we think of the actual process of dying, whether that be in terms of an accident such as drowning, or aging with the weakening of various organs and increased susceptibility to various bacterial and viral infections. On the other hand, we think of the "end to and absence of 'me' and my relationships and projects" (1979: 47) as the world continues on without our presence.

2. Death Equivalents: Conceptualizing the Destruction of the Lifeworld

Our initial images of death or what Lifton refers to as "death equivalents" are formed during our first primary relationships. "[Image-feelings] of separation, disintegration, and stasis....serve as precursors and models for later feelings about actual death" (Lifton 1979: 53). Each has a counterpart associated with vitality and affirmation: the counterpart of separation is connection; the counterpart of disintegration is integrity; and for stasis it is movement.

According to Lifton, while these images are initially experienced at a physiological level, he explains how they become shaped by cultural practices over time. Drawing on the work of the ethnologist John Bowlby, Lifton posits that we inherit *a potential to develop* certain sorts of behavioural systems. In contrast to Bowlby, he holds that both "the nature and the forms...differ in some measure according to the particular environment in which development takes place" (1979: 54). So while at birth our initial images are primarily physiological, as we mature, the images become increasingly elaborate at a psychic and ethical level. It is here that Lifton gives us insights into the role that cultural practices play in the generation of our psychic constellations and in particular, the formation of our symbolizations of immortality and death. This allows us to begin to understand how particular cultural practices and modes of experiencing the world in part shape what is later experienced as a violence.

According to Lifton, as well as psychiatrists working in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder, connection-separation is the most fundamental of the three modes of vitality (Ochberg 1987; Wilson et. al 1988) Lifton draws on psychologists such as Eric Erikson and Margaret Mahler to discuss the psychological significance of the infant's initial attachment to and dependence on its primary caregiver for physical and emotional sustenance. Lifton notes that what Erikson calls "'basic trust' is the infant's earliest feeling that the life process is reliable: ['the life process' that our inchoate image first] propels us toward ([is]the nurturing mother [who]) provides responses (propelled by her own imagery) that satisfy and vitalize [the infant]" (1979: 60). It is essential to understand the notion of basic trust to understand the notion of "basic mistrust" or what Lifton refers to as "separation." Feelings of separation occur when what is anticipated by the infant is not what she or he experiences: when she or he encounters a lack of trustworthiness in others and the situations she or he encounters. At first the sense that

the world is unreliable is diffusely felt but it later takes on psychic flesh and "over the first two years [of the infant's life] it is increasingly associated with more specific imagery of [what constitutes] separation and abandonment" (1979: 60). It is important to underline that separation as a precursor of the death image is not in itself damaging. It has a particular role in development of individuation of the self. The point here is that as the source of the infant's central anxieties, death equivalents present models for later images of death, i.e., threats to vitality.

Connectedness -- or the formation of basic trust through initial attachments to primary caretakers -- also underlies the child's vital sense of bodily integrity and motion. But separation is an important counterpoint to connection. The development of autonomy requires individuation: some degree of separation from the caregiver. When the caregiver uses her or his greater power in a benign manner and shows regard for the child's individuality and dignity, the child develops a sense of autonomy. This is central in the development of bodily integrity. The formation of bodily integrity requires the child to gain control over her or his own bodily functions and the ability to form as well as express her or his point of view. Loss of autonomy, manifested as the loss of control, is experienced as disintegration.

Connectedness also underlies our vital sense of motion. As a mode of vitality, motion is initially experienced in terms of physical motion. The form that this initial motion takes are as diverse as the range of different cultures. For example, vitality could take the form of the motion of an infant's unprotected limbs as she or he lies on her or his back, or it could be the motion of releasing and tensing the infant's muscles to adjust balance in accordance to the movements of whoever is carrying the infant tightly secured to their back. As a particular mode of vitality, movement psychically manifests itself as the need

to constantly reach outward in order to incorporate new experiences which extend our psychic images beyond their earlier limitations. Because stasis is experienced as a threat to motion, it represents a death equivalent. For example, stasis can take the form of fixation, whereby a person fixates on an event and is unable to incorporate anything else she or he experiences subsequent to it. (Lifton 1979: 58).

While connectedness, integrity and motion are initially experienced at a physiological level they eventually take on psychic flesh and become increasingly elaborate. In doing so, they are never simply circumscribed by an individual's life story with its formative events. They are necessarily bound up with a person's participation in collective life with its various forms of continuity. From these initial experiences of connectedness/separation we further develop a belief in the meaningfulness of the world. For example, children elaborate a sense of law, justice and fairness through their relations to others. As adolescents and adults ask further questions about the order of the world, they further develop their understanding of the individual's place in the community and the human place in the natural order (Herman 1992: 54). In other words, our inchoate image is developed in interaction with the social and historical world. As such, the inchoate image is integrated with that world. If the inchoate image is integrated with the social and historical world, death threats can be experienced when particular aspects of this world are violated.

If we describe this in Merleau-Ponty's terms, our body-schema is integrated with -- though differentiated from -- the particular environments we inhabit at a sensorial level. As Bourdieu claims, these environments are imbued with structural relations. Aesthetic forms or cultural practices can not be separated from structural relations. For example, they can not be separated from the gendered and economic organization of interactions in

public spaces nor from informal networks of emotive support and control. For example, think of architectural design, city planning, the distribution of mass media as well as the social relations involved in food preparation. Merleau-Ponty and Bourdieu describe the process through which the body schema becomes oriented towards and organized around sensorial codes, social structures and informal networks would be similar to what Lifton describes as the process through which the inchoate image takes on psychic flesh. The inchoate image extends outwards and through lower order psychic images and constellations, it organizes itself in relation to the cultural and economic configuration of social life.²¹

Death threats or death equivalents are experienced in terms of the inchoate image -- the self -- that extends outward into its context of becoming. This means that death threats can be experienced when central aspects of someone's everyday environment are damaged or destroyed. For example, consider the following cases: the long-term and proliferating effects of napalm bombing or leakage of toxic substances such as mercury from industrial plants; when one's environment is intruded upon, as in the case of stalking or the testing of military jets in your airspace²² or when one's land is expropriated and the local economy is destroyed, forcing one to become an agri-business worker for a large corporation like Del Monte in the Philippines.

---

²¹ This is exactly why a definition of violence that relies on physical damage to a person's body is inadequate. It can not take into account willful damage of someone's environment is experienced as a violent act. Even if such a definition included physical damage to property, it would remain inadequate if the damage incurred was considered to be violent because someone's property rights were violated. It could be argued that property rights represent an extension of a person beyond her or his body. But this does not recognize that the self necessarily extends outward and is embodied in what is beyond the material dimensions of our bodies. Rather it recognizes the right of the individual to exert legally specified types of control over particular objects.

²² For example, as was the case recently for aboriginal people in Newfoundland.

In sum, violent events constitute death threats to our symbolizations of immortality, our experience of some form of collective life-continuity. In order to understand what constitutes a death threat it is necessary to define symbolizations of immortality. At a psychic level, symbolizations of immortality are what Lifton refers to as psychic constellations. The primary, most enduring psychic constellation is the inchoate image or what Merleau-Ponty refers to the body schema. By 'centering' we are able to integrate new experiences -- or in Merleau-Ponty's terms, the habit-body -- into, while adjusting our inchoate image to the changing world. In this way we connect our new experiences with already integrated experiences and we adjust our psychic constellations to the changing world. When we centre ourselves, we experience the fifth mode of symbolic immortality: transcendence. This process involves something akin to a return to the inner harmony and unity that we experienced in early childhood. It is where we vividly experience the current form and order of our psychic constellations and our inchoate image. This gives new experiences form and order, allowing us to apprehend them. Overall, the inchoate image as it is experienced as a symbolization of immortality gives a sense of continuity with our own experiences. In addition, by integrating immediate encounters with older ones, it allows us to anticipate future encounters.

Lifton indicates that, just as the three forms of vitality -- connection-separation, integrity-disintegration and movement-stasis -- take on psychic flesh in culturally specific ways, symbolizations of immortality are also culturally specific. Merleau-Ponty's work on the habit-body makes this apparent. Our habit-bodies embody the cultural organization of our social spaces with the particular practices and events through which we learn to organize, apprehend and coordinate our experiences with others through those spaces. Insofar as our social worlds are rendered in culturally specific ways, our lifeworlds -- the taken-for-granted worlds assumed by our body schemas or inchoate images -- are

rendered in culturally specific ways through particular practices and events. Insofar as violent events constitute death threats to our culturally specific, psychic symbolizations of immortality -- they threaten our sense of continuity with our own experiences and with a larger collective life-continuity that goes beyond our own lives. Unable to integrate new experiences in with our previous experiences, we are unable to anticipate future encounters.

Death-threats represent the annihilation of psychic or organic life. While they take on particular cultural forms, they are based on what we experienced as threats during our initial stages of psychic-physiological formation. Death threats threaten our three fundamental forms of vitality. The three forms of vitality include connection, integrity and movement. Separation constitutes a threat to connection, disintegration constitutes a threat to integrity and stasis to movement. In the next section I draw on the PTSD literature and the work of Lifton and Herman to discuss the role of collectively remembering violent events in the process of healing.

VI. The Process of Healing

1. Building a New Understanding of the World

The manner in which the proliferating effects of violence transform a social group depends not only on the characteristics of the violent acts, how they are deployed and the history and cultural resources of the group. It also depends on the ways in which that group subsequently incorporates these violent acts into its social life: how the violence is collectively remembered. The process of re-membering violent acts entails giving them form and thus meaning within the worlds in which we live. This presupposes building a new understanding of the world, a world where there is the potential for violence. This

understanding cannot be an abstract understanding "in their heads" but rather must be integrated into the inchoate image: they must build a new lifeworld. This is necessary if the inchoate image is going to continue to provide a *structured anticipation of interaction with the environment*.

Recall that death equivalents threaten our sense that the world is reliable. In the formation of our sense of ourselves as distinct from others, death equivalents are involved in the socio-psychological development of ego boundaries. Death equivalents question the expectations we have formed about how others should act, how things should operate and how the world should unfold. This facilitates the process of realizing that others and the world are distinct from ourselves. It facilitates our ability to recognize that others have needs, understandings and ways of operating that do not necessarily coincide with our needs and agendas. Death equivalents provide a general form for what at another level, are experienced as death threats. As death threats, violent acts do not simply undermine expectations but shatter our understanding of, as well as our basic trust in, the reliability of the world.

When our basic trust is shattered we are thrown into a crisis of meaning. Everything we took for granted, for example, in terms of what is right and wrong, of what is safe and reliable, is destroyed: everything becomes unpredictable and uncertain, placing us in a state of constant alert. The realization that someone could willingly violate us undermines our fundamental trust in others. This results in a withdrawal from the social realm. With our trust in others undermined and our previous understanding of the world shattered, we also lose the confidence to freely extend ourselves outwards towards the world and others: the basis for generating new experiences. Instead we become fixated on the moment of violation, never moving beyond it. This damages our sense of

continuity, our connection to the changing world around us. Violent acts also violate of our sense of self integrity. They shake our confidence in our capacity to act as determinate beings in the world. Instead we feel as if we are just acted upon. (Lifton 1979; Herman 1992).

Without a way to conceive the violent acts in relation to one's life, they become manifested somatically. As outlined in other sections of this chapter, violence will manifest itself in increasingly pathological forms with hyperarousal of the automatic nervous system, spontaneous intrusion of visual and somatic images of the violence and the constriction of life activities.

A new understanding of the world must help the survivors not only make sense of the violence they experienced, but to mourn what they have lost through violent acts. This includes their former selves, before they were violated; members of their family and communities and a whole way of life. It allows them to accept this loss and realize how it has changed their current world. This is necessary if they are going to create actively a new world for themselves. It allows them to accept that their world has changed and create a new understanding of that world.

2. Collective Forms of Remembering the Past: Challenging Dominant Society

The imagery of violent acts must be collective. If an individual manages to create imagery for these events by her or himself, without imagery that is shared with others, the organization of her or his social world will not incorporate the fact of these events. Instead the individual will face a collective denial of the way the violent events have transformed their world. As Herman states: "[a] shattered sense of the self can only be

rebuilt as it was built initially, in connection with others" (Herman 1992: 61). Central to this process is the creation of publicly recognized practices and images.

For certain death equivalents, our society has publicly institutionalized practices and images that help the surviving members to readjust and recreate their worlds in a way that accepts their losses, as is the case with mourning the death of significant others. In contrast to death equivalents that we experience as loss, our society usually does not have publicly institutionalized practices and images for violent events insofar as they are structured by relations of domination. Remembering violent events usually requires creating systems of meaning that are distinct from those of dominant society. For example, Herman claims that for rape victims, it means calling the violation they underwent by its name: rape (Herman 1992: 67). According to Lifton, Hiroshima survivors sought a world-order in which their suffering would be recognized not just in terms of how the established system evaluated their trauma with economic and medical benefits but in terms of the horrific psychic destruction they have undergone (Lifton 1967: 525). This indicates how the process of healing is not a matter of "fixing" an individual's damaged socio-psychological functions so she or he can re-integrate into mainstream society. "Recovery" involves creating a new world that recognizes the fact that their society is structured with the potential for violence.

The production of collective images must facilitate the integration of violent events in ways that are not illusory but rather are grounded in the group's transformed world. For example, according to Lifton, groups who constantly fixate on the golden years before the violent events smashed their worlds – live in an illusory world. They have not been able to incorporate anything past the moment of violence into their lives. All subsequent experience is devitalized. This can act as a substitute for and shield against memories of

the violent event. It can express an inability to overcome the loss of the innocence that survivors had before the event (1967: 527).

But it is important to note that the recollection of "golden years" is not necessarily regressive. It can be a way for survivors to "reactivate profound feelings of love, nurturance and harmony in order to be able to apply these feelings to [her or his] new formulation of life beyond death immersion" (1967: 534). Key here is the fact that they use these recollections to create a new formulation of their world that allows them to overcome, for example, the urge to seek revenge (1967: 535).

Generating collective imagery that facilitates the ability of traumatized people to rebuild their basic trust, their inchoate images and their lifeworld is complicated. It is not a matter of creating a linear chronological narrative of "what happened" with effort to adhere to the tenets of realism. For example, Lifton describes the "survivor mission." This is where the survivor is driven by the demand that she or he "remember everything" because "the only thing that matters, that *will* matter, is the integrity of witnesses." Hence "the sacredness of the literal details of his death encounter we have so often noted, and the worshipful stasis surrounding its image" (1967: 528). This results in a pathological fixation on the details of the past event, keeping them intact, ensuring their permanence. This is a form of fixation which undermines the vitality of anything beyond the past events.

VII. Conclusion: Starting from What's/the Present

In this chapter I provided a theoretical framework to explain how the destruction of the pre-war Japanese Canadian lifeworld was a violent act. I also explained how the process

of collectively remembering violent acts was an essential component in the process of healing. I began the chapter by presenting a definition of what constituted a violent act. I argued that a definition of violence must go beyond the common sense understanding of violence where violence is equated with the violation of established institutions, in particular, physical damage to property and citizens. Not only does this definition leave out acts of violence against persons and groups that are not socially and legally recognized or legitimated by established institutions, it fails to recognize the far reaching socio-psychological damage of violence that works its way across the social body through the ensuing generations. My definition of violence conceives violence, on the one hand, in terms of a particular type of relationship and, on the other hand, as a particular type of experience. I claimed that violent acts were structured by relations of domination where there was an intent to inflict harm to another entity or group. As an experience, I claimed that violent acts shook or shattered the survivors' basic trust in the world. I drew on literature from the field of PTSD to further elaborate the experience and damaging socio-psychological effects of violence. In particular, drawing on the work of Herman, I claimed that violent acts do not simply produce a series of effects. Rather, they transform people. They induce pathologies. They undermine the survivors' confidence in their ability to anticipate future encounters and events. They render the world unpredictable and unsafe. As a result, survivors constrict their lives to avoid danger and uncertainty. This turns them away from their resources for recovery -- other people and new experiences -- further entrenching and complicating the traumatic symptoms.

Next I sought to demonstrate that the Canadian government's systematic plan to remove all people of "Japanese descent" from British Columbia was a violent act. Insofar as the relations between Japanese Canadians and the Canadian government in the 1940s were structured with relations of domination and the government intended to harm them, first

consciously through the destruction of their communities and, later, less consciously through its assimilation policies, I argued that the government's acts were violent. In terms of whether these acts were experienced as violent was another question. I argued that there are two ways to demonstrate how the Canadian government's systematic plan to remove all people of "Japanese descent" from British Columbia was experienced as a violent act. I could identify symptoms or a sub-category of PTSD symptoms amongst Japanese Canadians or I could describe the experience of the destruction of one's lifeworld as violent. Because there are so few comprehensive psychological studies on Japanese North Americans and none on Japanese Canadians, I claimed that it would be difficult to conclusively prove that there were symptoms of PTSD amongst Japanese Canadians. At the same time, I drew on community accounts and historical studies of Japanese Canadians to show that there were indications of trauma. I also drew on sociological studies to show that the pre-war communities and social fabric of Japanese Canadians had been damaged by the Canadian government's actions.

I turned to the second way of showing how the government's actions against Japanese Canadians were violent: showing how the destruction of a group's environment damages or destroys their lifeworld. To do so I turned to the work of Merleau-Ponty, Pierre Bourdieu, Judith Herman and Robert Lifton. I began by formulating a conception of the lifeworld by drawing on Merleau-Ponty's conceptions of the habit-body and body schema. I argued that these conceptions provided a way to conceptualize how, through repeated sensory experiences, we develop habitual ways of moving and responding and interacting in our everyday environments. This habitual way of moving is what Merleau-Ponty calls the habit-body. The habit-body develops over time and is based on assumptions about how this environment operates, how it is built, how it responds. With new experiences, we constantly adjust the established assumptions that are sedimented in

what Merleau-Ponty refers to as the body schema. The body schema is the "motor" through which we synthesis new experiences with previous, already integrated experiences. It is also invested with our impulse to reach out towards the world, what is beyond us and what is beyond what we already know. It assumes a constancy in the world, providing us with a sense that the world is reliable. The assumptions we have about how the world operates compose what I identified as the lifeworld. With this formulation of the lifeworld, it is possible to see how our lifeworlds are generated in relation to geographically culturally specific environments and how they are embodied at a physio-psychological level.

I claimed that one limitation of Merleau-Ponty's discussion of the habit-body and body schema was that it overlooked relations of domination. For this dissertation it is essential to conceptualize how relations of domination figure into our lifeworlds as I will be examining the efforts of a historically persecuted group to remember collectively their experiences of political violence. I argued that this limitation in Merleau-Ponty's work could be rectified with Bourdieu's discussion of the habitus. Bourdieu's work on the legitimacy that particular modes of movement and speech have in particular venues allowed me to discuss how dominant venues assume particular norms with respect not just to one's comportment but also one's embodiments of race and gender. It allowed me to describe how everything from modes of engagement to built environments -- assumes and privileges certain habit-bodies over others. These habit-bodies are granted legitimacy insofar as they conform to the norms implicit in those modes of engagement or built environments while other habit-bodies can be considered dangerous, illegitimate or improper. This allowed me to figure relations of domination into the habit-body and thus the lifeworld.

Next I drew on the work of Lifton to show how destruction of a group's lifeworld was a violent act. What Merleau-Ponty describes in terms of the body schema, Lifton describes in terms of the psychic constellations, and in particular, the inchoate image. Because of this parallel, it was possible to bring their work together to create a composite picture of what is involved in the destruction of the lifeworld. While Merleau-Ponty's work emphasizes how our assumptions about the culturally specific worlds in which we live -- our lifeworlds -- are embodied in the way we move, engage with others and so forth; Lifton's work emphasizes how these assumptions are rendered through particular cultural practices and modes of representation. Specifically, Lifton focuses on the inchoate image which provides us with our basic trust in the reliability of the world. He claims that the inchoate image is experienced through symbolizations of immortality. Symbolizations of immortality allow us to experience the inchoate image as something constant. They also give us a sense of continuity, a sense that our lives will extend past our mortal lives whether through our communities or creative projects. Lifton argues that whatever represents a death threat to these symbolizations of immortality is experienced in terms of threats to our organic and/or psychic life. He also claims that death threats are culturally rendered symbolizations. A consideration of these collective symbolizations and the ways in which our lifeworlds are culturally rendered is important in the context of the process of healing from the socio-psychological damage resulting from violent acts.

One of this dissertation's main concerns is the process of healing from violent events. In the last section of this dissertation I drew on the work of Lifton and Herman to describe the role that collectively remembering violent events plays in the process of healing. Both claim that remembering the event is essential if the survivors are going to heal. Here, it is important to underline that the purpose of this dissertation is not to conduct

psychological assessments of survivors but to examine whether the collective forms of remembering violent events generated by historically persecuted groups help them heal. By healing, I do not mean fixing the damage in order to restore the survivors to a pre-violated state of being. Violent acts profoundly change both the worlds in which the survivors live and their understanding of how these worlds operate. Moreover, once people experience violent acts they lose their unconditional belief that the world is a safe and predictable place. Their unconditional capacity to trust others and the world in which they live is damaged. As such, it is not possible to return to the state of "being" before they were violated. Healing becomes an ongoing process. It involves building a new understanding of the world that specifies the conditions under which they can engage in relations of trust. To do so it is necessary for the survivors to mourn what they have lost, recognize the ways their lives have been profoundly changed and rebuild some sense of self integrity.

In particular, this dissertation examines whether the socio-cultural practices and relations generated in building and operating the NIMC facilitate healing. As Lifton and Herman indicate, re-membering the past -- like our symbolizations of immortality and death -- is culturally rendered. In this context, I will examine the culturally and socially specific ways the NIMC has provided the Japanese Canadians in New Denver to re-member the violence they experienced during the 1940s. Again it is necessary to point out that I will not be assessing whether the members of the community have experienced psychosomatic symptoms such as hyperarousal intrusion or constriction. Instead I will assess the new practices and relations generated by the NIMC. I shall examine whether these relations and practices nurture what Lifton identifies as our three forms of vitality -- connection, integrity and motion -- or their death equivalents -- separation, disintegration and stasis.

The framework I have formulated in this chapter makes it possible to examine whether the NIMC has provided a means to rebuild relations of trust with other Japanese Canadians and non-Japanese Canadians and whether those relations replicate past patterns of domination or challenge old hierarchies. It will be possible to examine whether the practices generated by the NIMC reproduce static images of the past, create a new critical understanding or justify the violence Japanese Canadians experienced during the 1940s. And this framework will allow me to examine whether the NIMC's practices and relations encourage local Japanese Canadians to take control over or concede to experts over how their history is publicly constructed. Such an examination will indicate the extent to which Japanese Canadians in New Denver feel that they can extend themselves outwards towards the world: their vital sense of motion. It will indicate the extent to which they feel they have the capacity to act in the world: their sense of integrity. It will indicate the extent to which they have built a new understanding of the world that, on the one hand, recognizes the way the violent acts have changed their lives and, on the other hand, regained some sense that the world is reliable enabling them to re-enter relations of trust and new situations: their sense of connection.

Like all histories of persecuted groups, as the Japanese Canadians in New Denver have shown, the past is not something that is easily buried within a community. Their homes and institutions, their relations with other members of the village, are all grounded in the fact that New Denver was the site of an internment camp. The past is strewn beyond the bounds of a single person's life, family, relationships and sphere of activity. Others have come forth to seek out the past, acting not simply from a moral imperative of "righting a wrong," but out of compulsion, spontaneity, dis-ease and out of cultural habits that some

had once thought were erased with the erasure of their pre-war Japanese Canadian communities. From the debris of the past, from the lacunae of racial erasure, unresolved/able anxieties, pain and questions have impelled members of the New Denver community to write their history into the landscape of the Slocan Valley.

This dissertation seeks to examine how the lived world of the past -- its destruction, its duration, its transformation -- is figured into the minutia of the site as it has transformed over the years and how it is now configured into the contemporary landscape through the NIMC. Because so many of the material records of Japanese Canadians have been destroyed through the liquidation of their properties and homes and the destruction of the records in the churches, co-operatives, businesses, prefecture associations and unions during the war it is difficult to reconstruct the past worlds of Japanese Canadians. The phenomenological approach formulated in this chapter provides a way to recognize and read the traces of these worlds as they are scattered through gestures, body habits, photographs and words.

Chapter 2

Re-configuring the Social Landscape: Mapping the Past

I. Introduction

to locate: identify a place or area where something is; assign to or set in a particular place or position (Penguin 1979).

The Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) marks the river flats south of Carpenter Creek in the Village of New Denver as the site where over 1,500 Japanese Canadians were interned by the Canadian government during World War Two. The centre was built by the Kyowakai Society, which was established in 1943 to represent the interests of the Japanese Canadian internees. Over the last fifty years, it has functioned as the representative body for the Japanese Canadians who stayed in New Denver after 1945. In 1996, there were twenty remaining Japanese Canadian elders living in New Denver. The NIMC is a public statement about their experiences of internment. This chapter locates the NIMC in the local landscape of the Slocan Valley. It describes the centre's location, its layout and its exhibits in relation to its physical site. In addition, it examines the narratives used by the centre to constitute the history of Japanese Canadians in the social landscape. Through a comparative analysis of a series of internment camp maps, I examine how this constitution of history 'cleans up' the uncertainty, the messiness, the irreducibility of the past. I then try to 'open up' a way to read 'what-has-passed' through a phenomenological reading of the material 'debris' that the NIMC has collected as artifacts and archival documents. I then turn to the accounts of elders who, in their own words, describe their experiences in the internment camp in New Denver. The chapter ends with a discussion of how the NIMC configures the local landscape. I examine how

the NIMC functions as a memorial that fixes its spatial and temporal dimensions as impervious to the changing world around it.

The chapter illustrates the methodological dilemma that a phenomenological approach presents in any attempt to 'deconstruct' the world as it appears: as one attempts to sift through the appearance of the everyday world to reach 'a truth' beyond what seems apparent, yet another layer appears. While it is an ethical task to attempt to reach the truths beyond what appears to us as concrete and unquestionable, this is a never ending task, as there are no final truths.¹

A phenomenological approach is grounded in the world of living, decomposing, changing material: what is before and exceeds the conceptual world of abstract ideas in our heads. Thus I was drawn to the centre's collection of remnants from the past -- wood stoves, well-worn shoes, battered luggage, used vials of medicine, yellowing letters and reproductions of old photographs. Yet these remnants were not neutral pieces of evidence from which one could 'reconstruct' a story of the past. The NIMC had configured them into a 'history of internment.' Like evidence from a crime, these remnants authenticated the history told by the centre. At the same time, these remnants give the past body and shape: dimensions of the bodies that wore those shoes, the gnarled old fingers that grasped the tiny glass vials of medicine, the tired bodies that carried the luggage. They introduce an excess that can not be contained in the concise short history packaged for the tourists who visit the NIMC.

---

¹ This comment on a phenomenological approach must be credited to Geraldine Finn. If the interpretation of the comment is inaccurate, for that, I must be credited.

Map 3: Map of the Slocan Valley
 (Source: Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives)
 Credit: George Doi

As a memorial, the significance of the NIMC is due to its location. On the one hand, it is on the site of what was once an internment camp for Japanese Canadians during World War Two. On the other hand, over the last fifty years the camp has been transformed by the changing landscape. The effort to re-inscribe the past into the present poses a problem: how to re-constitute it in order to convey what happened in the past for the many who either never experienced what happened or experienced it in other ways with a range of different consequences unfolding through the rest of their lives and the lives of their children's lives.

To publicly mark the site, the NIMC draws on elements from the everyday background of the local landscape of the site of the former internment camp -- the horizon -- and brings them into focus -- into the foreground -- as figures. In so doing the NIMC re-configures the site around a particular discursive organization of the world. While the NIMC privileges dominant discourses over other modes of making meaning, at the same time, this chapter shows that the ability of these discourses to exert control is by no means stable in any given instant, over time for either an individual viewer, the local Japanese Canadians, different residents or tourists visiting the site. The remnants and 'facts' it uses to stabilize its 'reconstruction' of the past are slowly eroding into landscape. This shows the contingent hold that these discourses have over the landscape. This chapter highlights how what happened on this site is irreducible to any one set of events, history or interpretation.

II. Mapping What is On/Out of Site

1. A Short History

Over fifty years have passed since the government closed the makeshift internment camps in the interior of British Columbia. While the names of the camps that were

located in the West Kootenays remain -- Lemon Creek, Slocan, New Denver, Sandon, Rosebery and Kaslo -- the landscape is slowly absorbing the remaining physical evidence (refer to map 3). A few durable traces remain: water lines, fragments of broken plates, the foundations for communal outhouses, grave markers and service roads. But slowly too,

the shifting landscape is reclaiming these markers as well. They have been plowed into farmers' fields, overtaken by vegetation, worn into the earth through the heavy winter snow and torrential summer storms as well as incorporated into the built environment of local residents and businesses.

Yet while the 'hard' evidence erodes, the experiences of internment continue to resonate in the lives of the Japanese Canadian elders still living in the area. While the government forced most Japanese Canadian internees to leave the province in 1945, a number were permitted to remain. In addition to approximately 2,000 self-supporting Japanese Canadians scattered throughout the province, government advisors calculated that there were 2,000 "persons who could not be rehabilitated to other parts of Canada....[including] T.B. patients, incurables, derelict single old men and women and old couples who [had] no younger members of their families living in Canada, people in mental homes and those serving in penal institutions" (Eastwood 1944). Unable to support themselves, the government gathered "the incurables," "derelicts" and "old couples" from other camps scattered throughout the province and "congregated" them in New Denver. New Denver was chosen in part because the BCSC had built a tuberculosis sanitarium for the internees in that camp during the war. While the government provided support payments for the "incurables", the advisors suggested that they would cease to be a problem because they "would gradually die off over a period of the next fifteen years to twenty years" (Desbrisay 1944).

But the "incurables" did not die off. By 1947 there were 336 who the administrator responsible for Japanese Canadians in New Denver claimed "are likely to be a Government charge for some years to come. [Three hundred] are those that would leave here if housing with their children in the east was available. In this group we must realize that a number of the daughters and children that went east are very young and unless the parents had money they would not be in a position to procure housing for their parents....They are anxious to go when housing is obtainable....[Another 300] have made definite plans for relocation....certain areas [in British Columbia] have asked us to defer sending them until the Japanese problem is more or less definitely clarified with the Province" (Mackinnon 1947).

Impoverished conditions, illness and uncertainty about their prospects elsewhere caged many Japanese Canadians in New Denver. There were also many who left as soon as they had the financial resources to cover the costs of moving and managed to secure employment or accommodations in other regions. But others chose to stay. Yet others gravitated back to New Denver after 1949 when the government finally permitted Japanese Canadians to return to British Columbia -- perhaps because those who returned were uncertain about living in a world that had been transformed by the post-World War Two economy without their tightly knit pre-war communities. In 1957, when the government agency responsible for administering "the Japanese problem" was required to dispose of its holdings, the leaders in the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver stepped forward and proposed that the government should deed the old internment shacks and the accompanying lots to the remaining Japanese Canadians. The government agreed. Half the land was donated to the Village of New Denver for the creation of Centennial Park. The shacks were moved and re-arranged into a linear grid system parallel to the highway. Realizing that the government would not uproot them

again, Japanese Canadians began to make small improvements to their internment shacks and lots (Matsushita, History Preservation Meeting, August 20, 1996). The lives of Japanese Canadians became integrated with the lives of the other residents. They worked alongside each other as loggers, cooks, nurses' aids and seamstresses. Some ran for political office in the village, others set up New Denver's first kindergarten. Their children went to the public school, married the locals and participated in the May Day celebrations and Remembrance Day ceremonies. These Japanese Canadians transformed what had been an internment camp into their home community. Their lives became integrated with the local 'white' residents on the northern side of Carpenter Creek.

2. Living Debris²

a. The Everyday World of New Denver, Summer 1996: what you see on site

Time has not stood still on the site of the New Denver internment camp (refer to Map 4). In fact, this rural British Columbia settlement, known before and during World War Two as 'the Orchard' now seems an odd place for a memorial centre. The centre sits amidst modest, one-level wooden homes scattered over a flat alluvial delta. The delta fans out from a river valley initially carved by a glacier fiercely cutting through massive mountain walls into Slocan Lake. Now, on a typical summer day, the occasional dog trots by on dog-business. Kids on bicycles zigzag around what seems a peculiar assortment of homes. It is not that the basic layouts of the houses differ, in fact they are remarkably similar. Most are shacks left over from the Japanese Canadian internment camp. Over the years, the inhabitants have modified the flimsy leaking shacks, cutting and extending walls, adding windows and digging gardens. Some are picture-perfect, gleaming white,

---

² Debris is a term that I borrowed from one of my many discussions with Derek Smith who located the term in Freud's discussions of memory and the unconscious.

Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre

皆様ようこそいらっしゃいませ

Welcome
to
New Denver

Adapted from maps provided courtesy of the Slocan Valley Economic Development Commission
Information compiled by the Slocan District Chamber of Commerce

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER BY ESSAY ENTERPRISES PHONE/FAX 350 2007

Map 4: Map of the Village of New Denver
(Source Slocan District Chamber of Commerce)

sitting amidst tidy flower beds and lawns. More reclusive houses are tucked behind big crazy vegetable gardens, peering out from overgrown fruit trees strung with hammocks. Others have neatly cut hedges that create 'backyard parlors' where guests are invited for dinner and evening conversation. Some show an artistic bent with intricate rock work set amidst fanciful flower beds and scarlet runners joyously twirling above sturdy tomato plants. And then there are the weathered homes. Tar paper peels off the wooden skin of their walls. Their porches crumble into the surrounding thickets of dry wild grass and gnarly rose bushes. Brambles scramble over their yards.

The NIMC is on Josephine Street. This street is along the last fringe of houses before Centennial Park. This park includes a large sports field, picnic facilities and a village-run camp-ground along the lake shore. While there is no reference in the park's signage, this was also part of the internment camp. While half of the 'Orchard' was deeded to Japanese Canadians in 1957, the other half along the lake shore was turned into a municipal park. Today there is a barbecue-and-kids sort of campground with trailers, tents and motor homes. In the summer it is filled with a happy rumble of families, many of whom amble over to visit the NIMC or the nearby Kohan Reflection Gardens. To the south is the Pavilion, reminiscent of a large alpine lodge with its steep A-frame roof. Initially a tuberculosis sanitarium for interned Japanese Canadians, it was later used by the provincial government to impound Doukhobor children whose parents refused to register them in public schools. It is now a long-term care facility for elderly people. To the north, there is a fringe of scrubby cedar and fir lining the banks of Carpenter Creek.

To reach the town proper across the wandering rocky river bed of Carpenter Creek, you must walk north along the highway. The houses in this part of the village are different from those in the Orchard. There are traces of the prosperous mining industry that

predominated the local economy from the 1880s until the 1920s when logging became the main industry. Scattered amongst trailer-homes, one-level ranch-style 1960s bungalows and two-level 1970s suburban houses is a variety of older houses. Near the lake front, BC-style, quaint gingerbread-like houses with their steep roofs and thick windows panes are enclosed by low stone walls or dainty hedges. There is a number of Victorian houses as well. They sit at the far end of narrow lots surrounded by fences. To approach these houses, visitors must follow long walkways that pass once well-tended gardens of now rather scruffy perennials. These houses belonged to wealthy residents who lived in New Denver when it was the "most famous mining region in British Columbia" (Turnbull 1988: 80). They evoke images of New Denver in the early 1900s when it had access to trains and a sternwheeler boat, when it had electricity and a waterworks system as well as an opera house (Butler 1995: 47-48).

Walking down Sixth Avenue towards Slocan Lake takes you past typical small town services. There is a credit union, a provincial liquor store, a post office, a diner, a laundromat as well as a motel with the local bar and dining facilities, in addition to the three gas stations and real estate office. The hardware and junk store are located in the few remaining two-level commercial buildings built during the late 1800s. Unlike other small towns in British Columbia, the Eldorado Grocer has a section for Japanese food, including hikijiki seaweed, rice and miso. There are services that reflect the green politics of the newer inhabitants as well, such as the Valhalla Wilderness Society, a well-established environmental organization. The health food store has locally made tofu, natural soaps and espresso coffee. In sharp contrast to the local diner that offers deluxe hamburgers and Denver sandwiches with a friendly smile are a number of funky restaurants that cater to those with a hankering for grilled eggplant, goat cheese, cappuccino and the like. Bed and breakfast businesses and an outdoor clothing store

reflect the economic turn away from logging towards tourism and wilderness recreation. A community bulletin board presents another host of services and activities: building contractors, local dances, septic tanks, firewood, horses, hair stylists, childcare and alternative health remedies.

This village is 'established' enough to have cultural institutions, such as the Silvery Slocan Museum, that 'preserve local history' as well as promote cultural activities. In fact, history is a business in this valley. Grants and employment projects funded by the government are available to develop the region's tourist industry.

In addition to a well-established golf club dating from the early 40s, there is also the Motherlode Book Store, a weekly produce and craft market in the summer, batik and silk screen stores. As well there are many local artists and musicians, some of whom participate in the events at the nearby Silverton Art Gallery.

Sixth Ave ends at the waterfront. This strip of green grass has been claimed by the village for a park. It is here that you find the local war memorial. And a little further to the south is where the commemorative marker for the Japanese Canadian Centennial was placed: a nation-wide event celebrated by Japanese Canadians in 1977 to mark the arrival of the first Japanese immigrant to Canada.

interlude: of middens

midden. n. Dunghill, refuse heap [*mud*] (Pocket Oxford Dictionary 1976).
dunghill. manure-heap (Pocket Oxford Dictionary 1976).

What a shock to discover that the Oxford Dictionary defined midden as a manure-heap and refuse-heap. Searching through more fluttering onion-skin-thin dictionary pages revealed...

midden n. 1. a dunghill. 2. a refuse heap [Middle English] (Oxford Modern English Dictionary 1996).

The reference to roots in **Middle English...**

Middle English the English Language from c. 1150-1500 (Oxford Modern English Dictionary 1996).

...speaks of something more than *muck*. With the distance granted from the passage of time, it speaks to something of another order, another tradition, another world...resonating with the use of midden in my Pacific North West nomenclature. The word midden, introduced into our vocabulary through the stories of fishing and logging on the west coast through the McAllister side of the family, meant a rich bed of debris, whatever was cast away, left over, no longer in use: an accumulation of many years of living. It was the debris of a community's everyday life, and in particular, debris from the everyday life of aboriginal bands living along the Pacific North West coast. In my mind, middens, now low grassy hills above the shoreline, just out of reach of the pounding Pacific waves, mark the presence of these bands, even in their absence. Middens are what have been left by the many who have moved elsewhere or were forced to relocate to 'reserves.'

The west coast is full of lore about middens. There is the story of the kayaker paddling through the Broken Islands off the west coast of Vancouver Island. He hauled up on small island and set up camp on top of the fine soft grasses of a midden. That night he

was woken by a ferocious spirit clamped down on his chest, choking him. I can not recall how he managed to pry himself free.

No doubt this lore is propelled by the imaginings of anthropologists, such as Malinowski and artists such as Emily Carr, intent on digging through the layers to penetrate the core of their essence, the intrinsic quality of whatever they imagined these people to be. Ensconced as it is in its own myths of a people-long-gone — a people of the land — the term midden is an appropriately messy/loaded trope through which to approach the grassy alluvial delta of New Denver's 'Orchard' today.

b. Other Grounds: disturbing what has settled

On a sunny summer's day New Denver seems to have the right combination of scenery and history (as well as espresso!) to make it an appealing place to live. But the longer one stays, the more one realizes that this is not the idyllic valley it seems. The mountains and waterways might be stunningly beautiful, but they are not benign. Over the course of my stay, falling trees, cougar attacks, storms and accidents along the narrow snaking highway left numerous people maimed, seriously wounded or dead. Every year, there is 'a drowning.' The lake is known for its unexpected storms: the gusts of torrential rain that blast across the lake, throwing up a nightmare of massive waves.

While the history of this valley is one of its attractions, it is not merely a colourful background. The past does not lie dormant. It is worked into domestic spaces, familiar scars on the body, the lilt of the tongue, the taste of a pie, engrained into antagonisms, buried under landslides and deserted mine shafts. It is not possible to know all that lies dormant in the deep layers of this ground. It is not predictable when or what might seep to the surface. No one can know or imagine all that is there or not there, the potential

cracks and quakes unfurling through the sediments, the leakage from one layer to another, whether this interaction will be combustive or calcify into brittle new layers as all shifts under the weight and erosion of the present. What resurfaces depends on who is looking and how they spin it into an account. What is finally constituted as 'history' barely touches the underlying ongoing morass of the past.

The Slocan Valley is woven with the history of the thousands of men who came to this valley in the late 1800s seeking their fortunes in the earth's ore. This history is institutionalized in local museums and tourist sites. Historians have written books to retell how the fates of miners rose and fell with the world market for ore. Today their dreams lie amidst abandoned mine shafts, untended grave markers and the ramshackle remains of once grand hotels.

There are other histories embedded in this landscape as well. Some disrupt the way this landscape is sutured around the primary industries as they sift through the past seeking ways to understand their current plight and secure justice for future generations.

Sometimes fragments of these histories surface in conjunction with other histories. It was Mr. and Mrs. Matsushita who introduced me to the fading ochre and charcoal black paintings drawn onto the porous rock cliffs rising from the cold depths of Slocan Lake. Mr. Matsushita photographed these paintings during their boat excursions up the lake. These paintings trace the distant world of First Nations People, perhaps the Kutenai People or maybe even the Sinixt People. As the local lore goes, for hundreds of years, these people would follow the growing season of berries, roots and land-locked salmon north up the lake. The locals know little about their presence today. But occasionally there is news about how those remaining are fighting the government's efforts to classify them as extinct and therefore without any right to land (The Valley Voice (a)1996).

The dreams and downfall of the Doukhobors were dredged from the recent past by younger members of the community in the 1970s. Evidence of the prosperity of their former communities lie amidst the remains of their huge abandoned communal farmhouses which are surrounded by rusting plows and overgrown brush. The Doukhobors came to Canada, fleeing persecution in 'the old country,' hoping to build a peaceful society inspired by what they understood as God: the "power of love, the power of life, which is the source of all being" (Mealing, 1977: 1). But they lost their land in this region when the provincial government foreclosed their loans in 1940. And they began to lose their language when the government took away their children and impounded them for refusing to enroll them in provincial schools. Today, the Brilliant Cultural Centre marks the region with their history. Their beliefs live on through their involvement in the local peace movement.

Issues and events thought to be long buried can also resurface unexpectedly in the course of ongoing everyday life, generating new conflicts or reviving entrenched solidarities. This is the case of those involved in the logging industry. Their interests collide with draft dodgers and hippies who came seeking a world away from the violence of contemporary society. These folks went back-to-the-land here in the 1970s. Their politics-of-the-land has seeped into the everyday lives of the town folk. Now locals, logging companies and government officials stand divided over the fate of second growth forests holding fragile watersheds in place (The Valley Voice (b) 1996).

interlude: the return of the dead

Obon: the festival for the dead. A Buddhist ritual held in either late July or early August to guide the spirits of ancestors back to their homes (Mrs. Takahara 1996).³

---

³ With the permission of the elders I interviewed, I decided to publish their names. They gave their permission both in their consent forms and again, just before the completion of this dissertation when I

Every summer, the New Denver Buddhists hold Obon in the Kyowakai Hall, opening the panel doors that cover the beautiful-to-behold shrine, ornate, lavish, the golden and red carvings, drapes of deep purple. The shrine's brilliance exudes its own light in the dim hall. Every year a minister comes to conduct the service. 1996 was the first year of the passing of Mrs. Kamegaya. In addition to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist members of the Japanese Canadian community, Mrs. Kamegaya's close friends from the non-Japanese Canadian community came to the Obon service. On this day the NIMC was closed to the public. We shut the gates and cleared out the Kyowakai Hall, removing the historical displays, setting up chairs as the members of the Buddhist Church prepared the shrine.

Mrs. Kay Takahara: Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda said that the [Buddhist] church itself is not a museum yet, it is still alive as long as the members are here. And that was the original agreement: when there is a church service everything, all the displays are moved aside (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

So always remember, as I set forth my course in this dissertation, 'it' is alive, as long as the members are in New Denver, so I must clear out the artifice so the spirits of the ancestors can return to their homes.

3. Public Archives: Building a Context

It is difficult to build a context from which to approach the experiences of internees in New Denver since little has been written about the individual Japanese Canadian

---

wrote them to ask them if they would prefer me to use 'pen names.' The decision to publish their names was based on my wish to recognize their insights, their experiences and the contributions they have made to the Japanese Canadian community and larger society through building the NIMC. Insofar as they are used to formally representing their community, I also recognized that during their interviews, they were very clear about the type of information that should and should not be publicly recorded. As such, I saw it in part as my responsibility to publicly record the information they shared with me. For more discussion, see *Chapter 3*. In contrast, I was careful not to disclose the identities of other members of the community who in certain sections of this dissertation, preferred to remain anonymous.

internment camps. Moreover, most of the documents and personal records of Japanese Canadians describing their pre-war and war-time experiences have been destroyed, lost or discarded. There were extensive community records kept, for example, by pre-war farm co-operatives, religious and fishing associations, community newspapers and political organizations. Some of these organizations published books with biographies of Japanese immigrants. As well, Japanese Canadians kept extensive personal records, such as albums of family photographs, journals and letters. There were also the records of businesses including the accounts and inventories for bakeries, rooming houses or dry good stores. Most of this material was left behind when they were uprooted from the coast. It was then either destroyed by vandals or disposed of by the Custodian of Enemy Alien Property. Moreover, many of the records kept in the camps -- maps, lists of who was interned in what camp, minutes of meetings, diaries, photographs -- were also lost, discarded or destroyed as internees were moved again and again between internment camps, provinces and countries.

The Canadian government has the most extensive set of documents on the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia's coast, their internment and their dispersal and forced assimilation as well as expulsion from Canada. These records are stored in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Masses of documents, many now frail and faded, are stored in boxes organized on the basis of the various government Departments, Committees and Officials that produced them. While staff at the Archives created a catalogue for researchers working on the case for Japanese Canadians redress during the 1980s, the extent of all the documents pertaining to Japanese Canadians is still unknown.

Visiting the National Archives is a strange experience. It is somewhat like a pilgrimage to a once hostile territory.⁴ You follow the paths of Japanese Canadian redress activists in the 1970s and 1980s, in a search for small bits of truth buried amongst these government documents. From my research in the National Archives of Canada, I was able to find various documents pertaining to the New Denver camp. From these documents it was possible to piece together fragments of the government's image of New Denver based on the camp's geographic location and its administrative structure. As well, it is possible to catch some glimpses of the living conditions and social conflicts.

One of the significant features of the New Denver camp was its geographic relation to the other camps in British Columbia. A description of the geographic relation of the camp conveys the way that the government had reorganized British Columbia's isolated mountainous terrain into a series of 'natural' prisons for Japanese Canadians. At the same time, this isolated mountainous terrain was the province's economic hinterland: it was the province's source of fuel wood, lumber and mineral ores. Sawmills, logging companies, road construction as well as orchards in these regions were experiencing labour shortages. Government reports indicate that Japanese Canadian internees were sent to the province's hinterland because it was not only geographically isolated but also in need of workers to fill the labour shortages (British Columbia Securities Commission 1942: 18).

The New Denver camp was one of eight internment camps for "dependent Japanese." Most of the camps, including New Denver, were located in old mining towns built in the

---

⁴ The idea that visiting the National Archives to research the community's history is like a pilgrimage developed through conversations with Mona Oikawa and Wendy Lerner. Both discussed the ironies and difficulties that members of historically persecuted communities faced as they enter government buildings and had to navigate dominant codes of conduct and classification systems to piece together their histories.

West Kootenays. The BCSC used the old buildings in former mining towns to house some internees. In other cases, the BCSC hired crews of Japanese Canadian men to build "housing centres," what were rows of flimsy shacks, on leased farmland. (BCSC 1942: 12).

Each government-run camp had a Town Supervisor who was responsible to the Head Office of the British Columbia Securities Commission (BCSC). The BCSC's duties included organizing the removal of Japanese Canadians from the coastal area, implementing programs to provide them with employment and housing, and administering social welfare programs (Sunahara 1981: 53). When the "evacuation" was completed, the Commission's powers reverted to the Minister of Labour on February 5, 1943. On this date, a Commissioner of Japanese Placement was designated to administer "the Japanese Problem" in Canada (BCSC 1942: 13). In addition, "Occidental" welfare officers were located in each camp with a staff of Japanese Canadian social workers. Employment offices were set up to find work placements for Japanese Canadians. Only those who were considered unemployable or unable to obtain employment were given maintenance payments (1942: 13). In 1943, the employment officers increasingly sought to find placements outside of British Columbia, for example, in Ontario, increasing the movement of especially younger Japanese Canadians out of British Columbia.

The operation of the camps was a massive task. For example, with over 12,000 Japanese Canadians living in the camps, "thousands of cords of fuel wood were required. It was necessary to install or repair lighting systems and waterworks, and to build and equip schools and hospitals." Japanese Canadians were hired as construction and maintenance workers, nurses, cooks, clerks and doctors and so on (Department of Labour 1944: 10-11).

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) as well as the British Columbia Provincial Police carried out various duties in connection with the internment camps. Orders from the BCSC and subsequently, the Department of Labour, were enforced mostly by the RCMP. The Commissioner of the RCMP authorized several permanent detachments at strategic places to monitor Japanese Canadians. Strict observations were kept on their movements by issuing travel permits because it was "not deemed desirable that the Japanese shall be permitted to wander at will throughout the country" (1942: 16). Since the "settlements are situated in mountainous valleys from which the only outlets are by a few roads....the RCMP established road blocks at which special guards check all passersby" (Department of Labour 1944: 11). Yet, because of the proximity of the camps to each other in the Slocan Valley, internees occasionally would get permission to visit nearby camps to visit relatives and friends or attend special events like funerals and baseball games. In addition, RCMP officers made monthly reports for each camp, documenting the fluctuation in the number of men, women and children in the camps depending on the numbers of deaths, births and transfers into and out of the camps. The reports also recorded statistics regarding the employment and health of the internees and made notes about incidents such as fires, delinquent behaviour or large social events (RCMP: 1944).

What follows is the government's description of the New Denver Camp. This is an excerpt from the report, "Removal of Japanese from the Protected Area" (1942).

INTERIOR HOUSING PROJECTS

New Denver

Japanese Population: 1505.

New Denver is situated in the east side of Slocan Lake, midway between the Kootenay and Arrow Lakes in the Upper Columbia River Basin. It has an altitude of 1,700 feet, with temperatures ranging from 90 degrees in the summer to sometimes 20 degrees below zero in the winter. It is well adapted to mixed farming, gardening and the cultivation of berries and

fruits. Of the original white population of several thousand, only 350 remain and the place of the former residents has now been taken by Japanese evacuees.

A well equipped local hospital serves the needs of the whole adjacent district and the Commission is building a sanitarium for the hospitalization of T.B. cases which will accommodate 100 patients.

The New Denver Evacuation Area extends from the Harris Ranch on the south, to the old town of Rosebery on the north, a distance of about 16 miles. The 80-acre Harris Ranch has been leased by the Commission and 27 acres have already been put under cultivation. A total of 275 homes have been built for the Japanese, of the type of construction mentioned previously [14 x 25 built of rough lumber and tar paper], 31 of them being designed for two-family groups and 244 for single families only. Bath houses (an important item in Japanese life) have been erected to serve the needs of the whole community and water connections are in the process of being laid to all sections of the area controlled by the Commission....When it is completed, all Japanese will get their water supply from conveniently situated stand pipes.

Electricity is being supplied as quickly as possible and this work, together with that of laying water mains and cutting and hauling the very large supply of firewood necessary for the fairly severe winter, will keep the male Japanese population busy for some time to come (BCSC 1942: 23-23).

Few government documents list the difficulties of living in internment camps like New Denver. But descriptions of harsh living conditions sometimes surface in documents such as the "Report of the Royal Commission to Inquire into the Provisions made for the Welfare and maintenance of Persons of the Japanese Race Resident in Settlements in the Province of British Columbia." This document responds to concerns made by the various Japanese Camp Committees: the Committees that were the official representatives of Japanese Canadian internees in each camp. While the report does not include the names of the Japanese Camp Committees or the status of the report, it provides insights into the camps' living conditions.

The concerns of the Camp Committees listed in the report are as follows:

1. That the maintenance rates for indigent Japanese are insufficient to buy adequate food at prevailing prices;
2. That houses are overcrowded, unsafe during winter weather, and unsuited to severe climatic conditions;

3. That the supply of fuel is inefficiently distributed and of inferior quality;
4. That there is unreasonable delay in supplying needed clothing and shoes to families on maintenance;
5. That the health of the people is adversely affected by inadequate housing and insufficient food and that this has resulted in increased illness and malnutrition of children;
6. That there is a lack of facilities for indoor recreation during winter months, especially for children (Jackson et. al. 1944: 3).

In order to assess the living conditions in the camps, the report compares the conditions in the camps to Japanese Canadians' "pre-evacuation" living conditions, health and employment opportunities. The report suggests that the conditions in the camps did not differ greatly from their pre-war living conditions, and concludes that given the wartime shortages and the fact that the camps are a "temporary means of meeting an emergency" - the BCSC should be commended for its accomplishments and recommends only minor improvements to the camps. To support its conclusions, the Report notes that numerous Japanese Canadians made unofficial submissions that disputed the claims made by the Japanese Camp Committees. These submissions claimed that the living conditions in the camps were satisfactory.

With the distance of years, we can view the unofficial submissions in another light. They reveal the stresses and conflicts that developed between internees as they tried to decide what would be the most effective strategies to deal with their situation: whether to publicly protest or quietly accept the governments' measures.

It is easy to idealize the camps as small pre-war communities that, while not necessarily free of intrigue and conflicts, maintained cultural practices and social organization of settlements along the British Columbia coast (Watada 1997). But archival documents reveal the instability of the camps. But there is a constant flow of young single female and male *Nisei* to central Canada. Internees were constantly being separated and re-

united and separated from their families and kin-groups as they were transferred between camps. In addition, as certain camps emptied, the government closed them and moved the remaining internees to other camps.

The biggest disruption occurred when the government began to re-organize the camps in order to prepare for the shipment of "repatriates" to Japan and the relocation of those remaining to central Canada. The government "segregated" "the repatriates" from the "loyal" Canadians. Those remaining in British Columbia – the "incurables" – were moved to New Denver. The government moved those relocating to central Canada to Kaslo. Those being shipped to Japan were gathered in Rosebery, Slocan, Lemon Creek and Greenwood (Pickersgill 1945). While segregating Japanese Canadians seems like it was simply an efficient step in a plan designed to quickly remove them from British Columbia, it also had social dimensions. Because there were cases where some members of a family chose to relocate to central Canada while the others chose shipment to Japan (or signed on with their parents), this meant that families were again split apart. In addition, the move to segregate Japanese Canadians had political dimensions. In response to a request from Mr. Collins, the Commissioner of Japanese Placement, for advice on the implementation of removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia, R.A. Davidson states that segregation "will break these Japanese up, preventing them from gathering in groups and discussing the pros and cons of the War and of the affairs of Japanese in Canada, thus avoiding much unrest and dissension" (Davidson 1944).

By placing these archival government documents beside contemporary descriptions of New Denver, one wonders if any traces of the world described in the government documents remain in the local landscape. The next section returns to the NIMC and

examines whether and how it has mapped elements of the past recorded in these documents onto the contemporary landscape of New Denver.

4. Surveying the Past

a. Camp Maps

When visitors enter the NIMC they are presented with a map of the old internment camp (refer to Map 5). It neatly delineates the dimensions of the camp to a rectangular piece of white paper with neat lines tracing roads, shacks and administrative buildings. But laying this map over the site as it exists today narrows the possibility of a much more complex reading of the past as it is strewn amongst rotting internment shacks, buried in gardens, still growing in old gnarled fruit trees and proliferating in poppies. Using the metaphor of the map, it is not so much a destination I want to reach in this chapter as the realization of the impossibility of mapping a route that leads to fully knowing what happened on that site. This does not mean that mapping is an activity should be abandoned. It simply means that one map is never sufficient; that what one must seek is a multiplicity of maps; that with the multiplicity of maps it might be possible to not just accept but respect the different worlds, the different lifeworlds outside the range of the dominant knowledge and dominant institutions that we will never be able to fully know but can nevertheless learn from, if what we learn is only the respect for otherness. For me, a *Sansei* from a middle-class family who grew up in a mid-sized town on the coast of British Columbia, the effort to recognize and represent the vitality and richness of the world that elders in the small village of New Denver lived was one of the main challenges of writing this dissertation.

b. 'Welcome to the NIMC'

"Yes, the site where we are standing now was where over 1,500 Japanese Canadians were interned. Here we are..." The NIMC attendant traces her finger over a map of the internment camp. A number of maps of internment camps have re-surfaced in recent years. Somehow they survived the damp cold winters, the impoverished living conditions and the rules and regulations of internment. Their owners managed to save them each time they were forced to pack up and discard what could not be folded, tucked, pressed down into the dimensions of the baggage they were permitted to bring to their next destination.

I have come across 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 of these maps at the NIMC: the "Map of Rosebery," "F. C. Harris Ranch: New Denver, BC," "Nelson's Ranch: New Denver, BC," "Map of Greenwood," "Japanese Residential Area: The City of Sandon" and an untitled map of the Slocan Valley (refer to map 6). They are displayed with an array of black and white photographs presenting panoramic views of the camps.

It is difficult to determine the purpose of these maps, how they were made and by whom. There is little or no information available in the NIMC's acquisition records. Labels indicated that five of the maps were copies of originals borrowed from Selkirk College in Castlegar. It is possible to inspect these maps for clues. The inclusion of formal mapping conventions such as contour lines, scales and compass orientations indicate that five of the maps have been surveyed. Tiny trembles in the calligraphic titles and the slightly rumpled contour lines betray traces of personal penmanship. This suggests that some might have been traced from pre-existing survey maps. But perhaps not. These maps share similar design features such as symbols and characters, suggesting they were

Map 5: Map by the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre of
the New Denver Internment Camp
(Source: Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre)

perhaps made by the same map makers. Selkirk College documents suggest that the maps were maps for the British Columbia Securities Commission.

In contrast, the map of the Slocan Valley is hand-drawn. George Doi is its cartographer (refer to map 3 and map 7). The NIMC made a copy of the original which is in the Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives in Burnaby. The map focuses on the camps in Slocan: Popoff, Bayfarm and Slocan City. The map maker roughly sketched landscape features such as forests and bluffs and includes details such as "Fuki Plants," "Taishoda's Drug Store" and "Kid's Ski Hill." And then there is the detailed map recently produced by Mr. Senya Mori. He was one of the community leaders in New Denver both within the Japanese Canadian community and the Village of New Denver. From what I recall, his map is very large. He taped together numerous sheets of heavy paper and carefully drew in all he could remember.

Today I read these maps as acts committed to the future, to be remembered at some later date when possibly all other traces of the camps had been erased. The lines excavate the grid of everyday living: the imposed order evident in the regularly spaced row upon row of identical 14 by 28 foot rough plank "double" family shacks which are differentiated from the 14 by 20 foot "single" family shacks; evenly distributed outdoor communal "toilets" and bathhouses; zones marked "private property" and always, the highway into/out of the camps. Some maps draw out the communal (re-)organization of the camps including food stores, cemeteries, ice rinks and the buildings that housed makeshift churches and schools where community dances and meetings also took place and directions to the next camps where undoubtedly cousins, aunts, former neighbours or members of long dissolved debating clubs or prefecture associations were interned. All

Map 6: Rosebery Internment Camp
 (Source: Selkirk College)
 Credit: British Columbia Securities Commission

the maps show how the camps were enclosed by natural barriers whether cold deep lakes, walls of mountains and churning rivers.

But the map shown to visitors who travel to see the NIMC is not one of these maps. The map shown to visitors was made by someone with the initials I.V. in 1992, most likely someone hired with an employment grant from the federal government. No doubt the map maker took details from the maps and accounts of former Japanese Canadian internees. But it is not a memory map. Its lines were not drawn as an attempt to re-inscribe the experience of internment from the space of confinement extending towards the horizon of the unfolding future.

interlude: conventions of mapping

Map image and map: The map image is a structured cartographic representation of selected spatial information, which when placed onto a storage medium becomes a map (see *cartography*).

The encoded real-world conception of the cartographer is transmitted to a map reader through the map image, itself the result of processes such as *generalizations symbolization* etc. (Blackmore 1986(a): 277).

Maps conceptually organize the world as a space that is to be traversed, a world of paths, passages, routes, deadends, detours, through and around zones that are variously coded as accessible and inaccessible, safe and dangerous as well as insignificant, unknown and transitional. It is a space conceived in terms of potential movement: destinations and points of departure; a 'here' and an 'over there.' The space is abstracted from a complex landscape of shifting, dissonant and intersecting layers of econo-geological, bio-historical, socio-ecological activities. Relevant features are selected, transfigured into symbols and then re-ordered and re-proportioned so they fit into a coherent scheme:

Map 7: Map of the Slocan Valley (enlargement of details)
 (Source: Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives)
 Credit: George Doi

scheme: n. plan, systematic project for future action; systematically organized design; plot, cunning device; synopsis, summary, classification. (The Penguin Dictionary: 1982)

Through the process of mapping, this abstracted space becomes inhabited: inculcated with habitual actions, habits of mind, habits of measurement. This process works to 'enact' the space as a circumscribed set of movements. It is not simply a practical terrain but also an imaginary one, still active in the body-memory of those who inhabited that place, even though it has long since changed. And for the reader of the map, it is a terrain imagined even as it has not yet, or is not at the moment, inhabited in the manner prescribed by the map. To read a map is to be situated in that space, to move along its paths, passages and routes.

For all of this activity, the map does not feature either inhabitants or travellers. Yet they are not absent. Their presence is constituted through the perspective of the map. Maps organize their readers around a particular vantage point, a point-of-view. The vantage point situates the reader in this scheme of things: the way the reader is to in-habit the demarcated space.

Using the terms set out by the map, to locate oneself in or move between zones involves difference/differentiation: the spatial relations specific to one location distinguish one location from another. While the space is abstracted, the difference is never based on purely abstract measurements. It is based on the underlying scheme: a plan; a systematically organized design, whether it is a recent geological survey map, a 16th Century map of a battle field or the first map of Upper Canada's territory.

As long as there continue to be an effort to organize what is a constantly changing, multi-layered landscape into a particular scheme, any map of this scheme will be altered to

incorporate relevant temporal changes whether registered at a socio-political, organic or geomorphological or metaphysical level. A new map will be made and the old one discarded, stored, iconized, transformed into something else. Maps are never adjusted to incorporate the passage of abstract time -- hours, minutes, weeks. This time is not registered. It is empty time. It leaves no traces (Bakhtin 1987: 110). It is like the chronotope that Mikhail Bakhtin identifies in the literary genre of Greek romance.

the homogenization of all that is heterogeneous in a Greek romance...a homogenization that results in a huge, almost encyclopedic genre, is achieved only at the cost of the most extreme abstraction, schematization and a denuding of all that is concrete and merely local....The most abstract of all chronotopes is the most static. In such a chronotope the world and all individuals are finished items, absolutely immobile. In it there is no potential for evolution, for growth, for change (Bakhtin 1987: 110).

This is the temporal order of a map-in-use. To inhabit a terrain in the manner prescribed by a particular map requires the reader to enter a sort of empty time: the unchanged time of whatever 'now' that the map circumscribes. It is an imaginary order, an order imagined as the passage of organic or productive time would mean a change in the space itself not to mention the transformation of the self. To sustain a space in the fixed lines and nodes, the passages, the dead ends, the routes of this space, each map attempts to lock the reader in one temporal vantage point.

Cartography: The optimal map image has a minimum of 'noise,' which generally arises from confusion or misunderstanding of the use of projection, transformation (*see cartogram*), *class intervals* for data, symbolization, generalization or design factors.

The 'noise' factor mostly results from the reader's conception of a standardized language for map compilation differing from that of the cartographer (Blackmore 1986 (b): 42-43).

This suggests an intact subject already inculcated with the standardized language of maps. If a particular map does not cohere with this language there is a dissonance which

creates "confusion or misunderstanding." In contrast I would argue that through the effort to (re-)organize groups of people in particular schemes that entail the complementary effort to (re-)organize various landscapes, the map is one of many apparatuses that works to create, re-organize, maintain or constitute particular subjects.

Subjects might be predominantly organized into one scheme rather than another, making them confused by the way different maps attempt to re-orient them in relation to a particular landscape. They will see both familiar landscape features as well as lacunae, erasures and what is off the margins of the map ensconced in a foreign network of activities: in a series of peculiar forms of movements (perhaps needing particular technologies -- such as a canoe, knowledge of star-navigation or gas-fueled cars and telephones) that knit them into particular emotive-practical ways of engaging with space around nodes that they would not consider to be destinations or point of departure, zones they would never consider as dangerous and so on.

They might sense other temporal orders as well as the shadows of mysterious others barely present, not quite inhabiting the land as much as synonymous with it or the desired/despised intrusions of colonizers/industrialists violating their collective mode of being. And looking at out-of-date maps, they might feel the ghostly presence of inhabitants who no longer exist in a world that has been absorbed into the changing landscape. It is not as if the presence of others, invaders or the dead has been completely erased. It is also possible to read traces of these worlds in contemporary maps: in the debris from massive glaciers; erosion of rivers; place names of dead explorers and vanished peoples. In more recent maps their presence is relegated to the background of the map. They are managed and reined in so they do not disrupt the coherence of the

main schemata. This depends on the skill of the cartographer versus the will of the reader.

It is also possible for the dissonance and confusion generated from old maps and the maps-of-others to be ordered. Old maps, out-of-date maps, other maps, new maps of the same space but organized around different schemes can be ordered chronologically to fit into a linear passage of time, changing political, metaphysical or technological regimes. Depending on how these maps are re-presented, they can be used to fix landscapes in ways that fix the map reader in particular relation to the past landscapes: re-imagined as sites of origin, whether homeland or holocaust. But this as well calls for a particular form of 'reading' not necessarily within the terms of the individual maps, but in a scheme that chronologically orders their differences.

c. Creating Order, Removing the 'Noise'

The NIMC map is a recently-made map that selects and orders what it deems necessary for its own scheme. But essentially the map leaves out what the map maker considered 'noise': what for the Japanese Canadian map makers were the nodes and paths that ordered their daily life, such as the directions to the next camp or even details like the communal "toilets." For the size of the map, it seems strangely 'empty' when compared with the other maps made by Japanese Canadians. The map centres on the housing in the New Denver internment camp. It leaves out the town proper. There is no reference to its existence. Half a mile from the camp across Carpenter Creek, the town proper was a central node of their everyday life. For example, in the early days of the camp, internees walked there three times a day for meals at the old skating rink. Once stoves were installed in the shacks and a supply of wood secured for 1,500 internees, they went to

town to purchase food. And among other things, the post office, the welfare office and the administrative offices of the British Columbia Securities Commission were located there.

In contrast to the other maps, this map does not trace the shapes of the shacks, differentiating between the different types of housing. Rather, it indicates the shacks by the numbers that the British Columbia Securities Commission designated them. The map maker traces the shape of only the following institutions: the Sanitarium, the Doctor's home, school buildings and a section of private property. The numbers of the shacks are arranged around a network of access lanes. The way space is organized in this map does not reflect the internees' orientation and movements in relation to the site. For example, it could have underlined their relation to significant natural landscape features such as the lake and the river where the over 1,500 internees fetched their supply of water until outdoor standing pumps were installed, one for every four shacks. Nor is there any indication that the shacks were arranged in relation to collectively used buildings such as bathhouses, school buildings or toilets.

The network of access lanes is presented as the main system of organization in the camp, though only four of the twelve are named: Main Street, Second Street, Third Street and Marine Drive. The network stands out. It is the largest feature with a heavily marked continuous border. And the "Numbered Houses," the main items in the map according to its title, are arranged around the network. Moreover, the "streets" are given more significance than the highway that is drawn as a discontinuous, narrow and thus minor street that passes by the eastern border of the camp. In addition it is not named either as a street or a highway. This creates an internal perspective. It focuses the reader on the internal system of lanes within the camp with few references to anything external or

beyond the margins. It circumscribes internal movement along the lanes, from shack to shack, to and from the Sanitarium and school buildings. There is no indication that the possibility of moving past, into and out of other camps, cities, provinces, countries. And without this contrast, there is also no sense of the inability to leave: the sense of confinement.

It is difficult to identify this as a map of an internment camp, or even a map of institutional housing of some sort. It could easily be a residential area. There is an emphasis on the network of "streets" connecting the "Houses" together with even and odd numbers on opposite sides of the streets, the lack of commercial activities yet the inclusion of social services such as "School Buildings." The fact that it is an internment camp is not evident in the title: "New Denver Orchard: Numbered Houses and their Approximate location circa 1945." But there are a few anomalies. There is a lot that is designated "private property." If this were a residential area, all lots would be private property. As well, the "Doctor's Home" does not have a designated number. If it was part of the residential area, it should have also have a number. Moreover it takes up the equivalent of two of the regular lots and its L-shaped outline is traced, giving it a special status, distinct from the other "houses" which are denoted only by numbers. Normally, a larger house could be correlated with higher status and more capital. If this were a residential area, one would expect to find other "large homes" with professionals and well to do residents living here. Why just the "Doctor's Home"? Answers to this anomaly might take the map reader to conclude that this is not a normal residential area.

In order to 'read' the map as it was intended, it is important to place it in its context of use which includes not only who made it but also, who were the intended map readers, for what organization was it made, its purpose, and any accompanying documentation and

texts. It is possible to infer the intended map reader through the design of the map. At a functional level, the map places the reader on the eastern fringe of the map facing westward, not in the typical cartographic orientation towards the north. This orientation matches the orientation of anyone coming off the highway towards the NIMC: suggesting that the map was made for visitors to the NIMC. Other evidence suggests this as well. There is a wide border of empty space on the left margin of the map, leaving out geographic landmarks such as the lakefront and river, key reference points for locals. But on the left border the shoreline of the lake is drawn in. This gives a coordination point that helps the reader locate a large building on the map which is referred to as the Sanitarium. Today it is called the 'Pavilion.' It is a remnant from the internment camp: a tuberculosis sanitarium. Providing a coordination point helps visitors identify the present site with the no longer existing camp.

It is difficult to read the map on its own. Originally it was made as part of a proposal to seek funding to build the NIMC. It provided a visual description of the camp in a section titled: "Contextual History." Today it relies on its use in the context of the NIMC. The map is located in the "Visitor's Centre," where visitors pay entrance fees and are given instructions as to how to proceed through the NIMC. This is done either verbally and/or through a brochure which provides a written description of the NIMC buildings and a map of the centre's physical layout. Workers use the map of the camp as an explanatory aid when visitors ask questions about the location or size of the camp. As well, the use of nomenclature such as the "Orchard" and the "Sanitarium" refer to terms used throughout the centre that identify key aspects of life in the New Denver camp: for example, these terms are used in the centre's historical displays as well as the books and pamphlets in the "Visitor's Centre."

At another level, the map readers are posited as those intent on making a connection with what happened in the past: to draw it out of the changing landscape, to make it into something recognizable, something tangible that can be experienced, taken away as an event, as concrete affirmation of what-was. The centre was built in part to receive these people who began coming in the late 1980s near the culmination of the redress movement. Before, all remnants of that past world were submerged/embedded in the everyday ongoing lives of those living in New Denver.

This past world is not something visitors can access without risk. There are specific risks for those without familial connections to Japanese Canadians who endured the War Measures Act, whether they be post-war Japanese immigrants or young professionals from Toronto. They risk being denied access to this past world. They could be taken to task for their voyeurism, confronted with their complicity in racial constructions. The people they approach might respond to their empathy as if it were condescending, challenge their image of 'victims,' refuse to accept their version of what-happened during the internment. Those with familial connections have other risks. The people they approach might recognize them as someone of a particular age, character or role with an identity they may have long denied or forgotten. They could ask them to disclose what happened to them during and after World War Two. Perhaps someone will ask them to verify who they are in relation to the community. Or they might not simply be greeted in the manner they expect. No one is guaranteed the experience they may seek. And for those uncertain as to what they seek or unsure about what emotions and memories may be brought forth, this is risky. They have no control over it or what they may encounter and especially, how they will be directly challenged by others.

In contrast, the public site of the NIMC presents what happened in a manner that is accessible to all. For all to touch, for all to partake in. It places the viewer at a safe distance from the event insofar as they do not need to individually develop and negotiate their access with potentially unco-operative others. To secure this 'experience,' the NIMC must generate the feeling that it somehow touches that past: that there is an aura (Benjamin 1985). For why else would people travel great distances to come to this site when the history can be read in any number of books or seen in any number of films? This aura is evoked primarily by virtue of the centre's location: it is on the site of internment. The map is one of several devices that attempt to fix this relation. It impresses the outlines of the internment camp onto the present, anchoring this outline through various remnants that remain today: as mentioned above, this includes the Sanitarium as well as some of the streets. But can an aura be re-presented?

interlude: aura

Aura: Aura is a quality specific to cultural objects, and in particular, according to Walter Benjamin, works of art which have a unique existence in time and space. This unique location subjects each to a specific history which becomes embodied in physical marks, such as cracks in a fresco, perhaps from earth tremors, or a smooth finish worn down from incessant polishing; and to cultural tradition rendered through, for example, its use in ritual and changes in custodianship. The specificity of this history is what constitutes the authenticity of a particular object as "that object" in contrast to a manual reproduction, or forgery (Benjamin 1985: 220-221).

Cultural Tradition: The uniqueness of a work of art is inseparable from its being imbedded in the fabric of tradition. This tradition is thoroughly alive and extremely changeable. An ancient statue of Venus for example, stood in a different traditional context with the Greeks....Originally the contextual

integration of art in tradition found its expression in the cult. We know the earliest art works originated in the service of ritual -- first the magical, then the religious kind (Benjamin 1985: 223).

Cult Value: Artistic production begins with ceremonial objects destined to serve in a cult. One may assume that what mattered was their existence, not their being on view....Today the cult value would seem to demand that the work of art remain hidden. Certain statues of gods are accessible only to the priests in the cella; certain Madonnas remain covered nearly all year round; certain sculptures on medieval cathedrals are invisible to the spectator on ground level (Benjamin 1985: 224-225).

Exhibition Value. With the emancipation of the various art practices from ritual go increasing opportunities for the exhibition of their products. It is easier to exhibit a portrait bust that can be sent here and there than to exhibit the statue of a divinity that has its fixed place in the interior of a temple (Benjamin 1985: 225).

Unapproachability: Unapproachability is indeed a major quality of the cult image. True to its nature, it remains "distant, however close it may be." The closeness which one may gain from its subject matter does not impair the distance which it retains in its appearance (Benjamin 1985: 243).

Closeness: The painter maintains in his work a natural distance from reality, the cameraman penetrates deeply into its web. There is a tremendous difference between the pictures they obtain. That of the painter is a total one, that of the cameraman consists of multiple fragments which are assembled under a new law (Benjamin 1985: 234).

d. Destablizing Mapped Space

The NIMC map is one of the first items available for visitors to view. By using this map to orient visitors, its conceptualization of the past is privileged. It belongs to the system that organizes how visitors are to view and interact with the representation of the internment of Japanese Canadians. In contrast, copies of the memory maps are part of the historical display in the Kyowakai Hall in the section titled: "The West Kootenay Valley." This section is half way through the last exhibit. Thus by the time the visitor

reaches this section, if they do not skip it, they are most likely overwhelmed by the plethora of artifacts, textual descriptions, photographs and documents viewed thus far. Moreover, as mentioned above, the maps are shown along with a range of photographs. Thus they are presented as both evidence and descriptions of the camps in the Kootenays rather than ways to orient the visitors to the past.

Yet what happens if we grant each one of the memory maps a status similar to the NIMC map, rather than viewing them simply as one of many descriptions of the camps? While the maps re-present different camps, they nevertheless can not be read in isolation from each other. They make references to each other at a number of different levels. At one level, the maps were all made by Japanese Canadians concerned with re-presenting internment camps in the West Kootenay Region. And some of the maps share symbols and writing styles, suggesting that they were made by the same map makers. The fact that the map makers are all Japanese Canadian, that the maps represent interment camps, all of which happen to be located in the same region, make it possible to group them together. At another level, each references the other maps, either explicitly, for example, through textual references, such as "New Denver" or directions to camps represented in the other maps; or implicitly through, for example, transportation routes, such as the railway or geographic features, such as Slocan Lake, that stretches beyond their margins and reappears in the other maps. Examined together in reference to each other, their differences become apparent. Details in one map are left out of another. The perspective of one map unites a series of camps together, while in another, the camps remain discrete entities. Certain maps follow the conventions of mapping, while others are drawn free-hand with sketched-in landscape features. Because not all maps were drawn by same map maker, within the same period, with the same conventions and the same purpose,

together they disrupt the possibility of fixing a singular and complete conception of any one camp.

And all but Mr. Mori's map are copies. They are not originals. As black and white photocopied images they are unable to reproduce the marks of inscription, the quality of the ink, the force at which the lines were pressed into the paper, the texture and smell of paper, the oily residues of fingers, tiny spills...Mr. Senya Mori's map -- its large size, the way it is taped together and its non-standard measurements -- make it difficult to produce a photocopy in a way such that it would not be damaged. And given its dimensions, if one were to shrink it down into a size that could be easily taken away, the details would be too small to read. In fact it was photocopied but this was accomplished only by photocopying sections of it and then taping the sections back together. Moreover, the fact that it was Mr. Mori's map made questions of copying it and borrowing it complicated.

The context of use that secures the trajectory of all the maps, with the exception of Mr. Senya Mori's map, is no longer in place. The context of use for this trajectory was during the period after thousands of Japanese Canadians had been ripped from their homes and communities along the coast of British Columbia. Many have been separated from their families and re-organized in a complicated network of internment camps, road crews, beet farms or domestic and manual labour assignments through organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association in central Canada. It was a context where the War Measures Act had been invoked to destroy their communities in British Columbia. It was a context where the BCSC, later, re-organized as the Japanese Division under the Department of Labour, was in charge of administering the over 21,000 Japanese Canadians who had been removed from their homes. The ability to locate the trajectory

of these maps in this context of use is difficult. The NIMC's accession records provide little information about the maps. There is little documentation accompanying the stored copies of the maps or those on display. They simply 'appear' before us in the NIMC's historical displays, having been separated from the documents, practices and even the social identities of map makers that might have indicated their schemes. This separation constitutes a disregard not only for the conventions of accessioning archives, but for the items themselves. They are dislocated from the context that would render them meaningful. One is left to try to piece together their context of use, making a wide range of speculations about their purpose and use as well as searching for people who might know more.

This is the state characterizing many of the incomplete sets of documents that trace the war-time experiences of Japanese Canadians which have been forgotten in the back closets of various individuals' homes, sit disintegrating in public archives or in some cases, have been donated to the recently opened Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives in Burnaby, British Columbia. The question is what do we do in the face of the never ending task of tracing lost or perhaps never written documents and records? The need for a context, the marks of the original – and its absence -- opens up a state of constant uncertainty: the inability to reach closure. While never giving up the search to bring the lost, scattered documents into some sort of new order, it is also possible to welcome the questions arising from the absences that constantly problematize whatever dares announce itself to be the final concrete rendition of the past. It is from this stance that I want to map the NIMC: from the paths, passages and movement that destabilize mapped space.

interlude: the decay of aura

Loss of Authority: Confronted with its manual reproduction, which was usually branded as forgery, the original retained its authority; not so *vis à vis* technical reproduction. The reason is twofold. First process of reproduction is more independent of the original than manual reproduction. For example in photography, the process of reproduction can bring out those aspects of the original that are unattainable to the naked eye yet accessible to the lens....And photographic reproduction, with the aid of certain processes, such as enlargement or slow motion, can capture images that can escape natural vision. Secondly, technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself. Above all, it enables the original to meet the beholder half way, be it in the form of a photograph or phonograph record. The cathedral leaves its locale to be received in the studio of a lover of art (Benjamin 1985: 220-221).

Contemporary Decay of the Aura: [The] social bases the contemporary decay of the aura...rests on two circumstances both related to the increasing significance of the masses in contemporary life. Namely the desire of the masses to bring things "closer" spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness to the reproduction. Unmistakably, reproduction as offered to us by picture magazines and newsreels differs from the image seen by the unaided eye. Uniqueness and permanence are as closely linked in the latter as are the transitoriness and reproducibility in the former (Benjamin 1985: 223).

III. Visiting the NIMC

1. A Tour: Inside the Gates

Passing under the gateway, through the sturdy cedar post fence, you step across a threshold into the calm of the Heiwa Tein: peace garden (refer to map 8).

Hei-wa Tei-en

This traditional Japanese garden was designed by Mr. Roy Sumi, a gardener of international reputation. Mr. Sumi, a former Rosebery internee, envisioned the gardens as "Kare-sansui" (dried-up water scenery).

Following the traditions of the Kamakura style, which dates from the 12th century, the pebble river symbolizes flowing water and incorporates many natural features. From the headwaters located north of the Old Community Hall, the river winds through rapids, under two footbridges, gradually becoming more tranquil before emptying into the lagoon.

Mr. Sumi has taken an artist's care in placing the "Standing Stones" in the garden. These represent the skeleton of the garden. Careful consideration is used in their selection, placement and orientation.

The harmony between the gardens and other elements of the site: the fence, gates, sidewalks, footbridges and buildings is in careful accord with the mood, sentiment and Japanese temperament of the site.

Japanese gardens are intended as a retreat for secluded ease and meditation. In this spirit, we invite you to ponder and reflect upon the subtle beauty of these Gardens.

(NIMC Signage 1996)

The view opens to this large Japanese style garden with its array of local flora nestled amongst ornamental maple trees, rhododendrons and bonsai. A wide river bed of gravel lined with stones and small boulders sweeps your vision around the site from the restored internment shacks along a boardwalk to the large Kyowakai Hall which sits beside the Centennial Hall, then over a series of foot bridges, back to point of entry. A pebbled path guides you through the site. Along the way, thick benches hewn from large fir trees offer places to rest and vantage points with different perspectives over the garden.

In the beginning, the path first brings you to the "Visitor's Centre." Signs indicate that this building was once an internment shack.

Visitors' Reception Centre

The exterior of this building is typical of British Columbia Security Commission constructed dwellings for Nikkei internees. Although the fir shiplap siding has been weathered over time, the initial shrinkage which resulted from the use of "green" lumber is clearly evident. The interior of the structure has been completely renovated and modernized to serve the needs of the Visitors' Reception Centre.

(PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH THE FRAGILE EXTERIOR SIDING)

(NIMC Signage 1996)

1. Visitors' Reception Centre

The exterior of this building is typical of BC Security Commission dwellings built by Issei & Nissei internees. The interior has been completely renovated and modernized for visitors' use.

2. 1942-1944 Shack

This 14' x 28' shack typically housed two families with up to six children each. There were approximately 200 shacks in "The Orchard" area.

3. Outhouse

One outhouse served the needs of up to 50 people. They were divided by a central partition into a men's and a women's side.

4. 1945-1957 Shack

In 1957 the shacks in the Orchard were deeded to their Japanese Canadian residents by the BC government. This shack was occupied until the mid - 80's.

5. Peace Arch

The arch and the fence work together to represent peace and harmony. While the arch offers a bridge of welcome, the fence speaks of the links between the people of all nations. It is a replica of the Peace Arch that stood at the entrance to the New Denver Tuberculosis Sanatorium from 1943 to 1952.

6. Kyowakai Hall

This building was originally constructed in 1943 as a communal bath house, but was used instead as the social, political and cultural centre of the New Denver Nikkei community.

7. Centennial Hall

The exterior design of this building is reminiscent of traditional Japanese architecture. This hall was built in 1977 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the first Nikkei to arrive in Canada, Mr. Manzo Nagano. This building is not open to the public.

8. Fire & Water Displays

Fire bucket stands were strategically located throughout the area. They were the only fire fighting equipment available at the time of internment.

9. Heiwa Teien (Peace Garden)

This garden was designed by Mr. Roy Tomomichi Sumi, who worked for the Nitobe Memorial Gardens at the University of British Columbia. Mr. Sumi, a former Rosebery inmate, designed the gardens in the *Karesansui* (dried-up water scenery) style.

He used a "Past, Present and Future" theme in this unique Japanese garden.

Map 8: Map of the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre
(Source: Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre)

Inside, bright white walls and a tiled floor with access to public bathrooms make it a clean utilitarian space. Here workers greet you and offer brochures with a layout of the site and a description of its buildings. This is where you pay your entrance fee, ask questions, purchase post-cards and books on topics ranging from Japanese Canadian history, cooking and Japanese culture. There is an array of origami crafts on sale as well. The members of the Kyowakai Society fold colourful paper into these 3-dimensional constructions to raise funds for the centre.

From here, you follow the path through the garden to a series of restored internment shacks. All shacks are 14 feet by 28 feet. The brochure and signs indicate that shack #1 depicts the conditions from 1942-1944. You enter through a central room. This is where the small dark rudimentary kitchen is located: wooden sink, wood stove, table, chairs...To the left and right are rooms. Each housed a family with up to six children. The first room shows the conditions when Japanese Canadians first moved into the shacks. It is dark and bare: bare planks and a double plank bed with two wool blankets. A small window lets in a tiny square of daylight. The next room gives an example of how Japanese Canadians re-fitted the rooms. Like a carefully crafted storage box, wall shelves and bunkbeds re-organize the small room into separate spaces crammed with stuff: jars of beans, bedding, books, clothing, small pictures, all manner of everyday things. The walls are insulated with layers and layers of paper: whatever paper they could find, newspaper, magazines, envelopes, discarded cards. But no matter, in the deep of winter, with snow piled soft and thick, it was not possible to keep the icy cold out (Mori, Senya, Interview, September 5, 1996). The freeze would creep through spreading frost along the inside walls. Shack #2 is an example of the living conditions from 1945-1957, though the brochure notes that this shack was occupied as is until the mid-80s.

This shack is even more crammed with stuff, the stuff of living, accumulated and worn down by years of use.

One could spend hours in these small dark spaces, within the wooden walls leached with years of living poring over the details. But soon, you want to leave, to stumble out into the garden into an open space and fresh air.

Next the path takes up onto a board walk past a vegetable garden.

The Vegetable Garden

Vegetable gardens were planted by the Nikkei soon after their internment. The vegetables seen here display a variety of foods that were grown in typical gardens. The family garden provided fresh, nutritious and affordable food in a time of rationing. Internees also picked wild mushrooms "shitake" (sic) and fiddleheads from the surrounding forest.

(PLEASE DO NOT PICK THE VEGETABLES)

(NIMC Signage 1996)

And at the very back of the compound, over a double gate entrance way, is the peace arch.

The Peace Arch

The original Peace Arch, built by internees circa 1945, was situated at the entrance to the former Tuberculosis Sanitarium, present day Slocan Community Hospital and Health Care Centre.

The Arch and the fence work together to represent peace and harmony. While the Arch offers a bridge of welcome, the fence speaks of the links between the people of all nations.

(NIMC Signage. 1996)

You keep walking past a white plaster building, the Centennial Hall where the Kyowakai Society meets and holds its various functions.

Centennial Hall

This building was constructed in 1978 to serve the needs of the Kyowakai (working together peacefully) Society.

The exterior design of the building is reminiscent of traditional Japanese architecture. It was funded, in part, by the Province of British Columbia to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the arrival of the first Japanese in Canada, Manzo Nagano.

It now serves as a meeting place and is the hub of social and cultural activities for New Denver's Nikkei community.

(NIMC Signage, 1996)

This building is off limits to the public, but the next building, the Kyowakai Hall is open to the public. It is large barn-like building nailed over with tar paper, a long wooden shell with no insulation.

Kyowakai Hall

Constructed in 1943 by Nikkei carpenters, the Kyowakai Hall has long been the religious, political, social and cultural centre of the New Denver Japanese Canadian community.

Kyowakai Hall is a long serving Buddhist Temple. Locals practiced the "Jodo-Shinshu" form of Buddhism. The shrine features altar pieces from Vancouver's original Kitsilano Buddhist Church. The temple is still used on occasion.

The hall also served as the meeting place for the Kyowakai ("working together peacefully") Society. The all-men organization met regularly to discuss issues like living conditions and how to improve them.

This hall has seen many passages: Buddhist weddings, funerals and traditional Japanese festivals. Community gatherings such as theatrical and musical productions, dances, silent movies and banquets were also held here.

Kyowakai Hall now houses the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre Museum.

(NIMC Signage, 1996)

This is where the historical exhibit is housed. You have moved from the micro details of everyday living to this exhibit which places everything in the context of Canada at war. Archival photographs, artifacts, historical documents take you through a history of Japanese Canadians, focusing on the history of the New Denver internment camp. The exhibit is primarily a photo exhibit though it includes documents and artifacts that elaborate what can not be grasped by the visual images: rough blankets, travelling

clothes, luggage, small school desks, paper decorations, cloth dolls, notices to "Enemy Aliens" a wood stove and so on.

At the entrance, the double doors open to an enlarged photograph of a young woman with a girl of perhaps four years-old and a boy of maybe six amidst piles of luggage and lines of people. The woman, her head and shoulders bent forward, rumpling her cloth cut coat, seems to be desperately intent on pulling out what looks like identification or tickets as a non-Japanese Canadian man inspects their parcels. The girl with a tiny purse, princess coat, city shoes stands back-to-back with the boy in a tweed cap and coat. They clutch each other's hands. The only face you see is that of the girl: a small face that reflects the uncertainty and anxiety. The title block reads: "Intern: to Confine."

The next sections are organized into pre-war, war time and post war periods. The pre-war titles include: "The Pioneers" and "*Nisei*: Establishing Roots." The war time period includes: "Pearl Harbor" which presents newspaper articles and photographs that identify Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor in the United States as the catalyst for uprooting Japanese Canadians from the British Columbia coast line. This section also presents the great losses incurred by Japanese Canadians under the titles: "Confiscation of Property" and "Moved." Then there are a series of sections that describe life in the various camps. "The West Kootenay Valley" shows photographs and maps of various camps in this region. Next is a large map of Canada identifying all of the locations where Japanese Canadians were interned. This map has a brief description of each camp, including a photo. If you press an accompanying button, a red light indicates the location of the camp on the map. "First Home" has a photograph and actual example of the accommodations where the first internees stayed before the shacks were built: collapsed snow-covered tents. The section titled "The Buddhist Temple" and "New Denver

Tuberculosis Sanitarium" present photographs of two of what were among the most important institutions in the New Denver camp. Off in a side room there is a Japanese style wooden bath, a reference to the fact that this building was originally built to be a public bath house. "Survival" has several walls of photographs of camp life, mostly group pictures of various occasions such as graduations, community dances and entertainment and sports events. It also includes images of some of the few areas of local employment in sawmills, logging and local stores. In contrast, there are only a few photographs under the section, "Uprooted Again." This section depicts scenes during the final removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia as they were being sent to Japan or to central Canada. The post-war period includes "The Struggle for Redress" which briefly describes the redress movement and the final settlement reached with the Canadian government. The exhibit ends with an oval mirror titled: "Reflection."

To walk through the site would take a matter of minutes, perhaps ten minutes. But if you were to follow the signs, not necessarily reading all the text explaining the displays or examining every item on exhibit, it is supposed to take anywhere from forty-five to ninety minutes.

The amount of text used to explain the displays is minimal. You may have begun with the intent to 'read' the series of displays, gathering all the necessary information, not just facts and figures, but visual images as well, in order to comprehend "what-it-was-like." But there is only so much information you can absorb at once. At some point it all becomes overwhelming and you begin to selectively read text, scanning the photographs and artifacts. For some, what happens, is that they begin to make detours from the way the NIMC maps the past and begin to approach what is displayed on other terms.

interlude: return of the dead.

Mrs. Kay Takahara: Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda said that the [Buddhist] church itself is not a museum yet, it is still alive as long as the members are here. And that was the original agreement: when there is a church service everything, all the displays are moved aside (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Walter Benjamin: [Cult]value does not give way without resistance (Benjamin 1985: 225)

2. De-tours: Remnants of What-has-past

The buildings on site intensify the weather. I was there in the summer into the autumn. On a hot August day, the heat in these old buildings is stifling. As winter approached, it seemed colder within these buildings than outside. As you enter the darkness, there is the musty smell of old things that were once alive with the activity of everyday life. With each breath you now inhale their disintegrating airborne particles.

Inside, the Kyowakai Hall feels cavernous. There is no ceiling, just an endless open space that drifts up through the exposed wooden rafters. Track lighting and hanging light bulbs can not fill this building with light. But the wooden plank walls emanate a slightly amber glow. The photographs take on a surreal quality. This is not so much the case for the photographs that have become icons of the internment, the ones that are shown in every book on the history of Japanese Canadians. They act as familiar points: that mark the well documented aspects of the community's history, such as the confiscation of hundreds of fishing boats tied together in a mass of white hulls or the sea of bunkbeds for the hundreds of Japanese Canadians that were confined in the livestock buildings at Hastings Park waiting to be sent to unknown locations in the interior of British Columbia.

The surreal photographs are the personal snapshots of smiling youths, so much hope gleaming from their faces, lined up for their graduation photos in the midst of the muddy squalor of the camps. There are the shots of women performing snappy dance routines and actors caught in caricatured poses in the midst of traditional Japanese theatre pieces; stylish shots of New Denver's Big Band and baseball stars. All creating a semblance of their now-destroyed communities along the coast. Especially eerie are the rows of tiny girls in kimonos, heads ensconced in ornate head pieces, intensely looking at the camera, not a smile on their tiny painted lips. They stand in front of elderly male dignitaries by the rough barn-like Buddhist Church. And then there is the close up of the "first accommodations": a mass of tents collapsed under heavy winter snow. So little documentation, so few stories about life in the camps are accessible. And here, we are finally given a glimpse into this world. While many of these moments have been lost to words, the light they emitted was imprinted on film. Somehow they become immortalized, outside the changes of time.

The artifacts are different. They rot with time. Yet they convey a visceral quality that can not be conveyed by the photographs. The thick metal plate of the wood stove, now cold, is piled with a display of cooking utensils, wooden boxes and pots. The metal once expanded with the heat of burning fir split outside with the swing of a well-sharpened ax. Imagine the fire, roaring as it cracked through dry tinder, then maturing into the hum of glowing embers. Those dusty iron pots were once filled with steaming fragrant rice, glowing white in the dark squalid shacks. They were scrubbed every day, as a central part of whatever remained of family life.

Two pairs of tiny white nurses' shoes sit in front of a photo display of the Sanitarium. Scuffed, a little soiled, one pair has been carefully filled with tissue and the other, shoetrees so they will keep their shape. They lie on each side of a metal medical kit on which there is an arrangement of small thick glass vials, some with pills, and one in particular with one last dose of yellow liquid. Neither the shoes nor vials are pinned down, there is no adhesive nor protective Plexiglas to stop curious hands, the clumsy knock of an elbow. Instead they are open to being touched. The shoes are especially curious. Somehow their very tininess, the way they have been so carefully placed, toes neatly in line, emanates an aura. One dares not touch them. Once they were laced up every working day and eased off at the end of a shift, pliable from the moisture, heat and oils of feet, feet that once whisked briskly over the polished floor at the Sanitarium

The Kyowakai Hall also houses the Buddhist Shrine. But it is not displayed. Instead, text and photographs describe the shrine and present the history of the Buddhist Church in New Denver. But there it sits, behind sliding panels, outside of the view of visitors.

IV. Reading into Remnants of the Past

When I went to New Denver I had read books and interviewed people about 'what had happened' during the internment. But the pain, the grim nature of the past in this particular community was not apparent at first. But it slowly began to emerge. It was as if the valley was haunted. Most nights I was too afraid to sleep and was relieved when the sun finally rose in the morning melting away the darkness. There was some sort of presence that I could not see, but feel. Remnants of the past, whether the overgrown railway route from New Denver to Rosebery that *Nisei* use to walk on their way five miles into town and five miles back for school, supplies, to see relatives. The

deteriorating letters written in old style Japanese that fewer and fewer people could translate, began to give a vague shape to this presence.

1. Re-collecting Debris

In the summer of 1995, the rain was constant. Heavy clouds rolled in from the west over the Valhalla mountain range filling the valley with cool saturated air. Most days were spent inside the Centennial Hall knee deep in documents, wading through the details of daily life in the internment camp that was located on this site over fifty years ago. The largest collection of records that describes the camp is the property of the Canadian government. These documents are stored in the National Archives of Canada, thousands of kilometers to the east in Ottawa, Canada's national capital. Most of these records are from the files of administrators and government officials responsible for creating and implementing policies to deal with the "Japanese problem." There is everything from lists of building supplies; letters written by Japanese Canadian women requesting the release of their husbands or sons or fathers from prisoner of war camps; minutes of various government committees describing, for example, the logistics of sorting the so-called "loyal from the disloyal Japanese"; monthly RCMP reports on the health and conduct of internees; and petitions submitted by Japanese Canadians to protest the sale of their properties. There are also notable absences. For example, in the files for the different camps, there are no records listing the names of internees who died of what causes, who was born, who left the camps for where on what date and for what reasons, the names of who married, who was hired or fired or laid off by the British Columbia Securities Commission.

As I sorted through these records, rain melodically pattered outside, filling the garden with glistening tear drops. Locals, oblivious to my presence went about their daily business. The occasional tourist wandered by, peering out from the protection of mushroom-like umbrellas. Inside the dark, slightly dank smelling Hall, another world unravelled. Like debris caught in the changing of tides, the documents in this collection were the flotsam and jetsam of long past storm, its destructive fury still evident: bits and pieces torn from distant places, now adrift together in a jumbled mess. There were small bundles of personal letters written with the elegant flowing penmanship of the 1940s; odd scraps of paper with outlines of vegetable gardens plotted with colourful bursts of flowers; and sewing plans for fitted suits with impossibly tiny and impossibly large waist sizes scribbled on their margins. Then there were packets of mysterious

letters sent from addresses in Japan filled with flurries of small incisive kanji alongside makeshift length-of-a-wall scrolls listing personal donations made to New Denver's Buddhist Church on one of many special occasions.

This peculiar assortment spoke of a new configuration: a re-arrangement, a re-ordering. Together, not only the contents of these documents but their inscriptions -- the indecipherable but familiar kanji, the elegant English writing, the different textures and weights of paper, the density of ink -- embodied the styles of movement and thought from another world. It was a world generated from a fusion between different habits/habitués crossing the Pacific, a world enjoined through the process of expansion: through travel, new technologies and imaginary projections of-what-lay-yonder.

These letters, the gardening and sewing plans and the Buddhist scrolls -- were thread-like tendrils of a life-always-in-the-process-of-becoming, grasping towards a new environment, new conditions, new circumstances. Yet, this life-in-the-process-of-becoming was unravelling, in the process-of-being-torn-apart, ripped-out, becoming cut with pain and loss. An estranged, yet obsessive relation to what-was-happening-to-them surfaces in the masses of unidentified photographs someone took, showing different camps' living conditions. The same could be said of the scrap books full of carefully clipped newspaper articles reporting events which included the bombing of Pearl Harbour and the confiscation of their fishing boats. The insistent, briskly typed correspondence to-and-from the British Columbia Securities Commission protesting the way the government sold their properties and suspended their rights, contain a mix of disbelief and outrage. The painful loss they must have experienced resonates in the naively ironic choice of the items someone brought with them to the camp: a now musty 1937 edition of the *Illustrated London News* with articles on the coronation of Queen Elizabeth the II and piles of sheet music for the piano with stylish art deco covers.

Every now and then, an elder dropped by the Centennial Hall, startling me into the present. Alone or working silently with R., it was easy to be pulled towards the places-long-gone emanating from the wispy writing of old notes and letters, the typewriter-trails of letters pounded onto bonded paper, the click of a camera shutter capturing youths posing stylishly amidst the squalor of the camps. Whenever I was introduced to an older Japanese Canadian, I was reminded that these documents were now located in the present. It was disconcerting to read a set of personal papers and then several days later, recognize their owner, standing before me, fifty years older. No longer the young woman or man I imagined. Yet the acts of history recorded in these documents were printed into their living-lives today, into this village, the social relations, the silences as well as the friendships.

These were the remnants of the lives of thousands of people torn from their everyday worlds now either deceased or scattered throughout Canada and Japan. The priority now was to identify what was there. Yet in the face of these fragments, I felt the weight of all-that-was-not-there. From the recovered bits and pieces of everyday life it was impossible to put together exactly what had happened on this site. These fragments spoke of all that was absent and would never be recovered: of all that was destroyed, dismantled, forgotten and lost with each passage of an elder. But the project was not simply about loss and mourning. It was clear that the NIMC was not a project that would reconstruct the shattered world-in-transition of pre/wartime Japanese Canadians. Rather, the NIMC was a project that brought people together in a new configuration around what-had-happened as it continued to unfurl through the present. How and how to do this... (McAllister 1995)

2. Their Renditions: Rendering the Past Present

Once I began to interview the elders, they began to transform the remnants of the past into words, into stories. Some stories were told eagerly, others were told selectively. Then there were the stories that unfolded as they were teased out through gentle questions. During my stay in New Denver pieces of these stories would resurface in conversations over lunch, sometimes in a meeting or in someone else's account. Then there are the stories not yet told or that will be never told. These stories can sometimes be imagined, but disappear as soon as they come into focus, lodged somewhere between the edge of a word and one photograph of, for example, a somber looking man in his late 40s in a once stylish suit now battered on his weathered, thin body, suitcase in hand, leaving, leaving for where, leaving whom, left behind by whom we'll never know. At these moments one can sense not so much the presence, but the pressure, the weight of all that happened which would never be told.

What follows are excerpts of some of these stories. They suggest what I have described above as what will never be told: silences even in the most descriptive stories. There is a sense each story is loaded with more than ever can be told by the words alone. Yet in their stories the elders describe what they had to re-work in order to re-build their lives. They also identify traces of the pain, the humiliation, the struggles and the triumphs that were and remain to be scattered through their everyday lives.

Most of the accounts are excerpts from the interviews I conducted with the elders. I reconstructed Mr. Matsushita's descriptions of his experiences in the Hastings Park "Clearing Station" from one of our discussions. It is difficult to realize the nuances of their stories without hearing the rhythm of their speaking voices with the way they would pause or emphasize a word. It is hard to capture these nuances without seeing the way they embellished phrases with gestures or made references to photographs, letters, or items in their homes which were full of their visions of the past.

In order to provide a setting for the first account, I provide a descriptive context. Each account contributes to a context from which to read the next account. Thus it is not necessary to write a descriptive context for each one.

Mrs. Matsushita: We were some of the last people to leave Vancouver, my grandparents and myself. Everything was so quiet. You don't see anyone, you walk the street but you don't see, you know, your friends, the people you know, your family, your relatives. They are all gone this way or that way....

The RCMP came and said, it was a Thursday, and they said you go such and such a day which was the following Monday. Because my grandfather was sort of, not bedridden, but a semi-invalid, he had stroke a couple of times...and there would be a bed on that day so he could travel lying or sitting. Otherwise you'd have to travel sitting up all the way....

Beforehand you sort of prepare because you don't know when, when you, we were just told three days beforehand:...Friday, Saturday, Sunday. It was just -- I was just going in circles. My grandmother had a lot things, everything ready but even so. Even trying to get a friend to help, [my grandparents] being older people, a friend to help bundle up the belongings, it was very hard. There were not a lot of young people left...

You just keep wondering from week to week. You hear so and so has already gone, and so and so....from week to week or day to day, the RCMP will come around and say you have to go. Such and such a day, such and such a place (Matsushita, Sumie, Interview, August 15, 1996)

Powell Street in Vancouver was once an area of concentrated commercial activity with fish stores, bakeries, dry goods stores beside bathhouses, barbers, restaurants and tailors. Every morning the streets were swept clean. Japanese Canadians also lived in the houses and rooming houses lining the surrounding streets. Today, amongst the now run-down buildings, it is hard to imagine the busy tofu shops next to fish stores, bakeries exuding the fragrance of sweet bean and heavenly smell of freshly baked bread, soothing soaks in public baths. There would be arrivals and departures of many people. There would be groups of men arriving from or leaving for seasonal work, perhaps logging in northern British Columbia. There would be women from Japan who had travelled by ship across the Pacific Ocean to join husbands they had only met through letters. They would arrive bewildered in what appeared to them like a brutish uncivilized town. You could also see fashionable *Nisei* young women in platform shoes with hair styled in the latest perms along with *Nisei* men in loose fitting loose trousers, hair slicked back sauntering along the streets ready for the horizon of possibilities out of their parent's reach ((Kobayashi 1992(a); Japanese Canadian National Museums and Archives 1990).

In this context, each of Mrs. Matsushita's words are dense with imagery of a world that is no longer lived today. Loaded into the word "quiet" in the statement, "Everything was so

quiet" is the eerie silence that prevailed in Vancouver's once bustling Japantown along Powell Street, when the RCMP began to deliver notifications to "evacuate" to residents in Vancouver. In interviews with other Japanese Canadians living in Vancouver, the same eerie feel is described as their friends, neighbours, the shop owners down the street began to disappear. One day you would walk past a house that was filled with the clutter of kids and gardens and then the next day, it would empty.

Those waiting for their orders to leave usually were no longer employed. They lost their jobs as Japanese Canadian businesses closed or they were fired by their non-Japanese Canadian employers. This meant that they were running out of money to pay for food and rent. They also had to venture out to hostile non-Japanese Canadian neighbourhoods for food and supplies. Once Japanese Canadians left for the internment camps, Powell Street turned into a desolate deserted area with boarded up stores, empty boarding rooms, vacant parks.

Mrs. Matsushita: My mother and father, they were first in Popoff. They were living in the tent until towards the end of November. There was a mess hall for people when they first came to have their meals. Father was working there. But it was really hard for my mother because she wasn't really well. Because she had rheumatism and arthritis. And the cold weather. Because November of '42, we saw the snow -- snow already. By the end of November they were able to get the house in Bayfarm. But my grandparents and myself, we had, I think they used to call it a bunkhouse. They had rooms and in the middle of the building and a big kitchen. There were quite a few people. Everyone had to take turns cooking on the big stove....There was a big table where all the people could eat, but we ate in the room with our bunk bed (Matsushita, Sumie, Interview, August 15, 1996).

It is difficult to imagine what was involved in living in the bunkhouses and internment shacks. Mrs. Matsushita provides an image of the depressing conditions when she recounts how she ate her meals with her grandmother and semi-invalid grandfather in the

tiny dark room where there was just enough space for a bunk bed. She presents an image of them quietly eating their food in the cramped dark space as the noise of strangers sharing the bunkhouse passed through the thin walls filling their ears, as they methodically finished their meals.

Mrs. Matsushita: With so many people, and the little store we had in Popoff, there was always a line-up. You'd hear about vegetables coming to the store. It's the first time you have just half a cabbage, a quarter or half of a celery. In '42 there use to be some Doukhobors who would sell vegetables which helped a lot. And then when you hear, "Slocan City, there's something's coming in." Someone would say it and we'd all rush. And you'd have a good half an hours walk from Popoff to Slocan, yes a good half hour. It was so difficult getting things at the store. There was so many people there and the store was a small general store or grocery store. You'd hear someone say there was such and such a thing. But a lot of the time, by the time you rush there it'd be gone (Matsushita, Sumie, Interview, August 15, 1996)

The line-ups Mrs. Matsushita describes involved waiting in line with other distraught women and children sometimes for an entire afternoon for half a cabbage. If they were lucky enough to get half a cabbage, it would have to be shared with three to seven other people over a week. What sort of adrenaline rush would send each internee to dash two miles through the winter snow or mud and clouds of insects in the late spring, along the rough tracks to the next camp, with all the others on the chance that maybe you would be able to purchase not 'some' vegetables, but maybe half or a quarter of a vegetable?

Mr. Matsushita: There was always tension, an underlying unbearable tension. When you walked through the camp, the shack walls, they were so thin, with all of that tension, the husband and the wife, yelling at each other. You'd hear the screaming, crying, all the angry words. Everything about their personal life was out in the open. There was no privacy. There was so much anxiety, people were tense, there were conflicts. Anger. It was hard. No one knew if they were staying or going. The next day or the next week the RCMP could come and tell them to pack up and leave for eastern Canada. So no one had the heart to really fix up their shacks and make them nice. They would just have to leave it all behind

again, just like on the coast, except this time, they knew they would never come back (Matsushita, Shoichi, Personal Correspondence, July 21, 1996).

Mr. Matsushita: Finally I had to go into Hastings Park. They had me working as a carpenter in there before I got sick. One day some officials asked me to come with them. They took me to a stall, a stall for animals, and there was this young mother. She couldn't understand English, not a word. They had put her in isolation, in this horse stall because they suspected that she had scarlet fever. She was crying and crying, she was beside herself, in a panic. They had taken her kids from her. She didn't know what was happening, what they had done to her kids, what they were doing to her. She didn't know anyone, no relatives or friends, no one in Hastings Park, and there was over 2,000 people. It was like she was all alone in the world.

So they asked me to come interpret. I felt so helpless. There was nothing I could do. I wanted to help her, to find a way to comfort her, I would have done anything to help her. Even gone out to find whether there was someone who knew her, maybe there was someone still in Vancouver who hadn't been sent to the camps yet. I cried. But once they made the rule, it was hard to get permission to leave Hastings Park. Her husband, maybe he was in a road camp or a prisoner of war camp in Ontario. She didn't know where he was. She was all alone in the world. It sort of made a man out of me (Matsushita, Shoichi, Personal Correspondence, July 21, 1996).

Mr. Matsushita: Later, I got sick. I started coughing up blood. Yes, T.B. It was really bad. And as I told you before, I was left outside in a large doorway where there was a draft. They figured I wouldn't be living by the morning. But I sort of came back. Somehow and I was able to live through it. Always, always, no matter how bad things got. Each time I remembered what I promised my dad. To take care of all of my sisters, my mum. How would they survive if I died. The youngest one was only four. But making it through, still, at that time it was quite depressing for myself. My mother and sisters -- were in Kaslo. I couldn't cry to them. At the same time I lost my grandmother. My favourite grandmother Couldn't attend the deathbed. That made me ill. More so (Matsushita, Shoichi, Personal Correspondence, July 21, 1996).

Mrs. Inose: My best friend in the San, her TB was bad, she couldn't sit up so they had her lying flat on a bed. We were young then, both of us in the San with TB. She was always so cheerful and happy-go-lucky. There was a social at the San where the staff paired the guys and girls, sort of like double dates. The men came to visit us in our ward because we couldn't move. It was when I first met Sho. Celia and I were paired together with him and

another fellow and she kept talking, getting me to overcome my shyness. She was so kind and thoughtful, so full of life.

At the end of the war her parents decided to go to Japan, war-torn Japan. They didn't know it would pretty well be a disaster area with bandits, blackmail, starvation, towns leveled by bombing. They carried her away on a board, laying flat, onto the ship that took them down the lake, where a train took them to the coast, one more time to the coast, and then a ship to Japan. Didn't hear much more from her after that. I don't know what happened (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Mrs. Takahara: In Hastings Park, there was dysentery and food poisoning. Everyone was running to the bathroom. I think it was two or three times we had dysentery. I was there five months and then I had a notice to go to New Denver but that night my little boy Richard came down with chicken pox. All that time! He missed it the first time.

I was detained for two weeks, I was scared. My parents and everyone were going. [Richard and I were going to be left behind]. So my mother stayed behind with me. We were in an isolation ward, but it was just plywood, with a bunk bed inside. Whenever the kids would get up in their bed they'd talk with the kids on the [next stalls, who were also in isolation] so chicken pox, whooping cough, measles and mumps. It was all over. I tried to stay away from everybody.

And every so often there would be this smell, this fecal smell and I looked down under my bunk and there was a trough there. Every fifteen minute they flushed the toilet. It was a building for animals, so all the waste was thrown in there and run through: human waste.

But after two weeks we were ready to come to New Denver. [When we got there, it was all mud and shacks. I thought what is this? Where did they drop us!] Richard still had spots but was OK. We went over to Nelson Ranch. We didn't even have a stove yet. Two houses down, Mr. Niwa said, because you have a little boy -- we'll give you our stove....because we were making our food outside in a little fire, like camp. And then two days later Richard had meningitis. He had a convulsion and we rushed him over to the hospital -- Dr. said he was one in a million that came through (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Tad Mori: I [remember looking] at the clothes line [in Steveston and seeing], all those white shirts. We use to wear white shirts, you know. I thought, look at what mum has to go through every day [washing all those clothes]! So one day, I said, "I would like to have a sweat shirt, a grey one." [She asked,] "Why's that?" I said, "Oh, I'd like to have one." She says, "OK, you go get it."

So I tried to get a sweat shirt whenever I could. Less work for mum. I was nine years old! All that work for eight children, cooking, washing -- Oh my god --

And I haven't seen her since 1946.

She passed away in 1966.

Because in 1946, the government gave you a choice, either you go east or west. Mum says I got nobody out east so I am going back to Japan. She wants me to come home too. I said, "No way! I got job here and I am I going to work here. If I get any money, I'll send it back to you." But I never did. Because I can't, I was working for \$37.50 a month! Yes?

I said good-bye to her at Slocan Terminal, somewhere. And that was it. I haven't seen her since.

All the rest of my brothers and sisters came back. Three brothers and another sister went back with her to Japan. But I didn't...

She was 88 when she died, I hear. My brother Sam, he told me one day, he says, "I would have never have said this to anyone but today..." He was living in Osaka with our uncle, who was a minister. Everyday he comes from work, and aunty asks "Have you had enough to eat?" He says, "Oh yes." He tells me, "I thought I would never tell anyone, but today I have to tell you. One potato. [That's all I had to eat each day]" (Mori T., Interview August 23, 1996).

The fear, loss, confusion, the distrust and desperation, the humiliation, all of this is what is re-worked and re-made over the years, sediments of grief and hope, of determination and loss, permuting as it trickles through the years, the lives, of this village along the gravitational flow of the watershed. It is these stories, told, retold and told again and again, sometimes changing with every account sometimes remaining steadfastly the same in tone, word, gesture; perhaps half told, being too harsh to tell directly face-to-face so given a softer more open shape, under another guise, not an analogy but a parable of sorts; or maybe avoided, left out of words but still there in a glance or stuttered word.

V. Chronotopes and Memorials

Memorial: I understand this word differently now. The dictionary definition does not seem adequate.

memorial: *n* an object, institution, or custom established in memory of a person or event (often in *pl*) *hist* a statement of facts as the basis of a petition etc.; a record: an informal diplomatic paper. *o adj* intending to commemorate a person or thing. (Oxford Modern Dictionary 1996)

memorial: (adj.) commemorative; (n.) commemorative monument or object or custom, chronicle (usu. pl.) written representation made to authorities for or against some course, kinds of informal State paper (Oxford Modern Dictionary 1996).

commemorate: v.t. celebrate in speech or writing or by some ceremony; be a memorial of (Modern Oxford Dictionary 1996).

According to Maoz Azaryahu,

Commemorative monuments are intended by their builders to be constant reminders. Their goal is to turn the encounter with the monument into a sublime experience in which a segment of the collectively relevant past (a cultural construct) is recalled and celebrated. The monument is a traditionally prestigious commemorative vehicle which is endowed with authority concerning the past and reflects the power relations that prevailed at the time it was constructed. Moreover it embodies the link between history and geography, community and terrain, society and environment, culture and nature in the process of forming an identity between past and present (Azaryahu 1993: 84).

As an object, institution, custom or statement made to authorities or to celebrate, the word memorial always implicates a site, a location, and thus a materiality, and with materiality, a temporal dimension manifested in producing, proliferating, as well as decay, demise and death. James Young makes a distinction between conventional monuments and memorials. He states that we build monuments so that we will always remember and we build memorials so we will never forget. "Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance

and mark the reality of ends" (Young 1993: 3). As such, memorials can be understood as sites dedicated to the past tense: remembering what was, what happened. Memorials call our attention to particular events or persons that have passed away yet which we have not let fall into the disorder of the past.

Insofar as we build conventional memorials so we will "never forget," they bring forth elements of the past and reconstitute them as part of the present in a way that transcends our individual mortality. By using Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope, it is possible to elaborate this position. If the chronotope is the spatial materialization of particular temporal orders, then memorials are distinct from our everyday chronotopes. But their temporal orders operate in conjunction with the ongoing changing temporal orders of everyday life, of 'normal time.' They work in relation to the everyday social landscape as if it were a text through which they can fix certain elements as significant. There is a structural relationship to the site of a memorial and the surrounding landscape. The memorial can mark a site where something happened or it can present a vista or vantage point that embodies the perspective of a historically significant explorer of a historically significant view, for example, of a town centre or agricultural region. As such, the memorial orients the viewer in a particular manner to what is 'in-view.'

Memorials beckon us to stop, to enter a space -- a moment circumscribed as outside of our everyday temporal zone -- and reflect on the passage of particular events and people. The proper attitude is one of awe, appreciation, sorrow or shame -- feelings that open us to a presence, to forces beyond our everyday selves. Because memorials embody phenomena that go beyond our mortal individual lives, it does not matter if neither you nor I or the next passerby in their minivan partook in the events or knew the persons. Memorials work to re-orient our understanding of the past, or more specifically, re-work

our somatic-emotional configuration in relation to the past. The past here becomes all of those cumulative moments that brought each one of us to where we stand now, our feet or prosthetics implanted on this site. All these past moments are reorganized around what the memorials signify as key events or persons. The significance of this new configuration of 'moments' reaches beyond the significance of our personal lives both in the instance when we visit the memorial and back through time.

The memorials attempt to reconstitute us in particular collective experiences, defining the nature of what is "we." They identify our collective foundations. And insofar as they are exemplary, exemplifying a good or heroic deed, a terrible suffering and loss, the beginning, ending of what-is-was -- they orient us towards the future. This structures our everyday ongoing changing world in relation to the past and the future.

Placed outside of the temporal zone of everyday life, there is an intent to make the memory of the event or persons impervious to the forces of time. There is a privileged form of remembering that can be understood as an attitude.

attitude: n. Posture of body: settled behaviour as showing opinion...way of thinking (Pocket Oxford 1976).

The memorial is carefully tended so this attitude, this comportment, configuration of self as part-of-a-we, does not erode, wear down, so it does not change. This is deeply paradoxical. Human energy and resources must be deployed to keep 'time still', stopped, free from the momentum of entropy (Young 1993: 47). Embodied in the energy and resources to 'keep time still' is the transitory existence -- the mortality -- of individual workers, their communities and social organizations that maintain the memorials. It is

through the expenditure of work that the memorials can appear to be free from the erosion of normal time.

If any changes are made to a memorial, they usually are made to realize the specifications and spirit of its original design. To alter their original form is equivalent to tampering with the transcendental order of the world. The point here is that any changes that are made to memorials are not in accordance with the logic and forces of everyday life. In contrast to plans to create a public garden or renovate the local library memorials attempt to defy rather than harness the forces of growth, birth and decay. No doubt, over time, significant changes will occur, visible changes and changes underlying 'the visible' in the organizational structure of maintenance, responsibility to conform to set codes, standards, resources affecting the site. Moreover, the effort to keep the memorial free from forces of time will vary, or wither, or be incorporated into the struggle to constitute different 'we's.

As such, any memorial can not simply be built on any site. Not every group has the authority to configure a particular landscape around its particular rendition of what events have shaped the present and should direct us towards the future. Even memorials endorsed by local or national governments can be the target of public protests or vandalism: whether to desecrate the 'living memory' of certain groups or to protest the glorification or misrepresentation of particular events and persons (Young 1993: 195). Moreover, even seemingly apolitical, benign memorials, for instance the Terry Fox memorial in Ottawa, or for that matter public art projects, can be the subject of controversy insofar as they occupy a specific public space, with certain public spaces having more prestige as well as use-value than others. And even if there is a consensus

with regard to building a memorial in a particular location, the design of the memorial brings up yet other controversies (Young 1993: 306, 325).

Memorials that mark the sites where particular events occurred draw on what Walter Benjamin refers to as the "aura" of those events as they are embedded in the geographic configuration of those sites, using them, in a sense, to consecrate that site. This differs from memorials that draw their resonance from bringing the act of collectively remembering to a special site, such as the Vietnam Wall in Washington D.C. (Berdhal 1994). This memorial draws people geographically scattered across the United States (and elsewhere) to the nation's capital, endowing the act of remembering the Vietnam War with national significance. Its aura is based and grows from the concentration of mourning, re-membering and reflection there. In contrast a memorial that marks the site of an event evokes a resonance by virtue of marking that site, whether or not large numbers of people travel to the memorial to remember the event.

The quality intrinsic to a memorial is its aura. While like museums, memorials recall past events, constituting a specific entity by recalling its history, whether political jurisdiction, such as a town or nation or field of activity, such as science or dress-making, museums do not rely on the aura of a site for their authority. Their objects must be authentic, but these objects or even replicas of the objects can be moved to other sites and rearranged into a variety of exhibits. This makes them more prone to mechanical reproduction and the complicit knowledge: knowledge that dissects, a way of seeing characteristic of the surgeon, the photographer. Yet with the passage of time in contemporary society, aura can "decay." As Young argues, "in its linear progression, time drags old meanings into new contexts, estranging the monument's memory from both the past and the present, holding truths up to ridicule in present moments. Time

mocks the rigidity of monuments, the presumptuous claim that in its materiality a monument can be regarded as eternally true, a fixed star in the constellation of collective memory" (Young 1993: 1947).

Is the NIMC trapped in the paradox of conventional memorials? In order to mark the changing landscape of the Slocan Valley with the Japanese Canadian history of internment, as a memorial, does the NIMC seek to appear to remain outside of normal time?: outside of the erosion of social and ecological time that constantly transforms the surrounding landscape. In seeking to appear to be free from the erosion of time, will the NIMC resist change and as a result, will the movement of linear time leave the NIMC behind as a dated relic? This dissertation describes the way in which the elders in New Denver have incorporated the NIMC into their social life not a static marker of the past, but as a catalyst for change.

VI. Conclusion: What Can Not Be Definitively Represented

This chapter underlines the importance of what precedes an account: the unpredictable, irreducible morass of 'what-has-passed' as it is worked over with previous accounts, changing traditions and recent activities. While 'what-has-passed' can be *embodied* in particular phenomena, landscapes and so on, it can not be *represented*. It is impossible to represent what-has-passed in the intensity and complexity of its entirety. Yet this does not mean that as social beings we are not compelled to *attempt to* represent it in our struggles to make sense of our experiences. If we give authority to this morass of what-has-passed, we acknowledge that no account can be complete unto itself.

All this speaks of something that cannot, in its totality, its intensity, its fabric of interconnections be represented. New Denver as a site of internment has an aura, insofar as the intrinsic quality of the site of the New Denver internment camp is tied to its location in a specific time and place, with a history rendered through the activities, the lore, the changing traditions of that place through time. It is something that is present, but remains obscured from an encompassing all knowing omniscient view. It retains an authority over the representation of the internment in films and books.

This site is an accumulation of the debris of living, now grown over with fine grasses. But it is far from an idyllic site. Its nightmares are not contained in the past. They resurface and transform, as will be shown in the next chapters, causing conflicts and new alliances. But as we dig through its layers, attempting to penetrate its mysteries, driven by the lore that constitutes our socio-emotional assemblages, we begin to disassemble what we sought, piecing together fragments in a new logic: this is the decay of aura yet it is also the point of departure for generating a new understanding. If only we can continue to acknowledge that no matter how much data or how many artifacts we unearth, we are unable to completely decipher the ongoing changing morass of the past, then maybe the aura as it is embedded in the significance to those who experienced this site as a site of internment, as the violent rearrangement of their lifeworlds...we might be able to learn how Japanese Canadians in New Denver have initiated projects to re-build their communities, laying the grounds for a new lifeworld that is oriented towards the other in relations of trust and hope rather than suspicion and hostility. What I want to unearth and evaluate are the schematas underlying the efforts to dig through the past and re-present it as a shifting history that gathers people together across lines of alienation and division in relations of mutual respect.

Chapter 3

Continuity and Change: An Account from the Perspective of the Elders

I. Introduction

This chapter examines the how the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) has reconfigured the social and political relations in the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. In particular, I focus on how the NIMC has reconfigured one of the community's main social institutions: the Kyowakai Society. I argue that from the perspective of the elders, the NIMC represents a small episode in the many changes that their community has undergone over the years.

The chapter begins by discussing the methodological difficulties involved in constructing an account from the perspective of the elders. I describe how there are many different versions of the how the NIMC 'developed.' Each implicitly makes a statement about what the NIMC 'is': a tourist site, a museum, a pilgrimage site or a community venue. I argue that there is a privileged 'reading' of the NIMC. A privileged reading of the NIMC favours the dominant version which constitutes it as a tourist site, and in particular, as a museum. I describe how, as a sociologist attempting to trace the 'development' of the NIMC, my tendency is to apply sociological methods that reproduce this privileged reading. Given that the NIMC 'as it appears,' 'fits' my presuppositions about the configuration of the built environment, it is necessary to actively search for alternative readings. This is difficult because, for example, the readily available documentation of the NIMC, including the NIMC's files and local newspaper articles, do not recognize the NIMC as anything other than a museum. There are only a few traces in these documents that reveal that the NIMC has incorporated the elders' main community venues into its

compound, what now operates as a museum that is open to the general public.

To learn how the elders view the NIMC in relation to the many changes that their community has undergone over the years, I draw on my interviews with them. Yet, I am aware that these 'first hand accounts' will not in themselves offer me an alternative reading of the NIMC. My position as an 'outsider' with a particular research agenda will predispose me towards a particular reading of their descriptions and assessments of the NIMC.

In order to highlight the fact that this chapter presents a particular construction of the elders' views, a construction that is structured by certain presuppositions and intentions, I present my construction as an 'account' rather than 'the history of the NIMC,' which is what I had initially intended to 'reconstruct.'

II. Methodological Limitations

1. Problems with History

When I left New Denver, I had boxes filled with field notes, photographs, tape recorded interviews, clippings from local newspapers and copies of documents from the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre's files. With all of this material, I presumed that one of the easiest tasks once I returned to Ottawa would be to 'reconstruct' a short history of the NIMC to provide a context for my study. I thought it would be a matter of selecting the relevant information and fitting it together into the sequence of events which led to the NIMC as it appears today. But sifting through this material, I realized that there were many different versions of how 'it-all-happened,' my own included. Each version had a

different conception of 'what' the NIMC 'was': whether a tourist site that brought in revenue to local businesses; a museum that preserved local history; an educational centre that informed the general public about the violation of rights experienced by a local group; a memorial for Japanese Canadians scattered across Canada; or a community venue for the local Japanese Canadians.

The privileged reading of the NIMC, as I have discussed in *Chapter 2*, and argue throughout this dissertation, constructs it as a tourist site and in particular, as a museum. This reading conforms with the way that the NIMC 'appears,' as it has been discursively constituted in our built environment.

From the outset, in principle, I had intended to privilege the Japanese Canadian elders' version of the NIMC's 'development.' I wanted to learn what they envisioned when they initiated the project, whether their conception of the project changed over time, what were their roles in the various stages of the project and the extent to which the construction and operation of the centre has affected their community.

While I intended to privilege the version of the elders, I found that my lack of familiarity with the local community as well as my sociological training presented barriers to apprehending their versions. My past experience working on Japanese Canadian community projects, and in particular, working with elders on an oral history project in Vancouver, did not sufficiently prepare me for the research I would conduct in New Denver. Because the Japanese Canadians in New Denver were permitted to remain in New Denver after the internment camp was closed in 1945, unlike most other communities in Canada, their institutions are based on pre-war and war-time institutions.

I had some sense of the complicated protocols and relations involved in these institutions but was still familiar with the community's unique social formation. In addition, over the last two years, since the opening of the NIMC, the elders were "taking it easy."

Exhausted from the upheaval that their community underwent during the construction of the NIMC, they were more focused on their families and homes when I arrived in New Denver. In this context it was difficult to identify how the elders had or had not incorporated the NIMC into their social practices and relations.

Conventional sociological research methodologies did not help me in this regard either. Because I had decided to make the 'object of inquiry' the NIMC rather than the local Japanese Canadian community,¹ there were several ways I could approach my study. Each approach required me to categorize the NIMC as a particular type of sociological entity -- specifically, as a particular type of cultural institution -- and locate it in a particular field of study. For example, I could have conceptualized the NIMC as a museum, a tourist site or a memorial. As I argued in the introduction to this dissertation, these fields of study do not examine how various communities incorporate these institutions into their various fields of activity.

Moreover, the extent to which the conventional sociological approach has been institutionalized in the ongoing discursive constitution of the built environment was revealed in the way I unconsciously used it to quickly put together 'the development' of the NIMC. Before I arrived in New Denver, I had established that in the first stage of development, the Kyowakai Society had decided to build a memorial to mark the site of the former internment camp in New Denver. When the Kyowakai Society began to apply

---

¹ By studying the NIMC, I could focus on learning what the local Japanese Canadian community had to teach others about collectively remembering the past as opposed to trying to observe and document 'the community' which would have felt voyeuristic given my status as an 'outsider.'

for funding, they realized that they needed a more 'professional' proposal. They hired one of the local historical restoration contracting companies, Robert Inwood and Associates, to write their proposal. With this proposal, they secured the majority of their funding. A brief scan of documents at the NIMC confirmed that the majority of the funding for the \$500,000 project was secured from the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation of Japanese Canadians, the provincial government's British Columbia Heritage Trust, the Vancouver Foundation,² private donations and donations in kind. Government employment programs, including the B.C. 21 Program and the Social Services' Employment Initiative Program, provided the most of the wages for the employees.

Once the NIMC's funding proposal was favorably reviewed by the organizations providing the majority of their funding, the Kyowakai Society hired a Project Manager to coordinate the project. They hired a local contractor, Ken Butler, who had experience in historical restoration projects. He implemented the blueprint that the consultants had created in the NIMC's funding proposal. He was responsible for coordinating everything from fund-raising, hiring employees and installing the centre's electrical system to creating the historical displays and aiding Mr. Sumie, the 'master gardener,' in his creation of the centre's Japanese garden. Butler hired a construction crew and carpenters to build the centre and restore the NIMC's historical buildings. He hired an archival consultant and several assistants to research the history of the internment camp in New Denver and create the NIMC's historical displays. At an administrative level, Butler reported to the Kyowakai Society on a monthly basis, presenting a summary of the project's finances and describing the project's progress. The project took two years to construct. After its completion, the Kyowakai Society maintained control over its

---

² The Vancouver Foundation is an independent organization based in the City of Vancouver which is dedicated to supporting the arts and culture.

administration and seasonal operation. With government grants, the Centre hires two to three students to run the centre from May to September each year. In the first year of operation there were 2,000 visitors.

This summary of the NIMC's development did not provide many insights into how the elders in New Denver had incorporated the NIMC into their social life. When I conducted a more thorough examination of the 'data' I had collected, including media reports, interviews and NIMC documents, it became evident that this material reproduced the construction of the NIMC as a venue built for and sustained by revenue generated from the general public. This material did not recognize the NIMC as a community venue.

To learn the extent to which the NIMC could be considered a community venue, I had the option of restricting my analysis to the interviews I conducted with the elders. But it was easier to acquire the type of information required to sociologically 'reconstruct' a 'history' of the development of the NIMC through the 'official sources,' such as the documents I had been given permission to copy from the NIMC's files. In contrast to the interviews, these 'official sources' provided information that included dates, names of donors, some of the requirements imposed by funding agencies, descriptions of the responsibilities designated, for example, to the Project Manager and archivist.

But it would not be possible learn about the way that the elders incorporated the NIMC into their social life with this 'data.' This pointed to a more fundamental problem. The source of the problem was not so much the 'data,' as the conventional sociological approach I was unconsciously employing. From the very start, it was problematic to

assume I could 'reconstruct' a 'history' of the NIMC. To reconstruct the NIMC's history, I would have had to identify the NIMC's beginning and traced all of the relevant events that contributed to the development of what appears before us today as the NIMC. The fundamental problem with this approach is that it begs a question: development of 'what,' with the 'what' already being presupposed. We start with a preconception of 'what it is' that we are reconstructing rather than questioning 'what is it?' In this way, 'reconstructing' 'the history' of social events or objects is not so much a matter of tracing the formation of particular social phenomena as constructing social phenomena in terms of what we have already presupposed 'they-are.' The very effort to 'reconstruct' 'the history' of an event or object obscures how the act of 'reconstructing' an event contributes to its social construction. The act of 'reconstructing' 'the history' of an event assumes that there is one main line of development that has culminated in the object as we see it today. 'Reconstructing' a history functions to constitute the existence of the object of inquiry within the terms of what has been institutionalized as social reality.

In particular, utilizing 'stages of development' to organize data in order to formulate how the object of inquiry came into existence constitutes it within the terms of what has been institutionalized as social reality. The process of 're-constructing' the 'stages of development' locates the object of analysis in relation to various groups and institutions. It locates its 'place' in the social order. Using this approach, in the case of the NIMC, I would have focused my examination (and in many cases did!) on the manner in which, for example, local historical organizations, advocates of the tourist industry and Japanese Canadian organizations were involved in the design of the NIMC. For example, in order to 'reconstruct' the initial stages of development, I would have been compelled to ask whether the funding agencies required the NIMC to adhere to certain criteria and enter

certain agreements with other local museums.³ This would have situated the NIMC in the same field of activity as the local museums. It would have been important to inquire whether Japanese Canadian researchers or academics were consulted in the creation of the historical displays. This would have located the NIMC in relation to the efforts to further build a field of studies focusing on Japanese Canadian history. I could have also investigated the mandates of the funding agencies to identify whether they were concerned with heritage, education or multiculturalism to examine the extent to which the NIMC was organized in relation to the standards and criteria of these fields of activity.

Unlike Merleau Ponty's phenomenological approach (1994), this approach has a limited ability to examine self-reflexively how phenomena 'come into existence.' This approach fails to recognize that the manner in which phenomena 'come into existence' is not a matter of simply proceeding through 'stages of development' that inevitably lead to one end result. For something to 'come into existence' we must socially constitute it from the forces and relations of our environments. As I explained in *Chapter 1*, according to Merleau-Ponty, there are certain things rather than others that become figures in our perceptual fields because they 'already have a significance' (Merleau-Ponty 1994: 29-30). Other events or objects may be present in our everyday worlds or they may be present in new settings but we may not perceive them because, in the context of our past experience, we have not encountered them before.

The conventional sociological approach overlooks the extent to which there is nothing

---

³ For example, the NIMC had to enter an agreement with the Langham Cultural Society in Kaslo agreeing that they were supportive of each other and would attempt to work together "and their respective projects would not detract from each other in terms of fundraising and/or duplication of public service" (NIMC 1992).

inevitable about the process by which something comes into existence. One stage does not necessarily lead to whatever we retrospectively construct as the next stage. Nor is there anything a priori about the existence of some 'thing.' Whether or not something 'exists' -- is socially recognized as a phenomenon -- for one group but not for another, is a matter of them recognizing that it as something that 'exists,' where to 'exist' involves either fitting into or challenging the categories of things that they already 'agree exists' within their particular social order.

I needed another method to conceptualize the process by which phenomena 'come into existence' through a broad series of activities, infrastructure and concerns which, due to a contingent event or events -- such as the active intervention of an individual or group -- end up interlocked into a new network of activity that are subsequently recognized as distinct social events. So, for example, I would identify the following as some of the activities and events that fed into a new network of activity that we today recognize as the NIMC. In the West Kootenays there is a network of activity around the preservation and public presentation of the history of primary industries, specifically, local mining and logging histories. Some of the sites of these activities include local museums; plaques and signs marking historical points of interest; the restoration of turn of the century commercial buildings, town sites and infrastructure like sternwheeler ships and forest fire lookout towers. As well, there are publications on the history of the region which range from tourist pamphlets and maps to books and oral histories. In addition, certain groups, notably the Doukhobors, have sought to preserve their social histories in the region, specifically their experiences of persecution by building the Brilliant Cultural Centre in Castlegar.

Contributing to the increasing prominence of 'history preservation' in this region has been a shift in the region's economic activities. As the demand for wood and various ores fluctuates on the world market and current methods of extracting local resources increasingly deplete their supply and sustainability, there has been a shift from primary industries like logging and mining to tertiary industries such as tourism, outdoor recreation and holistic healing. This shift is not just market driven. Local environmentalists and village councils have joined together to protest against, for example, logging methods encouraged by the provincial government that destroy local watersheds and thus their water supply and the stability of the surrounding mountain slopes. As well, this shift reflects the interests of various groups who have settled in the area whether their interests lie in New Age lifestyles, in skiing and rock climbing or in green politics. Provincial and federal grants, employment creation programs and regional bylaws have also supported cultural projects including history preservation projects, events at local art galleries, festivals and the restoration of commercial buildings with 'historical value.'

Activities that began to bring the past experiences of Japanese Canadians forth from the taken for granted everyday world into the public arena included the Asian Canadian movement in the 1970s and the movement for Japanese Canadian redress in the 1980s. These movements compelled increasing numbers of Japanese Canadians to revisit the sites where they were interned. Over the years, the stream of Japanese Canadian visitors seeking a connection to their past underlined the significance of the experiences of internment for Japanese Canadians in New Denver. At the same time, as they aged and the younger generations left for education and employment opportunities in larger urban centres, the remaining Japanese Canadians realized that once they passed on, no one

would be left to share what had happened in the camps with others.

The idea of building something to commemorate permanently the internment of Japanese Canadians in New Denver was not surprising given the efforts of other groups, notably the Doukhobors, to 'preserve local history.' A variety of these contingent factors locked together these networks of activity centered around history preservation, the redress movement and funding for regional development into what we see today as the NIMC. This also included the availability of the person they hired as the Project Manager. With his experience restoring historical sites in the region, he conceptualized the NIMC as one of the many tourist sites that linked small villages throughout the Kootenays together in a route that would bring revenue to local businesses (Butler, Interview, September 19, 1996). If he had not been available and someone else had been hired with experience building community centres for marginalized groups, she or he might have drawn on other networks of activity and secured funding with criteria that specified that the NIMC had to develop cultural programs that involved the elders and visiting Japanese Canadians in mini-projects to produce stories about the internment camp in New Denver. Another contingent factor was that local *Sunsei*, who felt strongly about enforcing the vision of the elders, were working on projects in other vicinities. Thus they did not become involved in the project until just before the official opening when the Project Manager asked them to take over the responsibility for setting up the historical displays. If they had been involved from the beginning perhaps the historical displays would have provided a more detailed description of the internment camp in New Denver from the perspective of the elders.

By identifying the limitations of using a conventional sociological approach, I am not

arguing that the attempt to 'reconstruct' how various 'events' happened is invalid. The 'activity' of 'reconstructing' how things happened is essential for organized social life. Our ability to live our lives with some semblance of stable order where we can coordinate our activities with others depends on our belief that we cannot only predict, but also assume, how things will happen. By 'reconstructing' how various events, entities or phenomena came into 'existence' and identifying what made them the way they are, we construct a stable image of reality from which we can ascertain patterns that help us predict what will happen in future situations. For example, we can predict the 'repercussions' or 'results' of various courses of action and we can form expectations about the way an individual or organization will respond or act in particular situations. We begin to assume things will happen in particular ways after we repetitively experience them in the same manner over time. We begin to take it for-granted that this is the way they will occur in the future. If everything is uncertain and unexpected, we would live in chaos and thus be unable to 'plan,' for example, to build structures, whether paths, tents, mansions, hydro electric dams, cornfields, parkas or felt lined winter boots that would adequately integrate our activities with the socio-physical environment that we inhabit.

My point is not that it is invalid to make the effort to 'reconstruct' events. I recognize that reconstruction is a particular type of activity. Rather my point is that 'reconstruction' is an activity that constructs events by incorporating them into different fields of activity. It is *re-construction* insofar as we *retrospectively* construct an event after it has already come into existence, after it has been recognized as 'something in particular' or as Merleau-Ponty would claim, it has become a figure in our perceptual field. But it is 'construction' insofar as it situates whatever is being reconstructed in a particular social

context: it makes sense of the phenomenon in relation to the particular social order that constitutes a part of our everyday reality. This means that what we identify as a particular phenomenon could be something different or even non-existent to various groups of people. Here I am not claiming that events, relations and objects exist only in as much a group of people recognize their existence. Rather I am claiming that the manner in which certain events, relations and objects are incorporated into a group's social life depends on how they do or not construct it. In other words, various groups integrate the phenomenon into their activities in different ways.

The conventional sociological approach leads us to assume that we are retrospectively 'reconstructing' something when we are really constructing what we already assume it is. As such, we end up reproducing the dominant configuration of the social world. I have argued thus far that the NIMC fits into the way-we-already-know-the-world: as a museum. This makes it difficult to relate to it as anything else. As such, when I began my research while I recognized that the local Japanese Canadian community was involved in the operation of the NIMC, I regarded it primarily as a historical centre built to educate the public. It was only when I began to become involved with the local Japanese Canadian community that it was something much more complex and less certain.

2. A More Accountable Approach

The conventional approach to describing the events that culminated in the NIMC as we see it today, would be to write a history of the NIMC. In order to make it explicit that my description is one among many possible versions, I have decided to formulate my

description in terms of what Jonathan Potter refers to as a "factual account." Potter is concerned with efforts to make factual descriptions about 'reality.' A factual account is an explanation that conveys a certain version of events. It attempts to reconstruct something that supposedly occurred in an effort to establish the way things happened: the way the world is (Potter 1996: 111).

In contrast to 'history,' the term "factual account" underlines the specificity of its production. Factual accounts are constructed. To produce a factual account, details are selectively re-collected, solicited and then re-assembled. Such an account is constructed by someone or some organization in order to explain something. As an explanation, a factual account assumes there is a *need to explain*. The need to explain indicates that the person or organization constructing the account perceives, for example, that there is a lack of understanding, a misunderstanding, a need to reinforce or change the prevailing understanding. It foregrounds the social relations underlying the construction of the account. It brings up questions of 'who needs to explain what' and 'why they need to explain it to whom.'

In addition, there is always somebody or some organization who is inferred in the delivery of the factual account to someone else or some other formal social body. Whoever or whatever organization constructs and delivers the factual account responds to the situation where it will be delivered. Each situation is structured with various stakes, expectations and assumptions (Bakhtin 1987: 280). The ability of the individual or organization to negotiate these stakes, expectations and assumptions depends on their facility with the medium or media through which the factual account is constructed. For example, the factual account may be constructed informally in an interactive oral

interchange between social acquaintances or it may be constructed in a written testament presented to experts concerned with the legal ramifications of accepting or rejecting the factual account.

On the one hand, an approach that reveals the way that supposedly factual descriptions and in particular, histories, are constructed lends itself well to the task at hand: to destabilize the perception of the NIMC as a museum and examine it as part of the process of community formation. On the other hand, aware, or perhaps, self-conscious that my efforts to produce an account from the words of the elders are still lurking with misconceptions, I wanted to highlight the constructed nature of my own account. If I formulate my description of the NIMC in this chapter as a factual account, it becomes my particular version of the way that the elders have described the formation of the NIMC in relation to the ongoing changes in their community. As my version, I can take responsibility for misconstruing or clumsily representing the accounts of the elders.

What follows is a particular construction of why and how the NIMC was built. It does not assume to be the only version of what happened. It underlines that at a fundamental level what we acknowledge 'to exist' or 'what happened' is under question. Whatever account is accepted bears on the current social configuration, and in particular, how people situate themselves, or are situated in relation to others.⁴

---

⁴ For instance, consider how the configuration of activities and relations that constitute the NIMC would differ if the organization operating it regarded the centre, for example, as a series of exhibits that generated revenue from tourists. If this was the case, perhaps the organization would attempt to incorporate multi-media displays and include more 'Oriental' themes. If they regarded the NIMC primarily as a way to correct the public misconceptions about why the government interned Japanese Canadians, the exhibits might attempt to use more mechanisms to deconstruct the basis for negative stereotypes of Asians. In addition, the Japanese garden might not have been included. Or if they regarded it as a memorial site where people could gather to reflect on the repercussions of the internment perhaps they would have encouraged the development of symbolic, less literal depictions of the internment, for example, that might include a landscaped site or monument.

III. Constructing an Account

1. The Objective of the Inquiry

I now turn to the accounts that the Japanese Canadian elders shared with me. From their accounts, I have assembled my own factual account of how the NIMC was formed. I constructed my account to address the problematic of this dissertation, though it is undoubtedly infused with unconscious drifts and various habitual orientations of thought. To establish whether the NIMC has facilitated the ability of Japanese Canadians living in New Denver to collectively remember their past it is necessary to examine how the elders have integrated the NIMC *into their activities*. This chapter gives an account of how the elders relate to the NIMC as a community venue, a process indicated by the extent to which they discuss the activities of the NIMC in terms of community formation: the extent to which it embodies the changing configuration of their social relations. In particular, I describe how the process of constructing the NIMC has facilitated changes in leadership within the community both in terms of generation and gender.

2. Assembling the Accounts

The following account of the NIMC is informed by the interviews I conducted with elders, *Sansei* and project workers who were involved in the NIMC. As well, I draw on discussions of the History Preservation Committee meetings I attended and individual discussions I had with the chair of that committee. This account is constructed primarily from the texts of transcribed interviews that I conducted with three elders, though I also occasionally draw on the transcripts of my interviews with other elders.

Constructing an account was a very difficult process. I was aware that it was possible to misread what the elders had shared with me. I was also aware of the difficulty of presenting their views in a way that conveyed the complexity of their statements and gestures in a respectful manner. I found the process of translating spoken protocols and decorum into written text challenging. At the same time, I realized that perhaps in my hesitance to 'interpret' their accounts, I was not recognizing the agency of the elders in the interviews. They were skilled at interviewing. For example, they were aware of what they wanted me to record and how they wanted it documented. They would instruct me to turn off the tape recorder when they wanted to tell me something they did not want recorded; forewarn me about what types of questions were not appropriate; indicate when they were ready for breaks; present well-developed narratives and stories; and identify what they felt was important information that should be recorded. They had developed these skills over a long period. During and after the redress movement, the elders were interviewed often by journalists, oral historians, school children, filmmakers and other researchers. Some have given public presentations on their wartime experiences.

One of the main concerns for me as a *Sansei* was how to represent the elders respectfully. Not only did I need to find a way to convey the complexity of what the elders shared with me, but I also had to make decisions about 'revealing their identities.' While everyone, with the exception of one elder, had signed consent forms stating that it was permissible to use their names in conjunction with the information that they had shared with me, and while they had all read the description of my project and my personal background -- which the Kyowakai Society had distributed before I arrived in New Denver -- I still had to consider whether it was appropriate to publish their names. Would it disclose

information about their lives that would be 'unethical'?

On the one hand, in the Japanese Canadian community, oral histories have become a cultural practice. Oral histories, especially since the grassroots community movement in the 1970s and during the redress movement in the 1980s, have become one way to rebuild intergenerational relationships. Through oral history interviews, an elder can share her or his knowledge with the younger generations and the younger generations can show their respect for the elder. In this context, several elders, especially the men, invited me to their homes to share their life histories and the history of the New Denver community. It was my understanding that they were giving me the responsibility to publicly record their experiences and their insights. But on the other hand, I was not just conducting an oral history. I was also seeking information about the NIMC and its role in the reconfiguration of their community. Some of this information, especially with regard to some of the working relations that developed during the construction of the NIMC, was sensitive -- which is typically the case with any large scale community project (Pamesko, Interview, September 6, 1996). Yet, during the interviews, the elders made it clear that they were speaking in a formal capacity in which they had carefully chosen what was appropriate for me to publicly record. This did not include, for example, detailed descriptions of the sensitive information. On one occasion when I accidentally asked an indiscreet question about the NIMC's politics and the elder answered, we rewound the interview and erased that section of the tape. This made it apparent that the interviews differed from our more casual, open social exchanges. In this context, I understood that they were speaking in a representative capacity. Given that they had formally accepted my request to travel to New Denver to learn about their memorial centre, it seemed appropriate for me to publicly recognize their insights and

contributions. Thus I decided to ask them again, after three years, if they would still be willing to let me publish their names in my dissertation. With regard to the two male elders who had passed away, I informed their families of my understanding of their wishes. As in their usual manner, the elders promptly responded, confirming that I had their permission to publish their names rather than 'pen names.' Thus throughout this dissertation I have used the elders' names as a means to recognize their insights and contributions to both the local Japanese Canadian community in New Denver and the larger Canadian society through the construction of the NIMC. When I used sections of their accounts that I found insightful but felt that they might be hesitant about being identified, I simply referred to the speaker as 'one of the elders.'

With regard to my efforts to learn about the NIMC from the elders, when I asked them 'how the NIMC was formed,' a few gave detailed accounts. Here I must admit that I did not insistently press the elders if they did not seem inclined to give me their account of 'how it all happened.' I tried to be attuned to the way they organized their trajectories, trying to respond in ways that encouraged them to elaborate their modes of storytelling, whether based on conveying life principles, providing political commentary, detailed recollections of living conditions or vivid images of the past. I wanted to hear how they made sense of their worlds rather than imposing my own structure of organizing the world. No doubt what they presented was framed in ways they thought would make sense to me as someone who did not speak Japanese or live in New Denver and was a *Happa*⁵ *Sansei*. I asked about particular topics and often asked for clarification and elaboration. But I did not try to get them to reframe their answers in my terms. For example, I did not press each to identify their role in the 'development' of the NIMC if

---

⁵ *Happa* is one of many terms used to refer to children from bi-cultural unions where one parent is Japanese Canadian.

they seemed more intent on discussing the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver.

My account is organized around what I understood as the main themes that reoccurred throughout these interviews, informal discussions, meetings and visits. While some elders gave detailed answers to my questions about the NIMC, others only made passing references to various NIMC events and issues. This might have been because they did not regard 'how the NIMC was formed' as particularly significant. This does not mean that they saw the NIMC as insignificant. Perhaps they did not relate to the NIMC in the way that I presented it to them. Or perhaps I was asking the wrong questions. For example, perhaps I focused too much on details about the design and construction of the NIMC. The Project Manager was responsible for these details, not the elders. Or perhaps they felt it was inappropriate to convey this information to me because I was an 'outsider.' Yet in most cases the elders gave their views on the recent social changes associated with the NIMC. For example, quite regularly the elders referred to the implications of including the *Sansei* in the Kyowakai Society. In particular, they noted how this made it increasingly difficult for them to participate because the meetings were conducted in rapidly spoken English. In the formal setting of a Kyowakai Society meeting, they felt more comfortable communicating in the local style of Japanese. If they shared these observations with me, then it seems that they probably did not feel that it was inappropriate to convey information about the NIMC to me. Instead, it suggests that I needed to carefully examine my own categories of what constituted information about 'the development' of the NIMC.

To construct my account, I draw directly from my interviews with Mrs. Pauli Inose and

Mrs. Kiyoko Takahara. I worked closely with them, as well as Mr. Shoichi Matsushita, on the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee. Both Mrs. Inose and Mrs. Takahara are active members of the Kyowakai Society. Mrs. Takahara is a member of the Buddhist Church in New Denver. Mrs. Inose is a member of the Japanese Canadian United Church and the Kohan Garden Society. Both were directly involved in helping to produce the NIMC's historical displays.

I also draw on the interview I conducted with Mr. Senya Mori. Mr. Mori was a prominent public figure both in the Japanese Canadian community and in the village of New Denver. He was the lay minister for the Buddhist Church and a past President of the Kyowakai Society. He was also an elected member of New Denver's village council, serving several terms as the mayor. He was not involved in the construction and operation of the NIMC. Instead, he was an active critic, for example, of the way the NIMC committee turned the Kyowakai Hall into a display area for photographs and artifacts. His interview offers a critical assessment of the implications of the NIMC for the local Japanese Canadian community.

All three elders describe the NIMC in relation to various events and changes in the local Japanese Canadian community. Over all, Mrs. Inose and Mrs. Takahara identify similar events, although they place different emphases on their significance in their explanations. They do not isolate one reason or event that 'caused' the Kyowakai Society to build the centre as it stands today. Instead, they describe how different events converged at various moments which in the end, culminated in the NIMC. In their accounts, none of the events necessarily lead to the next set of events that they now retrospectively identify as key factors in the formation of the NIMC. As Mrs. Inose said, "we did not have a clear

idea from the start" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996). And according to Mrs. Takahara, "the project just got bigger and bigger." She recalls how they "didn't intend to expand like this" (Mrs. Takahara 1996).

As discussed above, accounts are complex. The shape of the various accounts in part depends on how the speaker is positioned and positions her or himself in relation to both whomever elicits the account and sets up the situation in which the speaker tells the account. The social position that the listener holds in relation to the speaker moderates the nature of the interchange and specifically, what the speaker conveys about different subjects. Moreover, especially in a context where there is an intergenerational exchange, a singular intent or purpose does not structure the entire account. Different components of an account, such as the use of a particular word or tone, may draw the listener into a position, for example, where she or he listens respectfully to what will be revealed as one of life's principles. At another juncture, the account may switch to a tribute to a deceased member of the community. Here the listener becomes a witness, someone who 'takes account' of the recollections, turning them into a public record. The nature of the account may also change depending on the issue being discussed. For example, the discussion of some topics may solicit a relation of camaraderie, while the discussion of other topics may create a formal relation.

Throughout my account of the NIMC, I note the instances where the elders may emphasize certain points or take certain positions which, if read literally, would lose their complexity. Their illocutionary acts need to be read in relation to the context, which includes my social position in relation to the elders. Being a visiting student, a 'young-looking' female and a *Sansei* positioned me as a guest, a younger member of the

community and somewhat vulnerable, eliciting their protectiveness and guidance. I was also an outsider and an academic researcher. This called for a carefully worded and somewhat formal mode of presentation. They were also positioned in a formal representative capacity insofar as I was making a public record. But at the same time, I was working for their History Preservation Committee under the direction of one of their *Sansei*, who is also a personal friend. This made me sensitive as well as accountable to their needs and ready to take their directions.

IV. An Account from the Perspective of the Elders

1. Mrs. Kamegaya and the Importance of the Past

Mrs. Takahara highlights the role of Mrs. Kamegaya in her account of 'how it all started.' She begins her account by identifying Mrs. Kamegaya⁶ as the person responsible for initiating what today is known as the NIMC. From 1983 to 1987, Mrs. Kamegaya was the first (and the only!) woman to become President of the Kyowakai Society. Innovative, elegant and visionary, she was well respected in New Denver. As Mrs. Takahara claims, "she knew how to lead!" She was able to see things before they became

---

⁶ She was born in Japan in the early 1900s. While teaching in Tokyo, she met her husband. They came to Canada and both taught in a Japanese Language School in New Westminster, British Columbia. Her refined sense of decorum, her peaceful nature, generosity, wry sense of humour, adventurous nature and leadership qualities reflected not only her education and family upbringing, but also her innovative approach to what from the point of view of a cultured samurai family was the 'New World': a roughly hewn world without the weight of tradition. When the government sent her to Kaslo during World War Two, it sent her husband to a road camp. In 1965 they moved to New Denver. Here she was an active member of the local community. She taught Japanese, worked with the "disturbed children" in the old San. In 1988, she received The Order of the Chrysanthemum, one of the highest honors granted from the Japanese Emperor to overseas Japanese for contributing to the development of Japanese culture overseas.

She was an artist with connections in different artistic communities. She encouraged many young artists, though with a special warmth for younger Nikkei. There are stories of her hitch hiking down the dusty gravel Slokan highway to the next village hours away so she could participate in that community's haiku club. As well, there are accounts of her finesse at the koto, 'jamming' with musicians visiting from Japan. (Truly 1992; Hartog 1994; Truly 1995; Hoshino 1996, Personal Correspondence, September 9).

a possibility. She planned for them, even before they appeared to others (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Her work often challenged the established male order in the local Japanese Canadian community, whether, for example, by taking leadership roles which were typically occupied by men or by changing established membership rules for the Kyowakai Society.

I understood Mrs. Takahara's recognition of Mrs. Kamegaya partly as a public tribute to a well-respected community leader who had recently passed away. Yet this recognition of Mrs. Kamegaya was more than simply a tribute. For members of the Kyowakai Society, Mrs. Kamegaya has come to represent the need to transform, to constantly adapt to changing circumstances while retaining a sense of what was essential to who they were: continuity and change. This has allowed the members of the community to orient themselves towards a potential future, despite their dwindling numbers. In order to adapt, Mrs. Kamegaya revised values that threatened the continuity of the community. For example, she put aside the complex values that underlay the rules restricting the membership of the Kyowakai Society to just old-time Japanese Canadians who were interned in the area. With many old-time Japanese Canadians passing on and old-age maladies making it difficult for them to run the Society they were faced with literally dying out or reworking their social boundaries and accepting the changing demographics of the community. At the same time she recognized those values which were essential to their 'sense of self' which would also allow them to grow. For example, this was evident in their sense of responsibility to others. On the one hand, Japanese Canadians in New Denver saw their unique experiences of internment as something beyond themselves that they were obliged to share. And on the other hand, they saw the areas where they lacked experience not as inadequacies but as points of connection to others who had experience

in these areas. The idea of building something to commemorate the experiences of internment in New Denver embodied this idea of responsibility to others.

With regard to 'how it all happened,' Mrs. Takahara does not restrict her description to an account of Mrs. Kamegaya's role. She also identified factors that buttressed Mrs. Kamegaya's initiatives. In particular, she described how Mrs. Kamegaya was moved by the stream of Japanese Canadians who began to visit New Denver in the early 1980s. They came searching for a connection to their past. This past houses painful memories which most Japanese Canadians had tried to forget until the movement for redress began in the early 1980s. Mrs. Takahara describes how Japanese Canadians from "all over" began to visit New Denver. "There were busloads from the Buddhist Church in Alberta who would come to New Denver. [This was] before the NIMC" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). She notes how New Denver's Buddhist Church was a big attraction: "without the church, that big building [the Kyowakai Hall] was nothing; nothing to see in there" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). As well, she explains that when *Nisei* began to retire and their children grew up, they had "lots of time" and so they would organize buses and "drop in here because a lot of people lived here [during the war] and wanted to see the place again" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Her account concurs with other events taking place which inspired Japanese Canadians from different regions of Canada to visit New Denver. In the mid-1970s, the Asian Canadian movement inspired younger Japanese Canadians to research their past and become involved in grassroots politics (Takasaki 1990). This led to nation-wide centennial celebrations in 1977 to mark the arrival of the first Japanese immigrant, Manzo Nagano, to Canada. Photographic records of Mr. Matsushita, one of the elders,

document the celebrations that took place in New Denver (Matsushita, Slide Show Commentary, August 21, 1996). Japanese Canadians from different regions of Canada travelled to New Denver to participate in the celebrations. Today, a simple obelisk (minus the brass ball that once balanced on its peak) marks the centennial in the local village park, just south of the memorial for war veterans.

Just after the 1977 celebrations, *Sansei* and *Shin-juusha* activists had planned to tour Japanese Canadian communities that grew from former internment camps scattered throughout the interior of British Columbia (Miki 1993). They planned to perform cultural shows and collect information about the different internment camps. This plan gave way to efforts to mobilize Japanese Canadians across Canada in the movement to seek redress for the injustices they suffered during World War Two. In order to politically mobilize Japanese Canadians, activists from different urban centres travelled to almost every Japanese Canadian community across Canada, including New Denver. Remnants of these activities can be found in articles published in Japanese Canadian newspapers that document individual journeys back to internment camps, such as, Grayce Yamamoto's 1974 "Reminiscences of Slocan: Then and Now" in *The New Canadian* and George Tanaka's 1979 "To What Lies Buried Deep" also in *The New Canadian*; there are books that refer to camp life in New Denver, such as Shizuye Takashima's book originally published in 1971, *A Child in Prison Camp*; and there are films that use scenes of New Denver, such as Jeanette Lehrman's 1975 problematic documentary, "The Enemy that Never Was" (Enomoto 1998) and Midi Onodera's auto/biographic 1988 film, "Displaced View."

Bus tours that take former internees and their families to the sites of former internment

camps is a more recent trend. A group of redress activists organized the first bus tour in 1987 to re-motivate themselves (Miki 1993; Kobayashi and Miki 1989). This started a trend that took off after the National Association for Japanese Canadians successfully negotiated redress settlement with the Canadian government in 1988. Soon there were bus tours as well as families and individuals 'touring' the remains of the camps in something that resembled a cross between a pilgrimage and a tourist trip (McAllister 1993).⁷

Under the leadership of Mrs. Kamegaya, the Kyowakai Society began to host this stream of visitors, especially the organized group tours who pre-arranged their visits. The Kyowakai Society formally greeted each group of visitors. Their generosity and sense of responsibility to visiting Japanese Canadians was extraordinary. At a time when many *Issei* and *Nisei* still found it difficult to discuss what the government had done to them during the war, the members of the Kyowakai Society greeted hundreds of Japanese Canadians seeking out a connection with what had been a painful and humiliating past.

2. New Denver as a Destination:

According to Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose, New Denver became a key destination in these tours. It is one of the few internment sites that Japanese Canadians continued to inhabit after the war. And it was the only site where the government did not dismantle the internment shacks. Moreover, many Japanese Canadians were drawn to New Denver

---

⁷ The bus tours were often part of the "camp reunions" organized by *Nisei*. For some examples, see "Sentimental Journey", a booklet compiled by Bob Nimi, Leah Weiss, Kel Lambert and David Nimi for the reunion and bus tour organized for Japanese Canadians interned in Bridge River, Devine, Lillooet and Minto during the 1992 HomeComing Conference in Vancouver; Ruby Truly's 1991 video-documentary, *With Our Own Eyes. A Trip to Lemon Creek* which records the reunion and bus tour of Japanese Canadians interned in the Lemon Creek camp.

because they had personal associations with the camp. The government interned over 1,500 Japanese Canadians in New Denver during the war and hundreds of others were briefly held there as the camps in the surrounding area were closed and the government shipped the internees out of British Columbia to Japan and other areas in Canada (NIMC Displays 1996).

To welcome returning Japanese Canadians, the members of the Kyowakai Society began to prepare 'potlucks.' The women in the community would cook special dishes, for example, *mutsutake gohan*,⁸ *manju*⁹ or the local version of Japanese Canadian chow mein. The Centennial Hall and Kyowakai Hall would be set up to welcome the visitors. After the speeches and socializing, the visitors would walk through the Orchard to view the remains of the camp (Truly 1992).

But as Mrs. Takahara explains, the members of the Kyowakai Society have been getting older and are fewer in numbers. It is increasingly difficult to "keep it up" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). She explained that "It is hard because people from all over would come...and we would serve meals...[But] we are getting tired....Forty people come and...we serve them goodies. [We can't do this all the time now], that we are getting old. Maybe just serving tea. Serving meals would be a chore for us now...[and] tea eventually [will be] too much for us" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). This sentiment was also expressed by Mrs. Inose after she returned from a peace conference hosted by the Doukhobor community in Castlegar. She described the huge hall and the "big spread of

---

⁸ Mutsutake is a prized wild mushroom that grows in well-drained acidic soil, usually on mountain slopes under hemlock and alpine fir or pine. The elders have many stories about mutsutake harvests in the Slokan Valley. Gohan is steamed Japanese rice. Mutsutake gohan is a sushi-rice dish made with slices of mutsutake.

⁹ Manju is a Japanese sweet. It consists of *azuki*, a sweetened pulverized bean paste, wrapped with thick soft dough made from rice flour.

home cooked food" that the Doukhobors had prepared for the conference participants. She recalled how once the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver was able to put out a spread for visitors (though she modestly insists, not as big!). But no more. She points out that they are now so few and so much older (Inose, Personal Correspondence 1996). Yet, I noted that if a group visits New Denver, their elders' sense of hospitality and responsibility towards others make it difficult for them not to receive them.

In order to 'ease' the requests to visit them, Mrs. Takahara described how Mrs. Kamegaya began diplomatically to write Japanese Canadian newspapers and organizations to describe how they were becoming "older and fewer in numbers," suggesting that it was increasingly difficult for them to host visitors. Mrs. Takahara underlined how Mrs. Kamegaya was always thinking of ways of "bettering" or improving things. From Mrs. Takahara I surmised that Mrs. Kamegaya wanted to build a memorial so when they passed on, it would speak for them in their absence. Mrs. Takahara explains how Mrs. Kamegaya was inspired to "preserve all the artifacts....so people would know what happened [to Japanese Canadians]....She wanted everyone to know. You know -- in [the] Lemon Creek [camp just south of here], nothing is left" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). It is the presence of the Japanese Canadian community and the remnants of the camp that has made New Denver a 'special place.'

3. Unfolding from Other Projects

Both Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose discuss the formation of the NIMC in relation to other community projects. Mrs. Takahara described how the initiatives of Mrs. Kamegaya to improve their community led to the involvement of organizations and

people from outside the local Japanese Canadian community. This changed the parameters of the initial plans. As she notes, the project kept expanding until it turned into the NIMC.

When I asked about how the NIMC "began", Mrs. Takahara reflected and then started by recalling how at first Mrs. Kamegaya wrote to the Sony Corporation in Japan and even Canadian politicians "in her broken English [to explain their] predicament: 'so many old people left after the war, [so] could you help us with this video?'" Mrs. Takahara's description of how Mrs. Kamegaya wrote in "her broken English" to politicians and corporations underlines how, despite someone such as Mrs. Kamegaya, who was a formally educated woman, bravely wrote in her second language to Canadian politicians. She put aside her sense of decorum and 'face' in order to pursue a community goal: improving the community's social life. The response was immediate and Sony arranged to send them a VCR. At that time, the Kyowakai Hall was the only place where they could gather to view their Japanese videos. The Hall was "black...with the wind coming in, so every time we used [the VCR] we had to bring it home. We had a video going every week or second week....in the old hall" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

She explains that they planned to attach one of the unused small internment shacks onto the hall where they could hold their meetings and social events. It would be easier to heat, making it more comfortable for them during cold weather. But when New Horizon, a provincial agency that funds projects for senior citizens, came to inspect their plans, they were shocked to see "the wind coming in, the lack of windows" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Instead of giving a grant for renovations, New Horizon gave them a grant to construct a new building. Mrs. Kamegaya directed the project to

construct what became locally referred to as the Centennial Hall. It stands out amongst the war-time shacks with its white plaster walls and varnished wooden beams fashioned from large tree boughs. It was completed in 1977. As Mrs. Takahara exclaimed, "that was Mrs. Kamegaya's baby!" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

While the Kyowakai Hall must be heated with a wooden stove hours ahead of when it is used in the winter, the Centennial Hall has electric heating as well as a modern kitchen and plumbing. Thus it is much more comfortable, especially since the members of the Kyowakai Society are getting older. Yet they still use the Kyowakai Hall. It houses the Buddhist shrine. It is where ceremonies, including funerals and the annual Obon are conducted. After the completion of the Centennial Hall, the Kyowakai Hall was still in need of repair. Mrs. Inose recalls that the Kyowakai Hall was finally "condemned and we didn't have the funds to go ahead [and repair it]. So at a meeting we [looked over what] we could get a grant for" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

4. 'We Didn't Mean to Expand Like This'

In an effort to find funding to repair the Kyowakai Hall, the Kyowakai Society approached Bob Inwood, a resident of New Denver who has a consulting company that works on historical restoration projects. He suggested that they should inquire into grants for heritage sites. At first, the funding agency told them that the Hall was not a heritage site. But then they discovered that because they had the Buddhist altar, the Kyowakai Hall could be considered a 'church' and might be considered for a heritage grant. Mrs. Inose explained that "some people suggested that we should [pursue] this....[And] then we just couldn't stop at fixing the hall and [the plans] got bigger and bigger....A fellow

from Victoria, [the head of Heritage, came to New Denver and provided us with different ideas about what would make their project eligible for a heritage grant]....If it was going to be a heritage [site], we would need other buildings...Usually heritage buildings are not moved [from their original site]. But because [the internment shacks] were going to be demolished we were able to get permission to make them part of our heritage site....[But before that, we] hired a Project Manager, [Ken Butler] and [work crews]" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Mrs. Takahara recalls how the President of the Kyowakai Society, Sakaye Hashimoto, or "Sockeye" as he is known locally, said "it's a good idea to preserve [the buildings]. [He said], let's have it big...bring all these houses in...get donations from outside, ask for a large sum [and not be modest], because the [funding agents will] cut [what we ask for] anyway" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Mrs. Inose explained that "both shacks were donated. In fact, all three were donated. And at one point we needed more property. Couldn't fit all three [shacks with the Kyowakai Hall on the property we already had]" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996). Buying the property was Sockeye's idea. "The Society members all chipped in and were able to buy [the] property next door....[All the] property was [then] handed over to the village, so [all] the...grounds belong to the village"(Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996). Because the Kyowakai Society did not have much money, the members "pitched in" \$300 from the funds granted to them from the settlement for redress.

When I asked why the property was given to the village, different elders explained that while many members of the Kyowakai Society did not want to give control over their property to a body outside of their community, some elders decided to proceed with the

plan because it meant that they would not have to find extra revenue to pay taxes for the property each year. It seems that this continues to be a source of concern. Mrs. Inose explained that while "it's on village land...we are allowed to use it as long as the Society can carry on, and if the Society can't carry on, then the village will have to take over" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996). I asked about what this meant for the artifacts and the buildings on the property. She replied, "I don't know how that works. Possibly we have the rights to those things -- and possibly we have the right to give them to our own heritage [organizations in the larger Japanese Canadian community]" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

5. The Next Generation

One of the key themes that both Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose discuss in relation to the NIMC is the transfer of leadership from one generation to the next. Mrs. Takahara explains: "we have no younger ones up here so we dragged Sockeye in and made him President right then and there. He had no knowledge [of how the Kyowakai Society operated...or anything!].....so Mrs. Kamegaya took him into her place and explained everything to him. That's how it began" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). She recalls how Mrs. Kamegaya "used to say, 'I made a man out of him!' Because Sockeye [didn't] know much about this background up here or the Japanese culture, [in part] because [he was] third generation and never mixed with the Japanese [so Mrs. Kamegaya] wanted him to read the books [on Japanese Canadian history and culture] so he [would] know more what's to be expected" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). When I asked if Sockeye said "Okay," she replied, "well he had no choice. We are getting old and we need the younger ones. He said he'd join and we made him President"

(Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

"Sockeye" or more properly, Sakaye Hashimoto, the President of the Kyowakai Society chuckles when he recounts the story of how he was recruited by Mrs. Kamegaya, admitting that he knew little about Japanese Canadian history. With respect and warmth he describes her patience and clear vision of the future (Hashimoto, Interview, August 26, 1996).

Mrs. Takahara continues, "Then we tried to recruit other younger ones, changing the bylaws so the Occidentals married to the Japanese could join. Before members of the Kyowakai Society were all Japanese....[But we needed to change our bylaws] because there was no one else anymore. Our first generation were sick either one day or another so they couldn't come to the meetings or they had no transportation anymore, so we had to have the younger ones. But they are all intermarried, so we also [had to] invite their spouses too. Gayle's Melvin, Sockeye's Bronwin" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Mrs. Takahara recalls how this change occurred "just a couple of years before we started [working on Mrs. Kamegaya's idea of] preserving the history" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

I had heard from local *Sansei* that expanding the membership to include Japanese Canadians who were not "the original members," never mind their non-Japanese Canadian spouses, represented a significant change in the organization of the community for the elders. From what I understand, originally, the Kyowakai Society functioned to meet the needs of the pre-war generation. Decision-making works through consultation and consensus rather than through mainstream practices such as Robert's Rules of Order.

Anne Sunahara describes the way pre-war *Issei* organizations functioned. Until the 1980s, it seems that the Kyowakai Society of New Denver followed similar practices.

[Leaders] were not selected by competitive election, but by a longer and more complicated process in which the members of an association would reach a consensus on who could best lead them. Similarly the role of the Japanese Canadian leader was different from that of an elected official...Selection did not give the...leader the right to act unilaterally on behalf of those he led. Rather, his role was to advise the group, to lead them to consensus on the matters facing them and, after consensus has been reached, to speak on behalf of the association when necessary....The qualifications for leadership, therefore, were those most conducive to the determination of consensus within the group. Ideally the leader would be the head or scion of the most prestigious family – a mature, experienced, successful and preferably educated man capable of generating respect for himself and his association....[He also needed] great sensitivity and tact in order to quietly influence the group in the attempts to reach a consensus (Sunahara 1979: 3).

The elders realized that the younger generations did not understand the established way of operating the Kyowakai Society because they were not familiar with the pre-war values and systems of governance. Mrs. Takahara underlined how her generation "[respects] the elders very much and no matter if they are wrong, we get along with them. Gradually we tell them what's the wrong part. But we never criticize what the elders tell us. We never criticize what the elders tell us [especially in front of everyone else!]. This is the way we were taught" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Mrs. Takahara's detailed description of what is expected suggested that it might be useful for the younger generations to pay more attention to these details. It was also an instruction to me who, on the one hand, was a member of the younger generation, but on the other hand, was a temporary member of this particular community. Thus the instruction might not have been directed as much at me, as 'through' me. As a member of the general Japanese Canadian community, I would have been able to appreciate the importance of what I was

being told and follow the protocol of diplomatically transmitting their concerns to the *Sansei* in their community.

As the original members of the Kyowakai Society had predicted, the inclusion of the third generation in the Society changed how it operated. As Mrs. Takahara points out, "it is mostly in English now. And then [the *Sansei* are] well educated. We have only been to high school then after that it has been nothing but Japanese since then, [so in my case] I haven't had a chance to speak English much....After I graduated from high school -- then I got married -- then the war started. [I was sent here] and then I was sent to Japan, then came back here [to live] amongst the Japanese community. Unless I talk to the [non-Japanese] people, I don't speak much English" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

By expanding the membership beyond the original members, the elders directly dealt with the implications of changing demographics in the community: the addition of non-Japanese Canadian spouses, *Happa* children and *Shin-ijuusha*. In the larger Japanese Canadian community across Canada, attitudes towards intimate relationships with non-Japanese Canadians have changed, but it has always been a complicated and usually emotional issue. Currently, the intermarriage rate stands at over 95% (Nikkei Voice Staff 1997: 1). Especially for *Issei* and older *Nisei* just after the war, intermarriage was a difficult issue. This was when many *Nisei* first began to 'marry-out.'¹⁰ Unless the *Issei* and older *Nisei* disowned their children, they had to find ways to accept their foreign sons and daughters-in-law. It was not simply a matter of accepting a new person and that person's family into one's own family. It meant incorporating, for example, a foreign physicality, unknown modes of communication and expression as well as a system of

---

¹⁰ There are many stories that circulate amongst Japanese Canadians about how *Issei* parents vigorously disapproved marriages between their children and non-Nikkei during the 50's and 60's. Few anecdotal accounts have been recorded (Truly 1992 (a); Hirabayashi 1997; Takata 1998).

values and notions of family that did not necessarily cohere with the remains of what was for the *Issei* and older *Nisei*, the tightly knit personal sanctity of extended family.

Today, most *Issei* and *Nisei* in Canada have now incorporated non-Japanese Canadian in-laws and *Happa* grandchildren into their families. But at an abstract level, the idea of including non-Japanese Canadians -- '*Hakujin*'¹¹ -- into their political organizations where they would determine the priorities and future direction of the entire community, is another matter. This concern can not be read simply in terms of a racial 'othering' of non-Japanese Canadians. It must be read in the context of pre-war and war-time experiences where their social and political institutions were dismantled by white administrators. In New Denver, some elders express a sentiment shared by many older Japanese Canadians in the larger community across Canada: "When the *Hakujin* start coming over here and taking over, it is not going to be the same. And there are no younger Japanese over here....So I don't know what's going to happen after we're all home bound and that....We are kind of worried about that."

In New Denver, the 'abstract *Hakujin*' differs from individuals who have become close friends or family members. This includes non-Japanese Canadian spouses of either the elder's children or the local *Sansei*. In New Denver, these spouses are involved in the community through their Japanese Canadian partners. They have taken on supportive roles, for example, offering skills in areas such as accounting, construction, organizing public events and artistic productions. With their *Sansei* spouses, some have accepted positions on the executive committee of the Kyowakai Society. Here, they continue to follow the lead of their Japanese Canadian spouses. From what I observed, they facilitate

---

¹¹ The term *Hakujin* is used to refer to Caucasian persons or people, and specifically means, white foreigner. Its use is flexible. Typically, Japanese Canadians use it to identify members of Canada's dominant population.

and question decisions only if the decisions do not seem practical or do not seem to embody the principles that inform the Society's goals. But they refrain from undermining or 'taking over' the decision-making process itself.

Two of the *Sansei* who are now on the Kyowakai Society's executive committee became more involved in the Kyowakai Society's affairs during the last phase of the NIMC's construction. Perhaps concerned by how the project did not seem to consider some of the elders' concerns about the use of their community venues, they subsequently worked to find ways to consult with the elders to ensure their concerns, insights and needs are taken into consideration in the agenda items and decisions made by the executive committee. For example, with regard to hiring, rather than just holding one meeting to make decisions about what candidates should be approached, time is given for the elders to look over the available documentation pertaining to the position and discuss the potential candidates amongst themselves on their own terms. If possible, a consensus is formed and then they inform the *Sansei* on the executive. The *Sansei* do not necessarily always agree with the different positions put forth by various elders. In some cases, the *Sansei* recognize the decision involves an issue under the jurisdiction of the elders. This was the case with respect to whether and how the Buddhist shrine was displayed to the public. In other cases, the *Sansei* may insist on giving their input, for example, with regard to whom they should hire to staff the NIMC for the summer.

While the elders expressed concern over the ability of the *Sansei* to run the Society, several of the *Sansei* on the executive committee in fact do recognize that the elders are the foundation of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. This is also reflected in the way the *Sansei* wonder what will happen to the community when the

remaining elders pass on. They recognize that the Kyowakai Society is one of the key institutions insofar as its operation and structure integrates the personal and collective lives of the Japanese Canadians in New Denver. But they also realize that at times, the generational and cultural divide between them is large!

The expansion of the Kyowakai Society's membership also extends to new members of the community, the *Shin-ijuusha* members. This is significant given that Japanese Canadian communities tend to be at times hesitant about how to include *Shin-ijuusha*. There is a cultural difference between, on the one hand, pre-war Japanese immigrants and the subsequent generations and, on the other hand, the modern post-World War Two *Shin-ijuusha*. Unlike the *Shin-ijuusha*, the majority of Japanese Canadians do not converse in Japanese. Some of the more negative perceptions of *Shin-ijuusha* circulating among pre-war Japanese Canadians is that the *Shin-ijuusha* are arrogant, individualistic and competitive. This feeling is based in part on class differences. As the *Shin-ijuusha* are from 'modern Japan,' there is the perception they have a higher level of education than the *Issei* and *Nisei*. In addition, there is a belief that 'modern Japanese' lack important 'traditional' values and thus disdain the 'old-fashioned,' 'uneducated peasant' pre-war immigrants. It is important to note that the question of how to include *Shin-ijuusha* is not necessarily an 'issue' in every community or in every relation between pre-war Japanese Canadians and *Shin-ijuusha*. It in part depends on the past experiences and personalities of those involved. For example, in centres such as Ottawa and Vancouver, *Shin-ijuusha* have been elected as the presidents of the local chapters of the NAJC and are the chairs of these organizations' committees, such as the Human Rights Committee in Vancouver.

In New Denver, the expansion of the membership has placed non-Japanese Canadian and *Shin-ijuusha* in direct relations with the original members of the Kyowakai Society. The original members face unknown changes to the Kyowakai Society, a structure that has developed over the years to coordinate their actions, resolve conflicts, deal with crises and moderate their differences. Given that these changes could work to completely transform one of their key institutions -- the Kyowakai Society --this is understandably a source of anxiety.

Despite this, Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose discussed the changes in leadership not just in terms of the 'end of the community.' In the conclusion of my interview with Mrs. Inose, when I asked her if she had anything to add, she positively projected into the future:

a lot of [the original members of the Kyowakai Society] that are still here were here right from the very beginning. So there is continuity. Our Kyowakai Society still continues and it probably will even with the younger ones. They're here. Like...Sakaye, he probably will carry on...And from now on, there will be the younger groups joining. There are a lot of people coming in [such as the *Shin-ijuusha* and younger *Sansei*] so they'll be joining [the Society as well] (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

The elders discuss change as an inevitable process in the community. They view it in relation to the change in leadership when they took over from the first generation. Mrs. Takahara recalls, "well when...the Kyowakai Society changed over to the second generation there was a pow-wow too. The first generation were really good, they could write and read all our Japanese. [As the first generation was getting old] and the [leadership was] changing to the second generation -- just like us changing [to] the third [generation]...[It is like,].....they don't know...[just like we didn't know]. It's just the same.

Turn it over to the third generation and to you people, and we are still hanging on to the first generation ideas, but the third generation doesn't know anything of those ideas -- oh they don't know" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

She concludes with what might seem like resignation if we read the transcripts literally: "We can't do anything anymore so we just let them go on with it" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). But again, if we turn to the context of the interview, it is more as if she is throwing up her arms, shaking her head at what she underlines as the inability of the *Sansei* to 'understand things properly.' At the same time she reflects back, recalling how her generation went through the same process. She concedes that while frustrating, it is time for the next generation to step forward. Moreover, as she constantly points out, the elders are getting "tired and old" and would prefer not constantly to have to "take care of things," emphasizing that it was time for the *Sansei* to step in and become responsible for the operation of the community.

6. Exclusions

The way in which the plans to publicly commemorate the internment camp in New Denver changed, reflects the change in the community's leadership. Mrs. Takahara described what the elders envisioned: "well we just wanted to keep all these artifacts and didn't want to expand like this, really big, nationally. We used to talk about [ways to publicly commemorate the camp] quite a bit but since the younger generations wanted to do this and get bigger and bigger -- well, we couldn't argue [against their plans] because we didn't know how to argue with them and so we just let it go" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Then she added, in a rather matter-a-fact manner, brushing the issue

aside: "we'll be going pretty soon [i.e. dying] so it's up to them now!" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

The decision to proceed with 'the *Sansei*'s' big plans involved changing the technology and dominant language used by the elders to run the Kyowakai Society. This facilitated the change in leadership, at least during the construction of the NIMC. For instance, without training in computer-based technology which was now used to document and communicate the Kyowakai Society's business regarding the NIMC, it was difficult for the elders to participate in the organizational aspects of the NIMC, what is now the central project for the Kyowakai Society. The elders were acutely aware that the leadership was in transition, though at the same time, as mentioned above, they realized that this was not only inevitable but necessary. As Mrs. Inose states, "now that we have started using the computer at the NIMC and things like that which we are not used to and so it makes it a little harder for us to go down and help. So that's one reason why we haven't been able to get involved. I suppose we should try to get used to a bit of that, like the cash register and things. But I think if there are younger people who can do that they should do it" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

During the construction of the NIMC, the *Sansei* directed most of the decision-making in the meetings for the NIMC Committee. This was in part due to differences in language. The *Sansei* converse in English. And while the elders are bilingual, speaking English and Japanese, they are more comfortable communicating in their style of Japanese. Since the NIMC Committee meetings included the non-Japanese Canadian Project Manager and a representative for the village, the meetings were conducted in English. After the completion of the NIMC, these changes affected the Kyowakai Society. At least up until

1996, the meetings continued in English and the Society relied on computer technology to record and communicate its business. Like Mrs. Inose, Mrs. Takahara points how these changes make it difficult for them to fully participate in the meetings. "We can't follow them. And we're kind of hard of hearing and people are talking in low voices one after another and before you know it, the meeting's over. And we don't know what it's about but we can't say anything so we just follow along and we just do whatever we're being told to do" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). While the use of English makes it difficult for the elders to fully participate in the meetings, it is again important to read these statements in the context of the interview. Mrs. Takahara is a prominent member of the Kyowakai Society who is speaking to me, a *Sansei*. They hired me to work on their History Preservation Committee under the leadership of one of 'their *Sansei*,' whom they considered to be very much under their jurisdiction! Given my position, it is inevitable that their concerns would press on my conscience and I would discreetly communicate them to the appropriate people.

Anxiety underlay the elders' criticisms. They were not certain whether the *Sansei* understand how to run the community. As they become more elderly they realize that they will be unable to take care of things as they had done in the past. This was expressed, for example, in the following statements: "We are getting older and older. We can't do anything about it. It's up to you guys. I don't know what's going to happen when Nobby dies, who is going to take care of the [NIMC] garden?" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). These statements implore the *Sansei* to be more responsible. In particular, the statements underline the importance of paying attention to the details involved in operating a community venue, which in this case, is the NIMC.

The elders primarily relate to community venues as *members of a social group*. The responsibilities and tasks required to operate a community venue situate each member in a network of relations to others. The organization of these responsibilities and tasks, which includes how they are designated and performed, is not simply a matter of efficiency. They involve issues and acts of inclusion, exclusion, recognition, status, obligation and community 'face.' The elders recognize that no matter how seemingly small a particular task may be, whether it is acknowledged or overlooked and the way it is facilitated or undermined by others, affects community relations.

The anxiety the elders have with respect to the inability of *Sansei* to attend to the details of facilitating tasks to "keep the place going" is evident in the following commentary. One elder explained that she and another elder had decided to find ways to become more involved in the operation of the NIMC. They decided to begin by helping with the garden. But she explains that "the last time we went to help [Nobby, who does all the gardening on the site. He] had taken all of his tools home. There was no place to keep them. So we just used the bucket and knelt on the concrete." This elder describes a situation where a seemingly small detail -- ensuring that there is a safe place for Nobby to put his tools at the NIMC -- has repercussions. It works to exclude others who have decided to make an attempt to become involved with the centre.

To understand these repercussions, it is important to consider the context. For almost one year after the official opening of the NIMC, the elders stepped back from the Kyowakai Society for a number of reasons. Everyone was exhausted from the upheaval and work involved in the construction of the NIMC. In addition, immediately after the opening of the NIMC in 1994, the film director, Anne Wheeler had hired a large number

of Japanese Canadians in New Denver as extras, actors, interpreters and consultants for "A War Between Us," a film on the internment of Japanese Canadians.

It was difficult to immediately become involved in the Kyowakai Society and re-occupy community venues because the construction of the NIMC precipitated a radical change in the organization and operation of the Kyowakai Society. As discussed in this chapter, the Kyowakai Society meetings were eclipsed with the NIMC committee meetings and they became a forum to work on the practical aspects of constructing the NIMC. As well, in this period, the contractors occupied what were their main community venues. They used the Centennial Hall as an office and the Kyowakai Hall as a work area. When the elders began to step forward again, they had to re-orient themselves not only to the radically changed Kyowakai Society, but also to their community venues which were now incorporated into the NIMC.

In this context, the efforts of the elders to work on the NIMC gardens was part of their initial effort to re-involve themselves. I read the fact that the network of people working at the NIMC did not note this and attend to details that would have facilitated their efforts, such as access to gardening tools, as an oversight, a lack of care with regard to their presence. The anxiety about the changing leadership and what the elders read as the ineptitude of the *Sansei* with regard to the operation of the NIMC in addition to launching a carefully targeted reprimand, is expressed when another elder points out that "Mrs. H.'s got a back ache. Mrs. T. too... We're all -- I'll be 80 soon. I was told off by my friend in Vancouver: 'you're not supposed to be doing all this work!....you like to help but you can't keep on!' And there is nobody else to take our place."

7. Inclusions

The changes in the operation of the Kyowakai Society did not mean that the elder members of the Kyowakai Society had no input in the design and construction of the NIMC. Mrs. Takahara describes how they were consulted for certain aspects of its design. She recalls,

[well], they put the three houses there like that, then the first house. I don't know how -- they had a lot of meetings. Ken Butler wanted it the way we wanted it. I guess it was mostly Sockeye's idea to leave [the shacks] the way they were. The first one [was to be] an office with a bathroom...Outside...[there was going] to [be] just the boards, no shakes, [just like it was when we first came to the camp]; the second house would be the following year...It was so cold in the first year...[when the green wood they were given to build the shacks shrunk] you could see through [the boards. So later, for insulation, they put cedar shakes and tar paper on the outside and layers of paper inside] (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Mrs. Inose also describes their involvement in the NIMC committee meetings. I read this as an opportunity for her to acknowledge the contributions of the Project Manager. She recollects, "oh meetings all the time! and of course Ken Butler, was our uhm. He was very considerate and he wanted to do things the way we wanted. So naturally we were having meetings and he wanted to ensure that [it was] the way we wanted it, not the way they wanted it. So he was very considerate and sensitive" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Like Mrs. Takahara, Mrs. Inose describes how the elders were the main source of information for the restoration of the shacks. "At each meeting it came about -- the houses were brought in and there should be -- Ken would ask, 'How do you want it? One

could be the first year, as it was originally and [the next one could show] how people were living [in the following year] and...the last one [would] be when people have put up their ceilings and started to fix up the walls, making it a little more comfortable" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996). It seems as if the Project Manager and his crew frequently consulted them. Mrs. Inose recalls how "it certainly was [very busy], well yes, it sort of kept us going -- really going -- and it did sort of disrupt our daily lives a bit -- for sure [she laughs]! We couldn't get a lot of things done that should have been done around the place. But, well, I think that everyone just thought this is the time to go ahead when everyone is involved in it....[It has slowed down a bit now], yes, because they are not constantly asking us questions. You know we always had to come up with something when they asked us to decide what we wanted to do. So yes, there isn't that many questions now" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

The attendance of around eleven seniors at the NIMC committee meetings which had a total of approximately twenty people, as well as the biographic notes the archivist made on various elders, suggests that the Project Manager and his crew consulted the elders frequently about the camp's living conditions. But despite the consultations with elders and their attendance at NIMC Committee meetings, there were some difficulties in communication and gaps in understanding. This suggests that the elders were either not consulted or, more likely, not adequately consulted about a number of important decisions that affected their community venues. These decisions included whether their community buildings should be included or excluded in the public displays; how to publicly represent their story of internment; and the appropriate manner to solicit accounts about their experiences in the camps. Part of the difficulties in communication stemmed from the differences in language and cultural modes of interacting between the

contractors and the elders. But in addition, the Project Manager was hired to construct the NIMC efficiently and quickly within tight deadlines set by the NIMC's funding structure, making it difficult to develop more collaborative decision-making processes. While he made efforts, at the same time he was not hired to direct a community project geared to facilitate collectively remembering the past, healing and so forth.

Nevertheless, it is important to consider the consequences following from the Kyowakai Society's eventual decision to initiate a project, which during the construction phase, focused on efficiency rather than social process. For example, without the historical and cultural background, it was difficult for the contractors to develop appropriate forums in which to 'solicit' information about the history of New Denver (Kirmayer 1996). Mrs. Inose describes one of the meetings that the Project Manager arranged to learn about their experiences.

Kirsten McAllister (KM): And what happened in the meetings?

Mrs. Inose: A lot of the time [the Project Manager] would get us together and -- Mory -- Nancy Mory, [she lives] out in Hills now, she [would] record what [we'd] say. But they were very -- very reluctant to keep pushing us and pulling it out of us. And at first no one really would talk. And it must have been very hard for those people trying to get the story out of us. But gradually -- gradually, as we met and met, and one of us would say something, and then someone would add something, a little more and [someone would] say 'oh yes, it was like this' and 'oh yes it was like that.' And gradually and gradually it would come out. But it must have been very hard for them....Nancy would say, 'Well if you really don't want to talk about it, it's all right. Maybe we can do it another time.' And they never forced us to do it. But she had that recorder there and somehow it seemed a little more -- even -- harder to -- I don't know why -- you have a mental block just seeing [the recorder].

KM: I get that way too. But you are much better at interviewing than I am...So that took place over a year? All the interviewing? All the talking?

Mrs. Inose: Two years.

KM: Wow -- and then how did they use the material on the tapes that you shared?

Mrs. Inose: I don't know? I think Nancy said her tape wasn't working so she was very disappointed about that.

KM: Oh dear.

Mrs. Inose: So she wasn't going to ask us all over again.

KM: So for the two years...?

Mrs. Inose: No, she was [hired] just for the one year. And the other [year] was more or less just group talking.

KM: And then [the Project Manager] was there, taking notes?

Mrs. Inose: Someone was always taking notes (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Mrs. Inose graciously reflects though, that despite the discomfort, within the broader context of the NIMC, the elders were able to use the meetings as an opportunity to remember their experiences in a new context that allowed them to overcome some of their feelings about the past.

KM: So it was sort of uncomfortable.

Mrs. Inose: Ah? you know, having put that Nikkei Centre together, and going through it -- sort of -- it wasn't as bad as people thought for us -- because having to work on the Nikkei Center [meant] a little of our feelings were brought out and we were able to go down there, [to the centre and re-visit the past] and see it all over again (laughing).

KM: Hm, so people hadn't talked about their feelings or the past for quite a while? So the centre was a way to...

Mrs. Inose:...It was a 'healing,' a real healing experience for all of us. It is really surprising now, because a lot of people [who] wouldn't talk about it, will now talk about it and when you can talk about things like that, you know...things are out in the open and you can feel...better.

KM: You know, I think that's really important.

Mrs. Inose: Yes it is, to be able to talk.

KM: And for other nikkei living elsewhere, to realize that it's important to talk. A lot of people don't know this until they start [talking]. I suppose it made a difference because you did it as a group together?

Mrs. Inose: Yes. It strengthened us...one person possibly probably didn't want to [talk], but everyone else was talking about it and then [the person would] sort of chime in and were able to tell what they felt, what they did...(Mrs. Inose 1996).

With regard to the way the contractors incorporated the elders' community venues into

the NIMC's displays, the elders and in particular, Mr. Mori and Mrs. Kamegaya, stepped forward to intervene on several occasions. Sometimes this was done directly or in other cases, in the old-style manner, indirectly, through the grapevine or oblique references. By avoiding public confrontation, the old-style approach allows the decision-maker to 'keep face' while modifying the decision to take into account the concerns expressed by others. That is, unless she or he feels very strongly about her or his decision and refuses to change her or his position.

Mrs. Takahara notes that "things escalated when [The Projector Manager and Sockeye] wanted to put [a] video [display in the Centennial Hall]" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Bob Inwood introduced this idea in his blueprint for the NIMC (Inwood 1992). Mrs. Takahara explains, "I think Sockeye wanted to have it like that. But Mrs. Kamegaya didn't want to have it....If that [happened] -- we wouldn't have any place to have a meeting, have shows or do origami sessions...as long as there are Japanese here we want that hall for ourselves" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). Today the Centennial Hall is off limits to the public and continues to be the only building on site that is just for the use of the Kyowakai Society.

There was also controversy over the use of the Kyowakai Hall, in particular, over the Buddhist shrine. Mrs. Takahara explains that originally, "the hall was built for the Kyowakai members and then we decided to have a church so they extended the back part for a church. In Alberta too, there is a big building -- ordinarily the front part is used for entertainment and meetings and the raised part is for the church but it is all closed in. During the church-time it is all opened up" (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996). While the site was under construction, the contractors used the main floor of the

Kyowakai Hall as a work space, using it, for example, to clean and organize donated artifacts and documents. The proposal written by Inwood had designated the Kyowakai Hall as one of the areas for the public display of texts, artifacts and photos that would tell the history of Japanese Canadians.

According to the proposal, there were plans to include the shrine in the public displays of artifacts (Inwood 1992). Mr. Mori, as well as Mr. Oda, another prominent community figure, strongly disapproved of these plans. Mr. Mori pointed out that "Sockeye was involved there. Mrs. Kamegaya, she's the one! [She's the one] that started all that. I disagreed -- at the time. But that's why I don't belong to the Kyowakai Society now. That's why they didn't invite all the past executive [to the opening ceremony]. [He chuckles]. After all now, if we weren't there, there's no Buddhist or Kyowakai Society. Three people came to us, Oda, me and Sawada. They asked us, why don't we return? If not, [the Society is] going to die out. We say, we want to do it this way, then we'll return. But no" (Mori, Interview, September 5, 1996).

This was a controversial issue. Mrs. Takahara acknowledged the position of Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda but her position differed.

Well Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda -- it's still alive see. He didn't want it 'museumized.' So Senya thinks that now that our members are getting fewer...we should send that church to somewhere else -- and be done with it, but without [the shrine], it's nothing. And I don't know what the BC Buddhist church would think about it. I am not supposed to be saying those things. The church is only for the men members....The inner temple there. One person is responsible for it and he and only he is supposed to do the flowers and decorating, no one else goes in and touches things like that. So Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda are strict about it. But sometimes if a busload or Japanese group comes [Tad and I] open it and show them....I asked the President of the Buddhist church about this -- its okay to show them [as long as] we don't go up

[into the shrine area]. Other places in Alberta or Vancouver the church is open, but the inner [space behind the door] is closed....People can not go up into the shrine....I wanted the whole two panels [that closes off the shrine from view] taken off and have the plexiglas there so you can see through. But -- instead of that -- [the project workers] opened the place and made the plexiglas low (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Despite Mr. Mori's strong disapproval of the way the NIMC incorporated the Kyowakai Hall into the public displays, reflecting back, Mr. Mori did not completely dismiss the NIMC. When I asked what could be improved at the NIMC, he affirmed that "well in the first place it's nice to have it all right" (Mori, Interview, September 5, 1996). Then he described some of the problems. The "hall itself, I thought it was too small. I didn't want all those things, [the 'old junk,' those photographs, that tent] in that building. Every time you have a meeting you have to move everything out. I didn't like that" (Mori, Interview, September 5, 1996).

Like the other elders in the Kyowakai Society, Mr. Mori's concerns and criticisms are wrapped up with an anxiety about the changing leadership. Mr. Mori felt that the decisions about the use of the Kyowakai Hall and the Centennial Hall did not take into consideration the significance and use of these buildings by the community. Instead, these buildings, the social venues and spiritual centre of the community, were put on exhibit to outsiders. His underlying concern about "who is going to take care of the community" is stressed when he continues to identify details that have not been looked after. For example, he was particularly concerned about the failure to keep track of community records. He wonders "and at the same time who's going to look after the books. Sawada used to be secretary [of the Kyowakai Society] and use to keep track of everything. I don't know where that book [with his records] went?" (Mori, Interview, September 5, 1996).

His various positions of responsibility as the Mayor of New Denver, the President of the Kyowakai Society and as lay priest who was required to keep the Buddhist records of the dead – underlined the importance of keeping precise records. In this context, this is not just a minor concern about a misplaced record book. Like the other elders who kept careful records going back to the war years, Mr. Mori understood the importance of accurate records after his experiences during the war, including the loss of his property. He recalls,

I [knew this] Occidental girl, through the business [in Vancouver before the war]. She was by herself. Ann Robinson. [I told her], we'll give you title. There are three bedrooms....upstairs and [the] kitchen living room dining room, [and the] bathroom in the bottom. [The agreement had] one thing, [I told her] I want you to use one bedroom and rent the rest. And that was the agreement. She [didn't] have to pay rent. She just collects the rent and maybe uses [the] kitchen facilities combined [with the others]. That was my agreement. She said okay. [So I said, we'll] give the title to the house [at] 5th and Main. As soon as we moved out she sold the whole thing....We could only carry 150 pounds. So....our Japanese stuff, we can't pack [it with us so] we packed [up] it and locked it [in Vancouver]. I bet I had two hundred [musical] records and they are worth money now! And she sold everything! I went [back] to Vancouver [after the war] and there are apartment buildings standing there...[laughs] (Mori, Interview, September 5, 1996).

Like thousands of other Japanese Canadians leaving their homes along the coast, under the circumstances, the agreement he made to have this "Occidental girl" take care of their property in the end was not legally binding. But years later, records of these losses helped the activists negotiate a settlement for redress with the Canadian government.

This reveals that working with a community whose members have been persecuted by the government is a complex, involved process. The significance that certain actions can

have for them may not be realized by those working with them, especially if they are unfamiliar with the group's history and cultural modes of interacting.

It is not clear whether the Project Manager or his staff were aware of the controversy over the NIMC's use of the community buildings, a controversy that resulted in the alienation of three prominent members of the community. It seems not. The plans to exhibit the shrine and make the Kyowakai Hall a display area only became an issue for them just before the grand opening of the NIMC.

While the Project Manager and his staff tried to include the elders them in the process of building the NIMC, it was difficult to do so. To adequately include the elders, it would have needed to change their process of decision-making, for example, by including translators, among other things. The elders are gracious when referring to this incident. Again, for them, the NIMC is about their social relations with others in the community. Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose acknowledge the contributions made by Project Manager and his staff to their community as well as his efforts to include them. They point out how they had good intentions. In this capacity, they continued to "take care" of the community, ensuring that the relations with those outside the community were smooth.

8. In Transition

During the construction of the NIMC, a transfer in leadership was not only occurring between the generations, but also between male and female Japanese Canadians. The Chair of the History Preservation Committee brought this fact to my attention. This change was partly due to a change in the community's demographics. The elderly men

were passing away before the women. Men conventionally have taken public leadership roles in community organizations. Mrs. Kamegaya was an extraordinary exception when she became the President of the Kyowakai Society. Her presidency was controversial. Several powerful male figures were extremely vocal about how they would not continue under a 'woman.' Yet, despite this criticism, Mrs. Kamegaya's leadership was strongly supported by most of the Japanese Canadians in New Denver.¹²

Women have always had prominent roles in the Japanese Canadian community. But, as Audrey Kobayashi claims, in the pre-war period, while making significant contributions to family incomes, businesses and households as well as community organizations, given the patriarchal order of community organizations, few documents remain that record their contributions (Kobayashi 1994(a)). And while Japanese Canadian women were influential, their roles did not have the same public recognition as those conventionally taken by men. Thus their assessment of issues was rarely put forth or considered in public forums.¹³

In New Denver, with the exception of Mrs. Kamegaya, most of the elder women did not take publicly recognized leadership roles in the Kyowakai Society. Like other Japanese Canadian women from the pre-war generation they supposedly worked 'behind the scenes,' to facilitate and support certain political moves and various community projects over others. In New Denver, many had formidable skills from their experiences before the internment, whether as accountants for family businesses, teachers for Japanese

---

¹² This did not happen just because Mrs. Kamegaya was an extraordinary individual. For this to happen, an understanding of what constituted a leader had to have begun to change. More specifically targeted research would be needed to examine gender and leadership amongst Japanese Canadians in general and the leadership of Mrs. Kamegaya in particular.

¹³ There were exceptions to this and as well, especially among the *Nisei*, there were notable cases where women had a public presence (Miki 1985).

language schools, running households for *Hakujin* employers or working as cooks for dozens of men in remote logging camps. Kobayashi describes how

Issei women remained relatively insulated from the direct consequences of racism, not because they were not affected but because they shut themselves away, confined themselves to their own activities where possible and normally allowed their husbands to represent the family publicly. A vast network of community organizations provided an institutional bulwark against the difficulties of Canadian life and responsibility for public negotiation was clearly vested in the leaders of those organizations. Of course, large areas of Canadian life -- social status, education, the professions, participation in most public activities -- were completely inaccessible to them. But in order to recognize this inaccessibility, much less challenge its authority, they would first have had to break past the patriarchal conditions that denied such activities to them in any context. They were inhabitants of a double ghetto. Ghettoized, they were abused and protected (Kobayashi 1994(a): 62-63).

Events following from their internment and forced dispersal left many women as heads of their households in this small rural town where there was little paid work. In many cases the government had removed the able bodied men from their households and sent them to road camps or prisoner of war camps. In other cases, these men died or were debilitated from illnesses resulting from a combination of the physical and emotional stresses of trying to support their families in the impoverished living conditions in the camps. Other men were killed or maimed in accidents. For example, many men in the camps filled labour shortages in local logging industries. They had to work with equipment and in conditions with which they had no previous training, for instance, working in saw mills, with tractors and logging. And in other cases, they were unable to secure work in or nearby the camps with wages that could support their households. As a result, the women had to develop the autonomy and range of skills required to manage and support their households. These households usually included children and sometimes their siblings, aging parents and other relatives. In some instances, they also

helped support the households of their relatives. They also provided homecare to elderly Japanese Canadians who did not have families in New Denver.

Talking with the elders in New Denver, I learned how the women found innovative ways to deal successfully with their hardships. They created home-based businesses, such as working as the town's seamstress. They found work through old camp connections as cooks or nurses' aides in what was once the Sanitarium. They set up kindergarten classes, sewed choir costumes for local churches and taught technical classes to provide others with work skills to support their families. The work they did in the larger New Denver community with churches and schools also gave them some independence from the Japanese Canadian community. Through their work and volunteer relations with non-Japanese Canadian individuals and organizations they secured other work contacts, learning opportunities, prestige and places where they took initiative and leadership roles.

Now that Mrs. Kamegaya and recently Mr. Mori have passed away the *Sansei* look to the remaining elders for guidance and direction. These elders are predominantly women. Mrs. Inose describes their realization that the *Sansei* now expected them to take up more prominent leadership roles. Somewhat modestly she expresses their hesitancy about doing so.

We sort of expected our directors to do all that thinking for us. And since Mrs. Kamegaya has been gone -- it has made a difference for us and we have not really been able to get our act together. We should be thinking a little more to see what it will be to make it a little easier for our employees and making it better for the Japanese Canadian centre...but I don't know whether on our own if we are going to be able to do that -- we are going to need a little more -- advice and a little more meetings or whatever and really get down to brass tacks -- we haven't been doing that.

We've been using the excuse that after that grand opening we're tired and that has been tiring....Now we feel, a few of us anyway, feel we should go down there and be a little more involved but somehow we are not just able to do that for some reason" (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Mrs. Inose's reflections reveal how the elder women are not quite ready to take up prominent leadership roles left by their peers. She was being quite modest, however. Their hesitance was in part due to the fact that they were "tired" after the big upheaval resulting from both the construction of the NIMC and the production of "The War Between Us." But, in addition, as mentioned before, the operation of the Kyowakai Society had radically changed during the construction of the NIMC both in terms of its operation and its focus on the operation of the NIMC. While the elders no doubt had the knowledge and skills to advise the *Sansei* and to take on official roles, they were not familiar with either the recent changes to their Society or with the operation of the NIMC. This is because they were not involved in setting up the NIMC or they were not familiar with the NIMC's communication technology, administrative and funding practices and the layout and organization of its office space. This made it difficult to immediately step into new leadership roles.

Yet, clearly, the elder women have taken initiatives. As mentioned above, Mrs. Takahara felt that the splendor of the shrine should be shared. Recently, she had the Kyowakai Society install a small Plexiglas window in the panels that close off the shrine from the public display area in the Kyowakai Hall (Truly (a), 1998). Her initiatives with respect to the shrine reflected her social position in relation to the Buddhist Church. Because her father had been involved in the Buddhist Church, she has usually hosted visiting Buddhist dignitaries. This role involves responsibility and as a result, status. When necessary, it has also meant that she can consult the Buddhist offices on matters concerning the local

Buddhist Church. So while she notes that Buddhism is "a society for men," the Plexiglas viewing window shows that she nevertheless has a recognized position in relation to the Buddhist Church (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

At another level, the elder women have groomed and subtly directed younger women to take on prominent positions in community affairs. While Sakaye Hashimoto is the President of the Kyowakai Society, *Sansei* women have a strong presence in the community both at an informal and formal level. They are members of the executive of the Kyowakai Society. They have initiated community projects and are integrated into the social lives of the elders. The leadership of women in the community is part of a larger trend within the Japanese Canadian community.¹⁴ In New Denver, it is also

---

¹⁴ This was not just part of the more general impact of feminism in North America. It partly involves letting go of pre-war Japanese Canadian conventions based on trends in Meiji era Japan where industrialization and the adoption of Western ideologies resulted in women being increasingly confined to households in positions with decreasing autonomy (Uno 1991). As well, it involves an incomplete transition to the North American male-headed nuclear family. This is partly rooted in the ramifications of the government's efforts to destroy the Nikkei community. Male authority began to erode when they were separated from their families and community organizations and sent either to road camps, internment camps, prisoner-of-war camps or on beet farms. No longer did they preside over the household nor could *Issei* women and the children rely on them for income, information about various government and employment practices, whether job training, licenses for various activities or schooling or how mainstream white society operated. In the camps, men lost a substantial amount of the relative power they had over women. Previously, this relative power was based, for example, on their ability to secure higher wages and more regular income than women as well as an established network of male-run community organizations. But employment was difficult to find in or around the camps. The government instead, pressured them to find employment outside of British Columbia in central Canada. And the government banned many of the pre-war organizations. Before the war, men also had more social capital, which was based, for example, on their facility in English acquired through transactions with various organizations and work outside the community. In many cases, in the absence of husbands and fathers, mothers and older daughters became directly responsible for their families. As mentioned above, they also had access to new income and roles in the camps as teachers, seamstresses, cooks, nurses' aids as well as various administrative jobs for the British Columbia Securities Commission (BCSC) (later, these responsibilities were put under the jurisdiction of the federal Minister of Labour, the administrative body responsible for their social welfare and movement during the war). Unlike in the period when many lived in the shelter of the pre-war communities, they were required to directly contact government social services, whether for clothing, schooling for their children or welfare. With the weakened male control, *Nisei* women also made more independent decisions about what they would do. For example, because able-bodied Japanese Canadians were expected to "support" their families during their internment, the BCSC pushed many young *Nisei* females and males, some as young as sixteen, to take work placements in "eastern" Canada which were coordinated by provincial governments and Christian organizations, such as the YWCA (Oikawa 1986). These changes led women to take independent positions outside of their

closely tied to the changing demographics. In this and the next generation, there is a higher involvement of women than men in the community affairs. In part this is because more *Sansei* women have chosen to live in New Denver. Of the six living in New Denver in 1996, some grew up and settled here, others returned or had plans to build summer homes in order to be close to their aging parents, and yet others chose to go-back-to-the-land here during the 1970s. This provides a strong resource base for the community. While those who grew up and permanently settled in New Denver offer stability and a knowledge of the community, those who-went-back-to-the-land, with their artistic careers and extensive travels, have access to a range of cutting edge creative and politically innovative approaches to community projects. Through their work, the *Sansei* women along with the elders have drawn other *Sansei* to work on a number of different projects in New Denver, including myself and Katherine Shozawa, a multi-media artist.

There were many initiatives taken during the construction of the NIMC as well as after its completion that, in a sense, were part of a process of re-appropriating the NIMC, or

---

families.

While there is little research on this topic, it could also be that there were pre-war practices and conditions that facilitated leadership roles for women. For example, I have observed (and experienced!) mentorship relations especially between *Nisei* born before the internment and *Sansei* women, as well as between older *Sansei* and younger *Sansei* women. Whether there is a sense of "extended family" (many Japanese Canadians born before the war can find a familial or social connection to other pre-war families) or identification with younger generations, this mentoring has encouraged many *Sansei* to pursue careers in education, the arts as well as take prominent positions and initiate projects in the Nikkei community. As well, in contrast to men, the fact that many prewar Japanese women who immigrated to Canada had high levels of education may have had some sort of impact with respect to the aspirations, interests, aesthetics of the following generations of women.

This is not to say that male authority has been completely overturned in the Japanese Canadian organizations and families. In fact, it has not! Nor is it to say that all Japanese Canadian women are professionals and community leaders with radical familial relations. Rather, it is to say that numerous Japanese Canadian women are well known in the community for their professional achievements, public service roles and artistic careers as well as the initiative and leadership they offer in local and national Japanese Canadian organizations. Significant here are also post-war immigrants from Japan (see Audrey Kobayashi's forthcoming publications on *Shin-Ijuusha* women in Canada).

re-fashioning it in terms which were determined by members of the community. These projects were always in some way collaborative. Whenever *Sansei* initiated projects, they have sought out the elders and found ways to collaboratively work together. While I will discuss two of these projects in more detail in the next chapter, I will end this section with one series of small initiatives that occurred during my stay in New Denver.

In the summer of 1996, Katherine Shozawa, who was working at the NIMC as the Administrator, decided to rearrange the Visitors' Reception Centre. Visitors tended to be distracted by the postcards and tourist paraphernalia. She proposed removing the tourist brochures and placing the souvenirs in a less prominent place. At this time, Ruby Truly, the Chair of the History Preservation Committee and the other local *Sansei* on the Committee worked with elders on the translation of documents listing the internees in New Denver. These lists were produced by the Kyowakai Society in 1945. Unable to find government documents with the names of the internees, these lists functioned as a census identifying the families who remained in, or were brought to New Denver after 1945. The two *Sansei* worked closely with Mr. Mori and other elders to translate the names and find the lists for other years. The Chair and the Administrator prominently displayed translations of these documents, as well as a photograph of the New Denver camp in the Reception Centre. Visitors began to gravitate to these lists, searching for names, sometimes for the names of families that they knew, sometimes their own family. According to the Administrator, removing the brochures, changing the position of the souvenirs and posting the lists shifted the atmosphere of the NIMC somewhat away from a consumer-oriented tourist site. Again, this was a move that depended on the knowledge of elders and the documentation they saved.

V. Conclusion: Continuity and Change

Mrs. Takahara and Mrs. Inose's accounts of 'how the NIMC formed' describe the transfer of leadership from one generation to another and the ensuing changes. Those with whom I talked saw the transfer of leadership initiated by Mrs. Kamegaya, along with the difficulties arising from the changes, not simply as the end of their era, but as something inevitable. It was something that happened when the leadership was transferred to them from the *Issei*. As such, it embodies continuity at a social level. But it also embodies change. It could be argued that this change involves a loss of values, a loss of a language and a loss of experience. This loss marks their own passage, their own death: mortality. But insofar as their passage involves the movement from one generation to the next, it embodies a continuity in living relations: immortality. Thus this 'loss' can be understood in terms of transformation and change in the community.

For both the women and the men, I would expect that the transfer of leadership also involves a reconstitution of identity, altering ingrained habits and dissolving investments not simply in maintaining male control but also investments that women have in performing roles that occur 'behind the scenes,' with complex forms of mediation, influence and power negotiation. To be 'front stage' as a leader, as Mrs. Kamegaya and Mr. Mori made evident, an individual must develop a mode of being that can entertain direct public scrutiny, perform acts to ensure the confidence and trust, in addition to occasionally acting against the feelings of group members, enduring their hesitance, disagreement and at times their skepticism and dissent, while particular projects or decisions take time to produce the expected results or in some cases, fail to do so.

The transfer of leadership in New Denver from elders to the younger generations and from men to women is in process. While I was in New Denver in 1996, there were men who continued to take on prominent public roles. This included elders, such as Mr. Senya Mori as the lay Buddhist priest and *Sansei*, such as Sakaye Hashimoto, the most recent President of the Kyowakai Society. Other elders who had been prominent, such as Mr. Matsushita, while still active in the Kyowakai Society, had positioned himself in what I would call a 'retrospective' or reflective position outside of the ongoing community disputes, as if he was letting the order of change take its route.

The form of leadership that will now develop is still undetermined. Clearly there is a move away from a male hierarchy where the women stay 'behind the scenes.' Yet another form of hierarchy could develop. For example, the involvement of the village and various funding agencies in the NIMC could result in a more corporate form of leadership. At present, there seems to be a move towards a form of leadership that draws on the consensus model of decision-making. It does not just rely on the input of those who occupy official positions, for example, positions on the executive committee which were once filled only by men. More local *Sansei* have become involved in the operation of the community. They look to the elders for their assessments, views, and direction with regard to various projects and issues. As mentioned, the elders are increasingly women. As such, the contributions of women, whether they work 'behind the scenes' or take on public roles are more explicitly recognized.

With their own passage the elders are anxious about the ability of the next generation to lead. The NIMC was a project that "got bigger and bigger," that expanded past the parameters of the local community involving a Project Manager, funding agencies and

organizations from outside their community. The elderly members of the Kyowakai Society were well aware that the *Sansei* did not weigh the implications of these moves. For those in charge of the Buddhist Church, it threatened to "museumize" their place of worship. Mr. Mori states that the shrine is still "alive" and as long as there are Buddhists in New Denver, it must be kept "alive." He threatened to shut it down and send it elsewhere if they were going to museumize it. As well, transferring the land where the Kyowakai Hall and the Centennial Hall sit to the village also has grave implications. They will be allowed to occupy the land as long as they continue to use it. Aware of their own nearing deaths, it is difficult for them not to wonder what will happen when they die, once all the Buddhists die, once there are no longer enough members to occupy the land on which their Halls sit. Their death could then also mean the death of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver: an ambivalence in which one's death is inevitably caught up in questions involving continuity and immortality (Lifton 1967; Lifton 1979). What sort of passage do their deaths entail? The end of a community? Or its transformation? From Mrs. Inose's account, I understood that by working collaboratively with the *Sansei*, while relinquishing their formal leadership positions, the elders were able to ensure that the community in New Denver would continue for another generation.

Chapter 4

A Catalyst for Small Scale Memory Projects

I. Introduction

From a distance, it is easy to be entranced by the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC). Amidst the ongoing clamor of daily life in this small interior village, there sits a peaceful Japanese garden sweeping gracefully around weathered wooden buildings, all enclosed within a strong fort-like cedar post fence. Tourist brochures, radio advertisements, articles in local papers, postcards and local festivals have organized this region into a landscape layered with the histories of the common people and local lore. This chapter examines the narratives generated by the NIMC to represent the experiences of Japanese Canadians. I begin by describing and then trying to move beyond the appearance of the NIMC as a tourist site. I describe the human rights narrative that the NIMC uses to tell the story of Japanese Canadians to the public. While I argue that this is a political narrative from the point of view of Japanese Canadians which was generated during the movement to seek redress for the violation of Japanese Canadians' rights, I also argue that it does not fully explore the experiences of internment of those living in New Denver. I argue that of more interest in this regard are the small scale memory projects produced by elders which the NIMC has facilitated. This chapter focuses on two of these small scale memory projects: furnishing one of the restored internment shacks on display at the NIMC and the slide show, "A Time Gone By."

II. Locating the NIMC in the History of Redress

1. From the Point of View of a Passing Traveller

Before even seeing the NIMC, the passing traveller most likely has already been introduced to it as part of a larger network of historical sites throughout the region. Publications like Ken Butler and Associate's "The Silvery Slocan Heritage Tour: A

Scenic Drive in the West Kootenay" (1995) and free road maps with colourful images of the tourist sites in each town such as Raven Production's "Vacation Guide Map of the West Kootenay" (1995) and the New Denver and Silverton's Chamber of Commerce's "Welcome to Slocan Lake: New Denver, Silverton and Sandon" (n.d.) locate historical museums, campsites, art galleries, parks, heritage walking tours, scenic drives, hotels and restaurants along the traveller's route.

Most of these historical sites recount the history of primary industries in the Kootenays, in particular, the development of silver-lead mining, starting in the late 1800s. Mining 'opened up' the area to white settlers. "Prospectors and entrepreneurs, mainly from the United States, swarmed to the area in 1892....New Denver was populated quickly. By April of 1892, 500 men were camped there and 50 buildings existed" (Butler 1995: 48). Like other regions in British Columbia, the economy went through a series of 'booms and busts' with the rise of ore prices on the world market during World War One and the fall of prices in the depression. After World War Two, logging became the region's main economic activity. In addition to museums featuring the history of local mines, the infrastructures that were built to support the mining industry, such as sternwheelers, like the S.S. Moyie and the Canadian Pacific Railway's local lines, including the Kaslo & Slocan and the Nakusp & Slocan lines, have been turned into tourist attractions (Butler: 1995: 2-3).

The NIMC is featured in many tourist brochures. Brochures such as *Go and Do* tell us that the NIMC tells us "the painful story" (1996: 37) of thousands of Japanese Canadians who were interned in New Denver by the Canadian government during World War Two. This painful story, like the histories of the many men seeking their fortune in mining, is embedded in scenic views of what appear to be pristine mountains. Looking out from the

NIMC, we are surrounded by a panorama of magnificent mountains. Turbulent streams gather force as they wind their way down the forested slopes, earthbound into the icy depths of the massive Slocan Lake.

It is hard to imagine the many stories of loss, pain and humiliation amidst such grandeur. But inside the walls of the NIMC, the tranquil garden with its flowing riverbed of raked gravel and carefully tended flora offers us a multitude of vistas from which to reflect on all that is buried from sight. Occasionally, older Japanese Canadians living in the area come to the centre to meet busloads of visiting Japanese Canadians or school kids. They are among the few who were not forced to leave the area when the internment camps were closed down in 1945. It is their community organization, the Kyowakai Society of New Denver, which runs the centre.

But this view of the NIMC is from a distance, from the point of view of a passing traveller. It is from a position that is affected neither by the ramifications of internment nor the stakes and struggles of building and operating the centre. From this distance it is easy to solidify an impression of the NIMC as one of the many local museums in the area advertised in publications for tourists that recounts tragic events that occurred in this region's past. Most of these museums recount the local history (Butler and Associates 1995). The sculpted simplicity of its "traditional Japanese garden" (*Go and Do* 1996) that works in metaphors of "past, present and future" suggests a memorial: a landscaped garden created in memory of the Japanese Canadians interned in this area. It is a soothing space for meditation on past deeds that must not be forgotten. At this level, there seems to be a danger of using these painful stories to etch poignant meanings into the surrounding landscape, investing the landscape with a tragic beauty as opposed to

recounting historical events that reveal the lack of protection Canadian citizens have from the abuse of power by our government.

Yet, as the NIMC appears to us, it seems so self-evident. It so easily fits into how we-already-know-the-world. It calls on familiar modes of spatial organization: the conventional ways in which particular types of public space are organized. It is immediately evident that it is some sort of site open to the public for viewing. The parking lot lining the fence, the open gate at the entrance way, the exterior signage identifying the major donors and the hours of operation and the fence which partially closes off the site/sight of the Japanese garden as well as the weathered old buildings -- draw on familiar categories which include public gardens, museums and historical sites.

But there are other positions from which we can approach the NIMC. From the position of working class histories, women's histories and the histories of other marginalized groups, the NIMC can be viewed as the effort of a persecuted group to write their history into the public sphere. As with the experiences of most persecuted groups, it was members of the Japanese Canadian community that sought to document what happened to them during the 1940s. Before the grassroots movement in the 1970s -- which was started by young Japanese Canadians in search of their 'roots' and subsequently turned into the Japanese Canadian redress movement -- these events were not of 'public interest.' While there were several films and books that sympathetically documented these events by non-Japanese Canadians (La Violette 1948; Ashworth 1979; Broadfoot 1979; Berger 1982), the events were not a political or social issue as far as the government, the national news media, the majority of the public or even most Japanese Canadians were concerned. The government's actions were viewed as a necessary act during a time of war (Adachi 1979; Miki and Kobayashi 1991). It was the movement for Japanese

Canadian redress in the 1980s that constructed the experiences of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s as a violation of their rights and turned the history of Japanese Canadians into a public issue.

The extent to which these events have continued to circulate in the public realm after the Canadian government granted Japanese Canadians a settlement for redress is predominately due to the efforts of Japanese Canadians (Fukushima 1992; Ohama 1992; Nishiguichi 1992).¹ This context provides another perspective from which we can examine the NIMC. The NIMC can be viewed in terms of a political struggle over the construction of the nation's cultural landscape. We can situate the NIMC as part of a larger movement to inscribe the history of Japanese Canadians into the histories of municipalities and districts, especially in British Columbia, where Japanese Canadians were located before or during the war. Efforts to inscribe Japanese Canadian history into the cultural landscape are scattered and easily escape our notice unless we purposely search for them, gathering announcements in community newspapers and exploring small towns.

Especially since the movement for redress, many small jurisdictions have sought to memorialize the struggles of Japanese Canadians during World War Two. Local organizations in various towns have marked the pre-war or war-time presence of Japanese Canadians with plaques in, for example, Chemainus, where there is also a public mural that depicts the town's pre-war community (Ibuki 1993), Kaslo (Bulletin Announcement 1992) Schrieber (Shimizu 1996), Victoria (Bulletin Announcement 1992) and Port Alberni (Bulletin Announcement 1991). There are also landscaped

---

¹ There are a few exceptions such as the film "The War Between Us," a social drama directed by Anne Wheeler for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1996.

interpretation sites at, for example, the Yard Creek Provincial Park (Bulletin Announcement 1995) and the Main Island Provincial Park, which is in progress (Fry 1996). Towns and cities have build public memorial gardens such as the Kohan Gardens in New Denver (Quirk 1991) and the Momiji Garden at the Pacific National Exhibition in Vancouver to the memory of Japanese Canadians (Suzuki 1992).² Small history museums in districts where there were pre-war Japanese Canadian communities or internment camps often dedicate one part of their exhibit to the experiences of Japanese Canadians in their region, such as the museums in Greenwood, Mission, New Denver and Kaslo. The Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives Society based in Vancouver is currently focused on collecting material for its archives. The Society is preparing for the completion of the multi-million dollar multi-purpose National Nikkei Heritage Centre in Burnaby BC where it will have exhibition space (Kamiya 1997). In most cases these dedications have been the initiative of Japanese Canadians.³ And in a few cases, they have been the initiatives of, for example, a museum curator. In such cases, the organizing committee usually asks Japanese Canadians to participate in aspects of building the memorial, plaque or exhibit.⁴ Like the National Nikkei Heritage Centre, the NIMC was initiated by Japanese Canadians. But unlike the National Nikkei Heritage Centre, it represents the experiences of a specific group of Japanese Canadians.

---

² The Pacific National Exhibition board of directors initially rejected the idea of placing a plaque to mark Hastings Park that "housed nearly 8,000 Japanese Canadians en route to forced exile." There was a "bitter battle" because the directors did not want to "sully" the reputation of the modern PNE. The battle finally went to the City Hall but the PNE board was not swayed so the plaque went on city land just out side of the PNE. That was in 1989. In 1992, the garden and the plaque were accepted on the grounds of the PNE (Suzuki 1992).

³ This is the case for the plaques at Schreiber, Victoria, Chemainus and Port Alberni as well as the Momiji Garden.

⁴ This is the case for the Kohan Gardens in New Denver, the permanent exhibit at the Langham Cultural Centre in Kaslo and the temporary exhibit, "Rites of Passage" in the Mission Museum in 1992.

2. NIMC: an Interpretation of Internment

The NIMC draws on the historical narrative generated by activists involved in the movement for Japanese Canadian redress during the 1980s. It thus frames the actions that the Canadian government took against them during the 1940s as a violation of their rights. The narrative's point of view is of those who suffered the ramifications of the government's actions. It illustrates these ramifications with remnants of the lives of those who underwent internment: personal possessions, photographs and documents.

The historical narrative works to construct Japanese Canadians as Canadian citizens in order to prove that the actions that the Canadian government took against them in the 1940s violated their rights. As a result, the narrative does not start with the bombing of Pearl Harbour when the government invoked the War Measures Act which allowed it to classify Japanese Canadians as enemy aliens who posed a threat to national security. The narrative begins with the first immigrants from Japan. It maps the conventional historical narrative of Canadian pioneers onto the history of Japanese Canadians. The narrative outlines the phases of development of the community as a whole: the first (male) immigrants; their role as pioneers clearing land and working in primary industries; social and cultural development and the growth of communities with marriage and the birth of children; the education and maturation of the second generation and so on. The narrative underlines their contributions to the province's economy in fishing, farming and the forestry industry despite the discriminatory legislation and everyday racism they experienced. To indicate the loyalty of Japanese Canadians, this narrative cites the sacrifices made by Japanese Canadian World War One veterans and it describes the efforts of *Nisei* to secure the franchise for Japanese Canadians. In this context, the internment, the liquidation of their properties and their subsequent removal from British

Columbia is constructed as a violation of their rights. It makes a case to undermine the government's justification for classifying especially Canadian born and naturalized men women and children as threats to national security. In this way, the narrative attempts to insert Japanese Canadians into the narrative of the Canadian nation (McAllister 1999).

In contrast, the contractors that the Kyowakai Society had hired to build the NIMC initially tried to balance the government's reasons for interning Japanese Canadians with the objections made by Japanese Canadian activists. The contractors working on the historical displays formed an Interpretative Team. In their draft outlining the historical displays, there were plans to describe the 'yin and yang' of internment. There were sketches of the Taoist 'yin and yang' symbol, a Chinese motif, to balance 'the good' and 'bad' aspects of the internment. But balancing the 'good' and 'bad' is a narrative device that threatens to neutralize 'the bad.' In this case, the 'bad' was the socio-psychological damage, the material losses and political repercussions of the violence that many Japanese Canadians have suffered.

It could be argued that the Interpretative Team's use of the 'yin and yang' neutralized the history of Japanese Canadians. The Interpretative Team underlined how they strove for a neutral perspective. This is documented in one of the drafts of the historical narrative.

The introduction states:

It is not our intention to make political or social judgments nor to draw conclusions. We believe that historical facts and events, presented clearly through the use of artifacts, archives and on site re-creation will speak for themselves (NIMC: n.d.).

The effort to balance the 'good' and 'bad' was further evident in a discussion about the 'ironies' of the internment in the *Nikkei Evacuation Memorial Centre Proposal* (NEMC).⁵

---

⁵ The contractors originally named the NIMC the Nikkei Evacuation Memorial Centre. In order to receive funding from the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation, the NAJC stipulated that they had to change the name to the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre because the term "evacuation" was one of the many

[There] were elements even in this grim scenario which served to add a 'Canadian' nuance. The locations chosen...for the relocation camps were all in places of spectacular physical beauty, and even in social structures as rudely conceived as these, a comradeship arose with typical Japanese stoicism, which created valuable human experiences and positive outcome from an inherently negative situation (Inwood 1992: 12).

This could be interpreted as an attempt to ensure that Japanese Canadians were not presented as 'victims.' But the emphasis on constructing positive outcomes from what was a negative event in the context of the Japanese Canadian community, recalls the construction of the internment and forced dispersal as 'a blessing-in-disguise.' As redress activists discovered, this construction was rooted in the community's massive denial of losses and emotional pain they experienced during the 1940s. Moreover, as the Japanese Canadians have indicated in oral histories, biographies, novels and personal letters -- the 'prison of mountain ranges,' the burnt-out muddy grounds, the invasion of the freezing ice into their shacks and the record snow falls that collapsed their tents during the first winter in New Denver were not appreciated as 'stunningly beautiful.' There is evidence in some of the haiku and photographs produced by Japanese Canadians, that some were able to re-imagine the landscape in aesthetic terms. But these self-representations retain an ambivalence which conveys the trauma they experienced.

The Interpretative Team's effort to be neutral, to balance the 'bad' with the 'good,' was possibly due to their lack of familiarity with the community's history and the Japanese Canadian movement for redress. As well, the coordinator for the Team also suggested that the effort to appreciate rather than criticize the government actions reflected his personal situation. As war veterans, his father and his father's friends felt that the actions that the government took against Japanese Canadians were justified. They strongly

---

euphemisms the government and others have used to obscure the fact that Japanese Canadians were interned and not simply "evacuated" or temporarily "relocated."

criticized his involvement in the NIMC. He also had to contend with other residents in New Denver who were uncomfortable about building the NIMC. But the Project Manager believed the NIMC was an important project. While trying to stress the importance of the project to his father and his father's friends, he tried to convince the uneasy residents that NIMC would generate revenue for New Denver (Butler, Interview, September 19, 1996).

After a series of concerns was raised by younger Japanese Canadians, a decision was made by the coordinator to transfer the responsibility for producing the historical displays to a newly formed History Preservation Committee. With the work already accomplished by the Interpretative Team – enlargements of archival photograph, the selection of archival documents and artifacts for display, a floor plan, display boards and so on – it was possible for the members of the History Preservation Committee to set up the basic elements of the historical display for the quickly approaching grand opening.

It could be argued that while the redress narrative is critical of the government, it is still conventional insofar as it is linear, chronological and cumulative. Yet such a point of view disrupts the viewing relation of those expecting a museum. It does not provide a comfortable distance from which to view the events. While factual information is provided, family photographs and personal belongings still 'breathing' the shape of whoever wore/wore down, for example, that pair of shoes or now softly rumpled coat, give an eerie visceral presence to the absent hundreds who were interned in the area. Nor do the exhibits offer an empathetic position with which to commiserate with individual 'victims.' Visitors who had been to the exhibition on Japanese Canadian internment in the Langham Cultural Centre in Kaslo had described to me how that exhibit evoked "tears" and feelings of "sadness" because of the personal recollections of Japanese

Canadians (McAllister (a) 1996). The factual information, the government documents and the sheer volume of individuals, families and newly formed associations displayed through the walls of photographs gives a sense of the immensity of the uprooting and upheaval. It draws out the involvement of the government, the systematic nature of the operation. This renders empathy insufficient. There is no relief in the emotional release of being able to "feel sad" about the suffering of others. Alone, personal emotions are of little use in the face of the bureaucratic machinery of war.

Through the NIMC, the Kyowakai Society presents a history of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. Aware that their point of view was not necessarily shared by others who had been interned, they emphasize that they are working towards presenting the history from their perspective. This specificity is significant given the tendency from the redress movement to represent all Japanese Canadians (Miki and Kobayashi 1991; NAJC 1985; Kobayashi 1992(b)). The redress movement acknowledged but did not systematically describe the specificity of experiences based on differences in generational position, age, sibling order, gender, marital status, internment camp, pre-war occupation and status, religion, current residence, current social circle, experiences of separation from other family members during the war, in addition to other traumatic events a person may have experienced due to the prolonged state of duress during the 1940s, whether physical abuse or a series of premature family deaths.⁶

Nor does the NIMC pretend to present the perspective of all Japanese Canadians in New Denver. Rather, the History Preservation Committee is committed to facilitating the development of a perspective which those committed to the project feel comfortable

---

⁶ This is not a criticism of the redress movement. To make a case for redress to the government, activists recognized the need to re-constitute Japanese Canadians as Canadian citizens whose rights had been violated.

presenting publicly at the centre. It requires the formation of a consensus, taking care of the sensitivities of other Japanese Canadians in New Denver. To do so requires work. The challenge is not just that they remember different events but that their interpretations of events differ. How the experiences of Japanese Canadians interned in New Denver are interpreted has ramifications for the lives of local Japanese Canadians today insofar as what they remember and how they interpret these events informs their current relations with family members, other residents in New Denver, government agencies and so on. As a result, changes to the displays are slow. A vital aspect of this process is the recognition that this perspective will constantly undergo development and change as the members of the community re-work the past, their relations to each other, visiting Japanese Canadians and members of the public. In the words of the Chair of the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee, the NIMC aims to be an "interpretative centre."

we discovered that our interpretation had to be shaped by the decision of the senior members to focus on their experiences from this area...[The] interpretative committee worked hard to provide a context that does not "speak for all Nikkei" but is more a sharing of one Nikkei community's history [the community in New Denver]....Interpreting the incarceration is very complex. The incarceration holds different meanings for each Nikkei generation and is further complicated by our small society's ambitious attempt to represent a part of the experience to the general public [many of who do not know about the internment]. It became clear to the membership....that it required ongoing work. The more we transformed the [Hall where the displays are located], the more we understood that what we were doing was a kind of cultural ecology -- and the insight to our people's history changed, not only with the addition of new information, but with the action of placement and re-placement of that information within the building....It is as if every time those items of our struggle are re-placed, a new language is created, different from the one before but with similarities that are perhaps more visceral and emotional than intellectual. It is the relationship of those items that tells the story and that relationship is not confined by time (Truly (b) 1996).

What also makes the NIMC distinct from a conventional museum is the other visitors. Not everyone is simply passing through to learn about the local history. Many of the visitors have some sort of connection to the Japanese Canadian community. While

intermarriage at times wipes away the obvious physical identification that marks the third and subsequent generations as 'Japanese Canadian,' they often reveal themselves through shy questions, silent absorption of the site or animated discussion with those accompanying them. Non-Japanese Canadian grandparents with their small grandchild whose mum's parents are Japanese Canadians; younger *Nisei* couples, a lone *Sansei*, a Japanese Canadian family who makes an annual visit -- they are coming not just out of curiosity but to make some sort of connection to the past: a pilgrimage of sorts. Of course their relation to the site is complicated and at times not without elements of voyeurism or a need to exert authoritative views on how to 'improve' the display. But nevertheless, their presence on the site changes the nature of 'viewing' the exhibits. When those standing by you actually underwent the events being displayed, a safe viewing distance begins to erode. As well, and of the most significance for this dissertation, is the way in which the NIMC is not just a community run museum, but is also a community venue.

III. A Catalyst for Small Scale Memory Projects

1. The Heteroglossia of Oral Testimonies

a. One of Many Memory Projects

The NIMC is just one of many memory projects undertaken by members of the local Japanese Canadian community over the years. Some of the projects have been spurred by national events, such as the Centennial anniversary marking the first Japanese immigrant to Canada in 1977 and the movement for redress in the 1980s. Other events are local, such as the annual Obon ceremony to welcome the dead home; planting cherry trees sent by Japanese Canadians who were shipped to Japan from New Denver in 1945 and never managed to return to Canada. Most recently the Kyowakai Society built the

NIMC to mark the valley with their history of internment and dispossession. This large scale project has had a significant impact on the local community.

As discussed in *Chapter 3*, not only did the project receive substantial funding from the agency responsible for administering the redress settlement the National Association of Japanese Canadians negotiated with the government, but it was the movement for redress that prompted many to re-visit their pasts. Some began to make pilgrimage-like visits to New Denver to see their old camp and the elders who continue to live there. The elders, realizing that they would not always be there to receive those returning, decided to build the memorial centre. The activity generated during the construction of the NIMC drew researchers, artists and media to New Denver. It has acted as a catalyst for the most recent small scale, impermanent memory projects. What struck me about the small scale, impermanent projects, was the way they incorporated the fluidity and heteroglossia of oral accounts.

b. Oral Accounts

Oral accounts are produced or elicited in particular contexts. Whoever constructs and delivers the account responds to the situation where it will be delivered. Each situation is structured with various stakes, expectations, assumptions, etc. (Bakhtin 1981). It foregrounds the social relations underlying the construction of the account. It brings up questions of 'who needs to explain what' and 'why they need to explain it to whom.' This underlines how the identity of whoever gives the account is also being negotiated in both the account itself and the act of giving the account.

Insofar as oral accounts are produced in specific contexts embedded with various disciplinary knowledges, conflicts and obstinate or painful silences and delivered to living-breathing-responsive others – they are heteroglossic. Insofar as oral accounts are produced in immediate interaction with others, there is a fluidity in their formation. Such is the case even if they are written beforehand and delivered as if impervious to those who bear witness. An analysis must also examine this imperviousness to the context of telling! All contexts of telling are heteroglossic insofar as the legitimacy of a statement, the smooth deployment of a narrative and authority of a truth claim can not be seamlessly imposed. To be heteroglossic and fluid means that it is difficult to imprint one clear uninterrupted vision of what, for example, 'constitutes the community.' The meaning in the inflection of a word, the weight of a pause, the repetition of a word, the speed of delivery, the rounded soft rhythm of speaking English or the intensity of the claim that 'intermarriage' will lead to the end of the community, can not be pinned down as it reverberates in a multitude of ways with the response, lack of response, the shift of bodies, the clench of a jaw. This can also be the case for testimonies involving media such as written texts, public displays of images, films and videos. But in most cases the form that these cultural productions take in their delivery is not as distinctly mediated/shaped by their context of telling.

Mikhail Bakhtin formulated this problem in terms of representing the living heteroglossia of everyday life in a way that is dialogic: it entails representing without reifying different world views, perspectives, opinions and positions rendered from the ongoing changing relations of the social world in a way that brings them into 'dialogue' with each other, so their differences, similarities, silences, conflicting views and so on, inter-illuminate each other to bring another understanding of a situation or event (Bakhtin 1987). This is what Mr. Matsushita's slide show, "A Time Gone By" brought to the NIMC.

2. Relations of Generating Small Scale Memory Projects

The difference between the two small scale memory projects discussed in this chapter and the NIMC is in part due to the way the small scale projects drew from the practices of the elders. The historical displays at the NIMC followed conventional museum display practices in part because of the size and format of the NIMC in addition to the fact that those hired to construct the NIMC were experienced in mainstream historical restoration projects.

The effort to draw from the practices of the elders also contrasts with the established methods used by Japanese Canadians in other centres to construct their histories. Oral histories have become a popular method for 'recording' different communities' histories. Most interviews are tape-recorded and either stored in archives or published in books. The interview format for oral histories usually involves a situation where the interviewer controls the structure of the narrative, the speed of delivery and the topics of discussion. While this process is of course mediated by the skill of the interviewer and interviewee, typically the interviewer comes with a series of questions rather than attempting to learn the manner in which the interviewee orders and categorizes her or his experiences. The format orders the lives of the interviewee in a chronological sketch, from birth to the present, following what are considered key phases of life, childhood, schooling, marriage, work, retirement. The chronological sketch of individuals fits into a larger framework that outlines the phases of development of the community as a whole: the first (male) immigrants; their role as pioneers clearing land and working in primary industries; social and cultural development and the growth of communities with marriage and the birth of children; the education and maturation of the second

generation, etc. The internment, the liquidation of their properties and their subsequent removal from British Columbia are constructed as an interruption that halts the normal course of their lives and the development of their communities.⁷ While this narrative has become institutionalized as the narrative of Japanese Canadian history, the two memory projects I will discuss in this chapter present other narrative forms.

IV. 'Re-storing' and 'Re-collecting' the Past

1. Re-storing the Shacks

One of the main exhibits at the NIMC is the collection of the shacks that housed Japanese Canadians while they were interned in New Denver. There are three shacks, respectively showing the living conditions when Japanese Canadians first arrived, after they had lived in the camp for a few years and in the 1950s. In order to restore the shacks, it was necessary to research their original structure and the building materials used to construct them as well as the fixtures and the improvements made by internees. The results of this research are documented in the *New Denver Japanese Internment Camp Restoration Assessment* (1991), a preliminary assessment of the technical and financial factors involved in the construction of the NIMC. The authors, Robert Inwood and Associates, continued to provide architectural advice throughout the construction of the NIMC.

---

⁷ In this context, the rapid 'assimilation' of Japanese Canadians into the Canadian population through 'intermarriage' which was due to the destruction of their war-time communities, is viewed critically. At one extreme, conservative forces frame the problem of 'intermarriage' in terms of sexual desire, and specifically, the desire of Japanese Canadian women for white men. This desire is equated with self loathing which leads to repulsion of men from their own racial pool. It results in intermarriage which is thus viewed as a threat to, rather than a change in, the future of the community. This discourse is imbued with strong heterosexual norms. It constructs the nuclear family as normal, despite the high numbers of unmarried members of the second generation and the prominence of lesbians in the community's cultural production whether taiko drums, novels, film or poetry.

With the technical knowledge of the Site Supervisor and the Project Manager's experience in restoration projects, the NIMC construction crew moved the shacks from their original sites to their current location in the NIMC's compound. The crew physically stabilized and then physically restored the shacks. To recreate the internees' living conditions it was necessary to consult with the elders about their household goods, personal belongings, fixtures as well as the improvements they made to the shacks over the years. As discussed in *Chapter 3*, the Project Manager and the carpenters consulted with the elders, in particular, two female elders. As recalled by these elders, this process seemed straight forward, if not a little 'demanding,' because there was always someone 'knocking on their doors' wanting information about the interiors of the shacks or wanting them to inspect their work.

It would seem that, overall, restoring the shacks facilitated the elders' ability, especially the ability of the women, to remember their experiences in the camps in their own terms. The elders readily gave descriptions of their involvement in advising the carpenters and finding items to furnish the shacks. From what I could discern, it seemed as if their working relations with the carpenters were informal one-on-one exchanges where the elders approved or corrected the carpenters' work. The exchanges between the elders and carpenters were task-oriented. Mrs. Takahara gives the following description:

We took things over to display....chairs, bedding....We just took our old stuff over there and displayed what we needed, like those cooler boxes...[We told them] this belongs to the first house...Dan the carpenter was working over there [at the second house] and they had [it] built with the sink...[We had to tell them], 'oh the sink wasn't like that, it was all wood. The houses were all black and we had to build shelves and make the sinks and everything like that'. The sink was just wood with a hole, we had to bring the water from outside. There were no taps. The shelves were -- we had to bring lumber from the [old skating] rink and build [shelves] for each family, one for that side and [one] for this side [of the shack]. My dad -- we couldn't get the lumber.

We were in Harris Ranch [which was a steep half hour walk uphill from New Denver. And we had no car, no one had a car], so dad would go to the bush and cut these small trees take off their bark, make a patio, or floors on the outside, [even] railing....Nails were free -- people had to build the buildings [for the internment camp] so whatever was on the ground [we'd] pick it up....[We had to keep reminding the project workers] 'oh that wasn't there, we never had luxury like that'...Even now the second house, the sink [in there] was even prettier now than it was (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

Mrs. Takahara's description shows how the elders focused on the physical details of the internment shacks, giving the workers and elders concrete topics of discussion with clear parameters. The discussion could be limited to the design and physical details of the object under construction, whether a kitchen sink or a shelving unit. But the discussion also provided a context to recollect events that occurred in relation to the objects and rooms under construction. In part, the tone of the exchanges was probably set by the main carpenter. His quiet mannerisms and respectful attitude most likely put the elders at ease during their one-on-one exchanges with him as they described the details of the shacks.

The elders were also involved in the process of furnishing the shacks with household items such as bed linen, cooking utensils, dry goods and clothing. The elders I interviewed emphasized the process of working with other elders to find items for the shacks. It was clear that furnishing the shacks was not simply a matter of pulling out a box or two and donating it to the NIMC. Below, Mrs. Takahara explains the process of finding these items.

Kirsten McAllister (KM): So do you feel the [shacks] portray [the camp's living conditions] now?

Mrs. Takahara: I think that was the best we could do. [We had to recall] whether that was [the] curtain or whether [those were the] mattress covers [we used then] -- we had a hard time finding them. [But someone would always pipe in], 'Oh maybe I have one of

those.' People threw out a lot of things [over the years that] we could have [used]. But anyway, someone would say, maybe I've got [that]. And we started searching our things, [looking in our] wood sheds...And then there were these boxes [people had] brought from Vancouver, you know, [when] they moved out here [to the camps.] So they said, 'Donate [it all] to the [project].' So we managed to get the [shacks] sort of looking like the way [they were]. But we did a lot of looking around for those things...

KM: I know whenever I...go through my boxes even from five years ago, it....brings up memories.

Mrs. Takahara: Yes.

KM: So what was that like?

Mrs. Takahara: [We'd say], 'remember this? remember what-happened? How did we used to use this or that?' Some of the artifacts [displayed] in the Kyowakai Hall now -- [In the camp] they used to have concerts and [other events] in the fall...There were so many real actors [who were in plays from] Vancouver. In the early days, when everyone was still here [before they left for central Canada and Japan], they would put on these concerts and things. They were really good (Takahara, Interview, August 23, 1996).

From this account, it is evident that looking for items to furnish the shacks was an activity that the elders did as a group, asking each other if they had 'this or that' item. They were the only ones who knew how the interior spaces of the shacks were used, how they looked, and what they contained. They were also the only ones who still possessed the household items that furnished the shacks during the war. The women were more involved than the men, probably because the women were more familiar with the domestic organization of the shacks as well as with knowing where the household items were subsequently stored. The men seemed to participate more in the search for wartime photographs and documents that were used in the historical displays in the Kyowakai Hall.

The format they used to remember the past was not imposed on them. From what Mrs. Takahara recalled, it seems as if the women organized themselves as a group to share their findings and recollect the interior of the shacks. They recalled events in a flow of social exchanges with the items acting as memory prompts. They recalled events,

people, emotions or activities. Even the ways they were stored, whether neatly folded, wrapped in protective paper or tucked into the corner of box, were imprinted with memories of when or why the elders or their parents or relatives kept the items. Brought before the group, the items prompted memories from different women. Thus they generated not only personal memories but also memories of the experiences the women had shared in the camp, or later, in the 1950s, after the government closed the camp. Because they shared social protocols, common references and expressions, they were also able to realize when someone was having difficulty remembering a painful experience. Nor were they stressed by having to find appropriate and sensitive ways to explain their feelings to people who might not understand or become uncomfortable when they talked about experiences of discrimination. At an immediate social level, from my discussions with the women, it seems as though the process of searching for items to furnish the shacks facilitated their ability to collectively remember their experiences as a group in a way that drew on familiar social modes of interacting and cultural meanings.

Yet, at another level, we need to ask what was involved in taking items from their homes to furnish public museum-like displays. Did this practice turn their personal possessions into artifacts and 'museum-ize' their past? This depends on the relation that the elders had to the items they had saved from the past. All the elders I visited had personal archives. They had their own systems to organize and display the items in these collections. The elders used the items to represent aspects of their experiences to others, such as researchers like myself. As such, these items already had the quality of being artifacts, representing past events. Some items were autobiographical. Others recalled significant events in the local community and yet other items were invested with instructive parables derived from a past incident. For example, when I visited one elder,

she disappeared into another room and reappeared with an oil lantern. She flicked a match and lit the lamp, telling me that this was the type of lamp everyone in the camp used. She told me she still used it, especially if there was a power failure. When I visited another elder, she presented a sheet with hand-written haiku, each written by a different person. By presenting me with the haiku, she was able to describe the haiku club they had in the Kaslo internment camp. On another occasion, while preparing tea and *sembei*,⁸ an elder opened her kitchen cupboard to display an amazing array of home-made wine -- made from wild berries and plants. It thus opened up a discussion about how the Japanese Canadian internees developed a culinary knowledge of local plants.

Most of the items that the elders showed visitors -- whether they presented autobiographical information, details about the social life in the camps or community events -- were embedded in their home spaces. They were incorporated into their modes of interacting with visitors. In contrast, they felt like could give up items they donated to the NIMC to furnish the shacks. The items seemed to belong to two different categories. Both categories were meaningful, but the elders had more distance from the items they donated to the NIMC. Some items they donated they subsequently retrieved, showing that the difference between the two categories was not always clear. The existence of the two categories suggests that donating items to the NIMC did not 'museum-ize' their personal lives.

It is also important to consider what the activity of searching for items to furnish the shacks indicates about their relation to their experiences in the camps. The ability of the elders to excavate their homes looking for items to donate to the NIMC showed that they already had a certain degree of distance from their past experiences. They had enough

---

⁸ *Sembei* are Japanese rice crackers.

distance from the past to recollect what happened as something distinct from their current lives. This showed that the wartime events did not surface as a terrifying part of the present. At the same time, their emotional distance from the past did not mean that they were not still struggling with how they had been affected or that they severed their current lives from their past experiences in the camp. In discussions and interviews, the elders readily recounted how the past had changed their lives. The distance they had from the past was also reflected in the extent to which their lives had changed over the years. The changes in their lives are registered in the transformation of their homes from small thin-walled plank shacks to comfortable spaces built around their changing needs and aspirations.

In this context, we can consider what it meant to restore an internment shack in order to describe publicly their living conditions in the camps. While the elders described the process of restoring and furnishing the shacks as a comfortable group process, permanently displaying the shacks was different. The shacks prompted memories of the different families that had lived in them. One of these shacks had been inhabited until 'quite recently' by an elder who had recently passed away. It is a bleak contrast to the homes of the other elders. Within the compound of the NIMC where it is preserved, it stands as a visceral measure of the transformation of the other elders' lives. The shack was inhabited until the mid-1980s. The NIMC uses it to show the typical living conditions in the period from 1945-1957. I asked the elders about this shack and they all responded a little forlornly, explaining that an elderly woman had lived there. She had no local family members to take care of her. She did not renovate the shack. Nor did she update its electrical or plumbing system so it remained cramped, dimly lit and damp. The pipes would often freeze and usually burst several times during the winter. She refused to let government workers into her shack, even those who wanted to assess her

situation in order to determine what level of government assistance she could receive. Perhaps she remembered the intrusion of other government agents during the war. Dignity might have been the reason. She let very few members of the local Japanese Canadian community into her home. Mr. Mori and Mr. Oda were among the few members of the community whom she allowed inside. They would regularly visit in the winter to melt and clean up burst water pipes. Others would bring her food, knowing that she depended on canned food and 'raw' vegetables because she did not know how to cook. Yet she insisted on being independent. Eventually when she was unable to care for herself, Mr. Mori arranged a rented room in the basement of one of the local hotels which provided housekeeping services.

Her living conditions were familiar to the elders. They themselves had endured similar conditions through the 1940s and 1950s. But these elders had managed to improve their living conditions over the years as they slowly re-established themselves. The permanently displayed shack at the NIMC provided a perspective on the distance they had moved over the years while at the same time it represented what they had endured. For the elders, this shack was not just an artifact from the internment. It displayed the living conditions of one of their peers, showing how she was never able to overcome the aftermath of political violence. The public display of this shack was a recognition that for some, the government's actions had permanently damaged their lives. Unlike the elders still living in New Denver today, there were others that the elders referred to who had not been able to overcome what had happened to them.

Insofar as the process of restoring the shacks required elders to work together as a group to find items to furnish the shacks, it was a productive process. This was essential because it allowed the elders to re-collect the past in their own terms in a safe

environment. No one imposed a format that demanded that they had, for example, to organize their recollections and experiences into inappropriate categories or make themselves vulnerable to someone who was given the authority to intrusively question them about their feelings. Because the women searched for the items in their own homes and discussed their findings with other women, they were able to use familiar modes of interaction. Because they shared common experiences, they had confidence that the others would not misinterpret what they stated. In this context, the process of searching for items to furnish the shacks did not 'museum-ize' their pasts.

2. The Slide Show

a. Working Relations

The slide show, "A Time Gone By" was produced by an elder, Mr. Matsushita,⁹ in conjunction with one of the younger members of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver, Ruby Truly. Mr. Matsushita was known as New Denver's unofficial photographer during the 50s through the 1970s. He took photographs of events including

---

⁹ He was the oldest son of a large family who, before the war lived in the crowded cramped, flimsy wooden cannery row housing piled onto wooden wharves in the fishing village of Steveston. When his father died, although he was young, he became responsible for supporting his mother, grandmother and nine younger siblings, whose age ranged from four to fifteen years. Life was a struggle. He had few chances to pursue his own dreams or opportunities. Just when the government removed the civil rights of Japanese Canadians and ordered them to vacate their homes and internment centres -- Mr. Matsushita had just managed to invest years of incremental savings into a fishing boat that would have ensured more financial security for his family. His family was sent off to Kaslo. He stayed behind in the deserted cannery housing to tend to a brother who was in a nearby T.B. hospital.

Finally the RCMP eventually sent orders for him to report to Hastings Park, the grounds for the region's annual agricultural exhibition. This is where hundreds of Japanese Canadians outside Vancouver were confined in the vast maze of stalls for livestock, in some cases for months, until the internment camps were ready to receive them. This is where Mr. Matsushita became sick with T.B. The BCSC sent him to the New Denver camp where the government had built a T.B. Sanitarium. Now rendered helpless by his TB infection, he had to, in a sense, re-make himself and his life in the internment camp. This is in part captured through his documentation of life in New Denver -- especially as his view was often from the intersection of the Japanese Canadian community and the community of the local residents (Matsushita 1996).

community-wide events like high school graduation ceremonies and May Day celebrations as well as Japanese Canadian events such as Obon ceremonies.

Ruby Truly,¹⁰ a multi-media artist who works with video, performance art and installations, was interested in his work as another artist. As one of the local *Sansei*, she was also involved in projects to re-claim the NIMC as a community venue: re-appropriating it from its construction as a tourist site.

When Truly carefully inquired if Mr. Matsushita might be interested in presenting a slide show, he was enthused. In the context of old-style practices, this was a member of the younger generation acknowledging and seeking out the knowledge of an elder. And, as Truly is a member of the contemporary artistic community, he was interested in her proposal to introduce him to a new realm of aesthetic practices. Insofar as he had confidence in her knowledge of the protocols and format for such an event, he agreed to put together a slide show if she collaborated with him. He entrusted her to selecting and organizing slide images. He left her to set up the event which she framed as a slide show for the 'old timers' in New Denver. But he did not simply hand over the slides.

Over the period of several weeks, he invited Truly and myself to his and Mrs. Matsushita's home to view the slides. He invited us in from the hot summer's sun to the coolness of their home where we would visit for hours, viewing his slides and chatting with both of them. Mr. Matsushita provided a narrative evoked from these images he took over 30 years ago. The comfort and ease with which he delivered the narrative, suggested that it was one he knew well. Mrs. Matsushita occasionally intervened,

---

¹⁰ She is Japanese Hawaiian. She moved back-to-the-land in this valley with other hippies and draft dodgers in the 1970's in part drawn to the Japanese Canadian community.

elaborating his account or correcting information. He also turned to her to confirm information. It seemed that not only did she know his narrative, but had her own as well.¹¹

The narrative order of the slides for the show was drawn from these records of the past as they were shared with us. The narrative was not prompted and organized by a series of questions or organized around the requisites of a life history that reproduces, in the case of Japanese Canadians, what are instituted as the key events of an individual's life. Nor did Truly impose her own sense of order. She selected clusters of slides relating to certain events. This meant that the organization of the images loosely followed the order of the slides as they were stored in Mr. Matsushita's carousals. The slides were carefully arranged in carousals that corresponded to the year when the slides were taken. They were organized in clusters around particular events.

b. "A Time Gone By," August 21, 1996

At dusk, the hot summer afternoon dissolves into a cool evening indigo. The Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre is now closed to the public. Inside the protective cedar gates, low lying lamps tucked amidst the rhododendrons and crouching maples light the pathway to the Centennial Hall. Local residents begin to arrive. Tonight, the Kyowakai Society is presenting, "A Time Gone By," a slide show presenting the work of New Denver's unofficial community photographer, Mr. 'Spud' Matsushita. The hall is packed. Tickets were sold out yesterday. Latecomers pull up benches under the evening stars in an arc just outside the entrance. For many New Denver residents, this is the first time they have visited the NIMC since it opened in 1994.

It is one of those events where everyone from artists and retired dentists, environmentalists and store clerks, old hippies and nurses along with millworkers come together. Of course, not everyone from New Denver came, rather those who are close to the Nikkei community. Mostly everyone there has been in the valley

---

¹¹ Mrs. Matsushita's reading of the documentation of the events and people in Mr. Matsushita's slides would be an interesting study in a perspective outside/inside the frame of the photograph.

for the last 30, if not 70 years, some living in the area for several generations. Old neighbours, friends, co-workers, relatives, everyone is chatting, talking. Some of the newer residents come as well, like the new baker's family who moved here from the province of Alberta.

Finally the din settles. After an introduction by Truly, Mrs. Inose cuts the lights. Magically, images of life in New Denver from 30 years ago re-appear before us. The vibrant imprints of light from this bygone era illuminate the rows of intent faces, re-membering, re-calling, re-miniscing themselves, as it was, as they were back then. Amidst excited recollections and reflective pauses, Mr. Matsushita's gentle voice navigates through these luminous moments frozen by his camera's eye so many years ago. Occasionally Mrs. Matsushita offers clarification or insight. I am aware of her constant presence, whether inside the frame where she looks back at the photographer while posing for a family snapshot or community picture; or just outside the frame, looking from her own line of vision at the scene about to be captured.

Everyone 'oohhs' and 'ahhs' at the close-ups of fragile spring buds, the soft whiteness of deep winter snow, the sunlit waterfall with its aura of mist moistening dry rocky bluffs. All recognize the ancient rock paintings carefully drawn on the rock walls lining Slocan Lake. The slide show starts with these images, as if a reminder: imprints from some other time, etched by some other people, of whom now only a scattering remain.

The slides of community events cause much hubbub. Both Japanese Canadians and the white residents shout out the names of people and events. One of the favourites was the series of confectionery creations from a memorable cake decorating course: results ranged from creamy white cakes covered in rosebuds to a sturdy looking (and perhaps, tasting) chocolate log cake. There is a May Day celebration featuring fanciful floats. The floats swirl with the long dresses of the May Day queens, bright green billowing against wind swept spring skies.

There are also the records of the Matsushita family. These are personal records of the photographer's own life, the camera capturing this handsome man with his family and at work. This is the man and his life long partner, his wife, Sumie, who is so intent on capturing the visions and sight-lines of the everyday world that most of us take for granted. Truly selected shots of Mr. and Mrs. Matsushita's mod looking dinner parties with the local teachers: a worldly Nikkei couple and hip young Hakujuin. There are also photos of Christmas tea at the Pavilion, an extended care facility for elderly residents where Mr. Matsushita as well as many other local Nikkei were employed over the years as it changed from a T.B. sanitarium to a care facility for "emotionally disturbed boys" to a detention centre for Doukhobor kids, and finally became the Pavilion.

Another series of vivid shots are photographs of a cool damp Remembrance Day. Young cadets -- local boys decked out in berets and smart green wool uniforms -- jauntily march, tapping their assortment of drums past vacant fields and the occasional building. Much noted are the spiffy shots of teenagers (a number now 'adults' in the audience) posing for their high school graduation, beaming in their prom attire: beetle-ish glasses, fitted gowns, swanky suits.

Then there are the events that are either predominantly *Nikkei* or *Hakujin*. Bridging each moment are the Matsushitas. As Ruby Truly says, Mr. Matsushita, a *Nikkei* man, thought it was important to document these events as part of the life in New Denver: one community. Each group takes turns recollecting the occasion, naming the people, many of whom have passed on. Images of the Kyowakai Hall appear. This is before the hall was transformed into one of the exhibition areas for the NIMC. We see countless social events. On every occasion the hall is filled. *Nikkei* line the tables. The tables are laden with food and drink. On stage, talented members of the community entertain the rest with *odori*, singing, plays. The hall seems so barren now. A shell for memories. But it is easy to get carried away with nostalgia. Tad Mori and Mr. Matsushita call out above the excitement, "with all these parties it looks like it was just a good time -- but you don't see the dirty times"; "it wasn't all so easy. you see those smiling faces. but it was a real struggle..."¹²

c. Creating the Venue

What type of small scale memory project is produced depends, in part, on the venue where it is presented. The venue includes the socio-cultural space and the networks of people who attend the event. This section examines the significance of the venue that was created for "A Time Gone By." In particular, this section examines the social implications of creating a venue that was open to only local residents as opposed to the general public.

---

¹² This description of the slide show is based on my field notes, but I also integrate subsequent reflections and try to improve my description of the imagery.

I had initially suggested to Truly that we could place an ad in *The Bulletin*, a Journal for Japanese Canadians based in Vancouver, a large urban centre. The ad would reach Japanese Canadian communities in other regions. We would have needed to submit an ad at least one and half months before the show to ensure it was in the next month's issue and preferably earlier, if people from other regions were going to consider travelling to New Denver to see the event.

Advertising would have made the slide show a 'big event' with the need to host visitors from elsewhere. It would have changed the event from one where the participants remembered their past to one where others were being informed about this community's past. It would have raised a variety of concerns amongst community members (both the Japanese Canadian and white residents), including how the visitors would interpret their lives this small under-employed, rural community. Local Japanese Canadians were already uncomfortable with the way that some Japanese Canadians and Japanese reporters had covered them. For example, some Japanese articles represented them as impoverished old people, living in shacks, working in occupations suitable only for the lower castes in Japan. This was embarrassing for them as well as their relatives.

After some consideration, Truly thought it would be more appropriate to make it a local event: a photo-documentary retrospective of New Denver from the perspective of one community member. On behalf of the Kyowakai Society, she invited the larger New Denver community. For the elders, the idea of dealing with the responses of this group alone was enough.

Truly was acutely aware of how creating an audience/an event initiates particular relations and expectations.¹³ To ensure that the show was primarily aimed at local residents rather than the general public she scheduled it outside the NIMC's regular hours of operation. She also announced it in local venues and not at the NIMC. Truly verbally invited 'old timers' associated with the Japanese Canadian community, advertised the event in the weekly New Denver newspaper and placed posters in various 'hangouts,' like the Apple Tree Restaurant and the El Dorado Grocery Store. Timing was key as well. She announced the event one and a half weeks before the event, making it feasible primarily for local residents to attend. Given the isolation of New Denver, it would be an effort for anyone living elsewhere to come for the evening on such short notice.

Truly was concerned with the impact of setting up more events and public sites concerning the internment. There is the question of whether it is desirable to create more interfaces with the public. Already there was the NIMC: a public statement about the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. It provides a particular type of interface. The NIMC remains a 'front stage' where interactions are staged insofar as they involve institutionalized practices and roles which the Kyowakai Society has agreed to play. The roles are based on conventional roles and practices which are used to represent various institutions, whether family, a teachers' association or the Buddhist Church. Having a 'representational capacity' is a familiar component of old-style Japanese Canadian identity. To some degree, members of the pre-war community -- insofar as they were typically members of one or more of these institutions -- were always in a position where they were representing an institution with a particular social standing to others with

---

¹³ Truly with her partner Howard Bearham works in the area of new media technology with many years of experience in political theatre aimed at intervening in the lives of individuals and communities. For example, she was in a theatre company that toured high schools working with students on issues such as racism, drugs, etc.

various representational capacities.¹⁴ At the NIMC, the elders represented the Kyowakai Society to the general public, creating a formal distance between them and the public: a circumscribed place where, when and for how long the interaction takes place and structured roles that delineate what sort of/the extent of interaction required.

In contrast, the slide show presented a more detailed personal account of individual Japanese Canadians living in New Denver. The Japanese Canadians who were present at the slide show were identifiable in the slides. They participated in the ongoing dialogue during the presentation. Inviting non-residents would have 'opened up' 'access' to the community in a way that differed from that of the NIMC. On the one hand, presenting details about their lives would have provided a range of information that could have been used by visitors to approach individuals. But, for this event, they were not designated formal roles. Nor are the images and accounts part of a permanent exhibit or an archive with limited access due to a range of bureaucratic procurement procedures. Thus the elders could have become a 'resource' that visitors could easily access and re-organize into their various agendas and projects, whether for a photo exhibit or history book. New Denver is already a destination for individuals seeking resources and 'inspiration' for personal and group projects. The implications for those living in New Denver are often not considered in these ventures.

There is also the problem of interpretation. Short-term visitors can quickly impose their interpretation without considering the complexity of locals' various points of views.

Without a formal or personal social relation to the locals, the visitors are not necessarily

---

¹⁴ The pre-war community had many civil organizations which coordinated social, economic and political aspects of Japanese Canadian life, such as different women's societies, farm cooperatives, fishing associations or youth groups.

impelled to consider how their publications or projects will affect those living in New Denver.

The narrative of the slide show is 'loose.' There is no authoritative voice over that forces a particular interpretation. There is no extra text that underlines the purpose of the slide show -- in contrast to the NIMC where the displays and supplementary texts underline how the human rights of Japanese Canadians were violated. There are different levels of narrative layered spontaneously together. For example, Mr. Matsushita's retrospective account of the slides contrasts with Mrs. Matsushita's corrective insights; the story told by the sequence and choice of various sets of slides selected by Truly; the perspective and composition of the slides individually and as sets; the response, and spontaneous information shared by the members of the audience.

There is a need to consider carefully the impact of when, how, and the extent to which the Kyowakai Society opens up access to what others 'seek,' whether their memories or personal records. Showing their 'archives' and giving their testimonies to others involves time and energy, especially given their sense of protocol and their graciousness as 'hosts.' This is an issue insofar as New Denver is an 'attractive' destination. It is located in a region that is considered in many ways as a retreat from urban life both as a scenic mountainous/wilderness area and as a locus of alternative cultural activities including crafts, holistic healing, back-to-the-land politics and environmentalist activism. Thus it is important to consider what is the appropriate level of access. There can be a tendency to assume that making an event a 'big event' makes it 'successful.' But if it means not only a large workload but also a commodification of, and intrusion into their lives -- this assumption must be reconsidered. For the slide show, it became clear that there was enough to manage (workload and social relations and worry/concern about doing it

'right') in organizing a new event and inviting members of the larger New Denver community.

d. Community Formation: a New Collective 'We'?

In the previous sections I discussed how the slide show operated external to the net of tourist relations that constituted the NIMC as a tourist site. The show is part of re-claiming the buildings incorporated into the NIMC as tourist attractions. Holding the show at the NIMC underlined how the buildings are active social venues that continue to be a part of the process of community formation.¹⁵ But the show did not simply reproduce established institutions. It facilitated the ongoing transformation of the Japanese Canadian community, a process that occurred in part because the established members of the Kyowakai Society allowed the younger members to initiate and organize the event. This intergenerational component is an established process whereby the community is handed down to the next generation. But it also is one that facilitates change.

While the slide show was a 'community' event, the way it was organized did not restrict 'community' to a population bound by racial lines to local Japanese Canadians.

Organized by local Japanese Canadians, it encompassed those living in the village of New Denver -- though it did not necessarily dissolve the distinct mesh of relations that constituted various groups (and multiple memberships across groups). It initiated a new set of interactions amongst various groups including newcomers and Japanese Canadian elders. Interaction between various groups is nothing new. There are all sorts of

---

¹⁵ In fact this event took advantage of the way the incorporation of the buildings into the NIMC transformed them from venues that were strictly for members of the Kyowakai Society, to sites that offered the potential as an interface with others.

interactions and ongoing relations between what I have circumscribed as the Japanese Canadian community and other residents in New Denver. They include relationships based on friendships, marriage; exchanges between store clerks, waitresses, bakers, postal workers and customers; attending funerals and weddings; working at mills, in the Sanitarium and later, the Pavilion and on committees for the village council; buying firewood and attending art gallery openings.

The interaction at the slide show was 'new' insofar as the site and reason for these interactions were new. In terms of the site, typically community buildings such as the Kyowakai Hall and the Centennial Hall are used for events that involve just Japanese Canadians, not the larger New Denver community. The novelty of this event was apparent through the apprehension of the established members of the Kyowakai Society at the beginning of the show. Organized and set up by a younger member of the Society, the elders were present as 'honoured' guests: the stars of the slide show. But they are, on the one hand, used to being the hosts rather than the guests at Japanese Canadian events; and on the other hand, not used to having so many non-Japanese Canadians in their community venues. Many refused to sit until all the non-Japanese Canadians were seated, others wanted to stand at the back of the hall rather than sit with the audience. Like Truly and I, they seemed a bit overwhelmed as well as apprehensive about the number of people who showed up. While non-Japanese Canadians have attended other Japanese Canadian events in the Centennial Hall and Kyowakai Hall, they usually have a formal connection to the event whether as a government official or as a close friend, a son or daughter-in-law.

This event also introduced a new activity. It presented a retrospective of their life in New Denver, with events, places and people that everyone recognized along with glimpses

into the semi-private venues of various groups. It was organized by a particular group, a racial 'minority' within the community where there are few racial others.¹⁶ This 'minority' invited others from the established groups into their venue for an account of the village's past from the perspective of one of their members.

By bringing different people together to re-member the past -- what was presented as commonly 'theirs' -- the event initiated ways to re-configure the various groups with their separate and overlapping membership and activities, into a new collective. The event offered a forum through which different groups came together as *one group* and re-membered, what, through the event, became 'their' past, as was evident when people shouted out questions when, for example, a photo of a high school sports team appeared, such as, "Hey! OK! can everyone name the people?"

This does not mean that everyone saw or consented to the same version of what-had-past. The point here is that *everyone participated* in the process of remembering what-had-past as one group. This included those who were not in the slides. But they might simply have included the buildings depicted in the slides as what they considered to be a part of their everyday life in New Denver. It is their relation to the people, event or place in the photos that makes the group's memories of them part of their past as well.

e. Heteroglossia in Action

The slide show did not impose one interpretation of the past. It evoked various versions of what-has-passed. The recollections of those attending the event potentially worked to

---

¹⁶ The region is strangely absent of First Nations and other people who figured prominently in the development of primary industries throughout BC, such as Chinese Canadians. The absence of First Nations groups is in part due to the way the government relegated them to a reserve to the south, across the US border, despite the fact that they inhabited this region as part of their seasonal movements. The absence of Chinese Canadians remains a mystery still

broaden not just the details of, but the terms with which various groups understood 'the past.' This was especially evident with respect to new residents. Since they had not lived in New Denver when there was a large Japanese Canadian community, it would be easy to discount the social significance of the local Japanese Canadians given their small numbers today. But the way others excitedly recognized various Japanese Canadians in the slides of the fairly large community in the 1960s, may have altered this impression. This may have made the terms through which new residents constructed the past a little less secure. It might have made them more attuned to remnants scattered throughout the social landscape. For example, they might become more prone to notice the large array of Japanese foods in the El Dorado Grocery. This large stock of food might seem at odds with the very small number of local Japanese Canadian residents in the area but it reveals its size and import in the past.

The simple presence or absence of certain well-known elderly Japanese Canadians at the slide show potentially had memory-effects as well. For example, consider the situation where an elder was sitting beside a new resident. The elder, no doubt, had experienced aspects of the past outside the new resident's bounds of experience. If the elder was in some of the slides (though thirty years younger!) the new resident would potentially be reminded these slides and the elders' memories were the only records of that moment. The absence community figures who could have given an account of a particular event -- the absence of all those people in the slides -- speaks of bodies of past experience that can not be accessed through the warmth of their living breath.

Just as it is easy to romanticize the process of discovering the past, it is easy to romanticize this gathering. But if one focused on the interactions between those attending the event, it was evident that the recollections of different people, reaffirmed

certain differences and also introduced new misconceptions. As noted, since the memorial centre opened two years previously, this was the first time many of the white older-timers had visited the NIMC. They did not come to learn the way local Japanese Canadians viewed the internment camp in New Denver. Instead, probably remembering Mr. Matsushita photographing community life in New Denver, they came to see his records of the 1960s and 1970s. Yet given that many white members of the community have supported the NIMC both individually and in formal capacities, for example, on the village council, why did some come to see Mr. Matsushita's slide show and not the NIMC? Have they been uneasy or uncomfortable with the determination of local Japanese Canadians to publicly display their history of internment? Or are they critical of the way the contractors 'museumized' the community? Either way, the fact that some have not visited the NIMC, but came to Mr. Matsushita's slide show indicates that some white residents were ambivalent about the way the internment has been publicly re-presented.

Some Japanese Canadian elders were concerned that those attending did not realize what Japanese Canadians went through after they were released from the camp. For example, when there was a ripple of exclamations and appreciative comments as the slides depicting large Japanese Canadian events in the 60s appeared, Mr. Matsushita and Tad Mori tried to intervene. They tried to underline that while it looked as if the Japanese Canadian community held "one fun party after another," that in fact, this period was very difficult for many Japanese Canadians.¹⁷ The pain and difficulties of this period are not 'lost.' The memory of them is etched into the landscape, records of certain events, and

---

¹⁷ This reminded me of what Truly said about the photographs in the NIMC exhibits. With a few exceptions, the photographs were of smiling individuals involved in group activities like band practice, stage performances and so on, making the internment look fun. She said that what we tend to document are the "good times" not the difficult grim moments (Truly in McAllister (a) 1996).

the faces of those now long dead as they are recalled in the responses of others. The struggles and difficulties persist for those that experienced them. But what happens when just the images remain?

f. A Dialogic Narrative

The imagery generated by the recollections and slides revealed that what we see of the past as it is recollected in the present -- community buildings, activities and physical locations -- collected together under the auspices of the NIMC was not a coherent package. The images depicting the Kyowakai Hall filled with Japanese Canadians during the 1960s and 1970s show that these buildings are not just relics of the mythical years of internment, but recently in use by an ongoing, changing Japanese Canadian community. At the same time, for especially the new residents who have noticed the empty state of this building today, notably after the opening of the NIMC, a fissure is created from which questions flow. Where have all the eating, laughing people gone? How many still live here? Have they moved? Why? Have they passed on? Did they have children? Why are they not present? Who are the non-Japanese Canadian guests at these events? Why are there so few, or why are there any at all...what relations did they have with which Japanese Canadians? This dialogue draws forth images from other slides where younger Japanese Canadians and non-Japanese Canadians stand side by side in high school graduations and march together in Remembrance Day parades. This in turn leads into the present, to that night when so many white old-timers came to see the slide show of 'Spud,' Matsushita, a Japanese Canadian who was interned in Denver during the war. And if we stay in the moment of the present, one wonders, with all of the public displays in the Kyowakai Hall, with all the visitors walking through on a daily basis, where do big social events, such as the one depicted in the slide, occur now? Do they occur at all?

The profusion of imagery in the slide show splits open the present scene of the NIMC. No longer was the NIMC as self-evident as it seemed. If we approach the NIMC as a museum, we become subject to a trajectory that contains the internment as a discrete event in the past. It encapsulates the objects on display as evidence of internment and directs us to reflect on the resulting hardships and injustices. The imagery of the slide show spliced this trajectory, breaking open its temporal containment. It re-located the objects on display in multiple relations, issues and events across different moments.

No single slide or verbal exclamation broke open this trajectory. But rather, through the course of the slide show, out of the melange of images depicting events, buildings, people with their gestures and clothing along with the silences and laughter from those attending -- certain images began to take on significance: they began to condense together into particular imagery. Here I refer to imagery in a specific manner. Imagery is built around an image of something which is situated in a particular social landscape. Various people relate differently to each image, providing different social and sensory-emotive contexts for relating to the image. The more the image is contextualized -- set-in-place/s -- the more layered the imagery becomes. In this way the imagery is not 'restricted' to the context provided by any one person at any one moment.

Imagery is built up as what I describe here as 'memory nodes.' Certain images become nodes loaded with elements from other slides or verbal exclamations. They congeal into imagery.

node: n. Knob on root or branch. point at which leaves spring; hard tumour...intersecting point of planet's orbit and ecliptic or of two great circles of celestial sphere; point or line of rest in vibrating body (Pocket Oxford Dictionary 1976: 531).

Something within a node resonates with something other and beyond itself: what is found in other scattered traces of the past, whether from other old photographs, the resonance of the powerful speaking voice of an elder, the remnants of a wooden bucket entangled in tall summer grasses or keepsakes nestled on someone's living room shelf. In some cases, what became a node in the slide show was highly specific to an individual's experiences. For example, in my case, a slide of women clearing a field on a late autumn day was filled with childhood memories of autumn: the time of year for clearing brush to prepare the grounds for winter for those living at the edge of the wilderness. The women working in motion, raking the burnt grasses and brambles had an aesthetic reference to other childhood images of Japanese folk tales, wood block prints, of my own Obaasan and mother working in their gardens and yards. In contrast, images of the Kyowakai Hall acted like nodes because this Hall was a central component in the NIMC, the focus of my research project. I actively tried to create a social context that would give it meaning beyond my limited experiences in the community. Images that operated as nodes for groups of people, recall common symbols or even icons, for instance, of 'the family' or a 'Japanese garden.'

One quality that characterizes memory nodes is the way that they are always transforming. In no way do they become fixed. Any remnant of the past can be drawn to any number of different nodes which in turn can resonate with many other remnants. The moment when these remnants are drawn together is a dialogic moment: transforming each of the remnants into another form. As one remnant intersects with another, the form of what-was intangible can be illuminated: an aspect of its shape coming into relief through its reflection in the other remnant. It is only in that intersection of their movement through time, that they can condense into what gives

meaningful dimensions to whomever is recollecting the past, either solidifying or re-working however the layers of experience have sedimented into her or his habit-body. Thus, insofar as the images in the slide show work as memory nodes, they begin to pull together traces, wrenching the Kyowakai Hall free from the collection of artifacts, enjoining it with different threads of activity in New Denver.

g. Shaking Loose Mainstream Narratives

The production of meaning in the act of delivering the slide show destabilized the hold that conventional historical trajectories had over remnants of the past. In particular, this small scale memory project shook loose the way life history narratives and the NIMC's museumizing trajectory fitted remnants of the past into their stories of community life. An essential component of the capacity of the slide show to destabilize these conventional renditions was its open narrative structure which depended on the responses and interactions of those who attended the event.

The narrative sequence of the slides did not re-organize the remnants and recollections of the past into another trajectory that pinned them securely into yet another narrative. The production of meaning during the delivery of the slide show relied on whoever came and their responses to each other as well as to the slides and the venue. It spun the images and the recollections into heteroglossic and fluid i.e., multiple, never completely stated, developed or rhetorically closed trajectories: memory nodes. This is because the imagery elicited by the slides and recollections was not necessarily the same for each person in attendance. While there seemed to be a general consensus on what, where and who and even the significance of certain locations, events or people -- for each person, the slides and recollections undoubtedly referred to different moments in their lives,

social networks and events. Without an authoritative narrative in place, it was possible for various traces to come to the foreground while others receded, for certain images rather than others to be weighed with different inflections, re-organized around different concerns or themes, to consolidate different images into different stories.

At the same time, the general banter, the shared reactions, for example, quiet moments of reflection or excited shouts of "remember this!" reinforced a collective memory across the racial boundaries of the Japanese Canadian community and the white population. It was through their interaction and responses to the slides that this collective memory came into play, rather than being strictly directed or imposed by a narrative. This memory was collective insofar as those attending the slide show collectively, as a group re-membered things that has-passed. But again, this in no way meant that they remembered the same things the same way. Given the diverse responses and the difficulty to sustain one's particular interpretation of an event in the presence of others whose lives were intimately bound up in, for example, aspects of the past that one may have tried to forget, the slide show offered the potential to generate new understandings - whether one was a newer resident who did not realize the social significance of the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver, an old-timer who had nostalgic memories of this community as happy and trouble-free, those who circumscribed the community along racial lines or saw the internment as part of the past -- rather than an ongoing, changing aspect of the present.

V. Conclusion: A Dialogic Understanding of the Past

In this chapter, I have examined the different narratives that the local Japanese Canadians have used to construct their experiences of internment. The NIMC used the 'redress

narrative,' the narrative developed during the Japanese Canadian movement for redress, to describe the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s. This narrative presents what happened from the point of view of Japanese Canadians. It defines the government's actions as a violation of their rights. While the redress narrative was used to make a public statement about the experiences of Japanese Canadians, the NIMC also facilitated a number of other small scale memory projects for the community.

This chapter focused on two memory projects. I described one memory project where the elders, in particular the women, worked as a group to furnish two internment shacks now on display at the NIMC. At one level, I described how the search for household items became a forum for the women to collectively remember their pasts. At another level, I questioned whether the process of looking for artifacts in their homes turned their personal belongings and lives into artifacts. I argued that this was a complicated process given the fact that most elders already had their own collection of artifacts which they used to explain their histories to researchers and other visitors.

The second memory project I discussed was the slide show, "A Time Gone By." This project was produced by Mr. Matsushita, one of the elders, in conjunction with Ruby Truly, a younger member of the community. Mr. Matsushita's slides depicted the intersection between different groups in New Denver, notably, Japanese Canadians and white residents. While the slide show did not re-present images of the camp during the 1940s, it did re-present the transformation of the camp, notably the way Japanese Canadians' lives have become integrated with the lives of the other residents from the perspective of one of the elders. I described how the slideshow brought together the Japanese Canadians and local residents to recollect their past as one community. I

described how their different memories and points of view created a moment of interillumination. In sum, this chapter described how the NIMC has facilitated memory projects that have brought together different perspectives of the past -- both from within and outside their local Japanese Canadian community. In this way, the NIMC has contributed to creating a dynamic rather than static understanding of the past.

Chapter 5

Visiting the NIMC: a Historical Museum, a Memorial, or a Pilgrimage Site

I. Introduction

Over the last fifty years, the remnants of the internment camps that held over eight thousand Japanese Canadians during World War Two have slowly eroded into the mountainous terrain of the Slocan Valley. For years this history, like the history of the Doukhobors and the People of the Sinixt Nation, lay latent, shifting uneasily amongst the accumulating debris of the past. The remarkable and unremarkable details of life for thousands of Japanese Canadians slipped between the lines of official historical discourses. These discourses wrote the deeds of explorers, white settlers, mining and logging companies and union organizers into this landscape through historic plaques, place names, heritage sites, interpretative centres, memorials and site specific museums. Re-presented in road maps and tourist guides, these historical markers have been transposed into the movements of tourists, travellers and locals, configuring the local geography around a lacuna of racial erasure.

While historically persecuted groups have been marginalized or erased from official histories, a number of their members remain in the Slocan Valley and the surrounding region. Some groups have established settlements. For example, in Castlegar, a large town two hours south of the Slocan Valley, the Doukhobor community went through a revival in the 1960s. They built the Kootenay Doukhobor History Society Museum in 1972 and the Brilliant Cultural Centre in 1975.¹ Likewise, the Japanese Canadians who

---

¹ The Doukhobor community went through a revival in part due to changes in the state policies towards "ethnic groups", notably with multicultural policies that supported social and cultural development (F. M. Mealing 1977: 11).

were permitted to stay in the village of New Denver in the Slocan Valley after 1945 have transformed the old internment camp into their home community.

Today only a few Japanese Canadian elders remain in New Denver. Over the years, the many transformations of what was once a desolate mud flat filled with leaking shacks amidst hostile mountains have underlined the impermanence of the material world. Now faced with their own mortality, the elders have come to realize that when they die, their memories of the internment camps will disappear with them. They thus decided to build the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC) to ensure that future generations would not forget the thousands of Japanese Canadians whom the government interned in this area.

The NIMC re-inscribes the experiences of Japanese Canadians into one of the many sites where they were interned during World War Two. Through it the elders give their *account* of the uprooting, dispossession, internment and the forced dispersal of Japanese Canadians. The centre does not simply add a missing piece of information to the history of the province. An account is an attempt to establish the way the world is. In the act of giving an account of what happened in the New Denver camp, the elders make their past experiences part of their current social world which contributes to their process of healing.

This chapter is concerned with the ways that visitors relate to the account of the New Denver camp presented by the elders at the NIMC. A significant number of these visitors are Japanese Canadians, but the majority are non-Japanese Canadians travelling through the Kootenays on vacation. In a context where official historical discourses vacillate between justifying and obscuring acts of legislated racism, non-Japanese Canadian

visitors could either reject or simply misunderstand the account presented at the NIMC. There might also be visitors who, at one level, accept that the rights of Japanese Canadians were violated but at another level still view the community in stereotypical terms as foreigners or exotic Orientals.

This chapter is also concerned with how the different visitors have affected the Japanese Canadian elders' understanding of and relation to their past. How visitors relate to the elders' account has a social impact. Generating an account is a dynamic process involving other social groups. The way others relate to your account -- whether they contest, ignore, support or misunderstand it -- determines the extent to which your construction of the world is socially legitimated. The NIMC is the elders' public account of the violation of rights they experienced during World War Two. As I discuss in the last section of this chapter, how the elders have responded to others' reactions to the NIMC is a complex matter. For example, even if visitors use terms that construct Japanese Canadians as foreigners rather than Canadian citizens, the fact that visitors are interested in learning about the violation of their civil rights grants a level of legitimacy to the elders' effort to give an account of the New Denver camp.

In particular this chapter examines the ways that visitors relate to the NIMC through an analysis of their comments, questions and reactions. Their responses show how they are positioned in relation to Japanese Canadians. Because we might approach museums and racialized minorities like some of the visitors, we might be inclined to argue that the visitors' responses do not represent anything other than their personal dispositions: the inquisitiveness of the local history buff; the rudeness of a tired traveller at the end of a family camping holiday; the empathy of someone whose Japanese Canadian childhood friends were removed from their neighbourhood by the government in 1942; or the

defensiveness of a visitor expecting aesthetically pleasing 'Japanese' displays and not a critique of the Canadian government. We might interpret the types of questions asked by visitors as 'normal curiosity.' Their terminology could be regarded as 'perfectly acceptable.' Their attempts to enter the site when it was closed could be considered as 'reasonable.' But I would argue that the act of insisting that the visitors' responses were nothing else but 'normal,' 'acceptable' and 'reasonable' – is part of the discursive construction of what is 'normal.' We need to question what is 'normal.'

How visitors relate to the NIMC depends in part on the discursive construction of the NIMC. Whether the NIMC is constructed as a community venue or an exotic Oriental garden will affect how visitors integrate it into different fields of activity. I could restrict my examination to the discursive construction of the NIMC at a textual level, through press releases, tourist guides, articles in newspapers and advertisements on radio broadcasts. I indicated in previous chapters that at this level the NIMC 'appears' as a tourist site and, in particular, as a historical museum. But visitors are not seamlessly constituted in one discursive field of activity. While visitors are constituted as tourists in relation to the NIMC, they are constituted in and constitute objects in other fields of activity as well. A textual analysis would ignore the variety of ways that visitors integrate the NIMC into different fields of activity. Moreover, how the visitors negotiate these discourses is another question, that can be analyzed only by examining the ways various visitors relate to the NIMC. At a phenomenological level, this provides insights into how they hold-the-world-to-be: how they are oriented towards the world as they are configured at a social, sensorial and psychological level in relation to the changing world in which they are situated.

Before conducting a more phenomenological examination later in this chapter, one problem remains. As I stated above, it is easy to read the visitors' responses to the NIMC as 'normal' or as individual reactions. Because I have selected descriptions of the visitors from my fieldnotes rather than from a representative sample, it would be easy to dismiss my analysis. Thus it is necessary to provide a context from which to read the visitors' responses. I shall begin this chapter with an analysis of the dominant fields of discursive activity that position the visitors in relation to the NIMC as a tourist site and as a museum.

In previous chapters, I described how the NIMC is constituted as tourist site through its presentation in local media and through its physical layout. Visiting the NIMC is structured like a typical trip to a tourist site. The NIMC is constituted as one of the many 'tourist attractions' through promotional material and advertisements that encourage people to visit the NIMC in order to learn about the local history of New Denver. The relations between the 'visitors and hosts' at the NIMC are similar to other tourist sites insofar as access to information about Japanese Canadian history and the experience of the reconstructed internment shacks are commodified. Those visiting the NIMC pay a fee to view the exhibits that they expect will provide them with new information or transformative experiences. Visitors can also purchase postcards, crafts or books as souvenirs of their visit. If they are not satisfied, it is within their rights to 'get their money back.' But this does not mean that everyone understands their encounters and activities at the NIMC as commodities devoid of other social meanings or divorced from other social practices.

In the first section of this chapter I draw on the sociological literature that examines tourist behaviour to delineate tourism as a field of activity. I present a discursive method

of analysis that avoids naive conceptions of tourists – which circulate in popular culture and academic studies – as alienated individuals in search of either distraction or authentic experiences. In the second section I discuss the formation of discursive practices particular to historical museums. I draw on Frantz Fanon's work on the socio-psychological complex of colonized peoples to examine the ethnographic relations-of-looking at racial others invoked by museum exhibits. In the third section of this chapter, I describe the various ways that visitors relate to the NIMC, examining how visitors negotiate discourses particular to tourism and museums. This section also describes the other ways that visitors are positioned in relation to the NIMC, for example, as researchers or members of the Japanese Canadian community. Because members of the NIMC staff used the term "tourist" in a somewhat dismissive manner to refer to those who acted like the stereotypical obnoxious tourist, I will refrain from calling everyone who visited the NIMC a tourist. I will restrict the use of the term 'tourist' to those who objectified or commodified the NIMC. I use the term 'visitor' to refer to those who recognize the social and historical significance of the NIMC. I conclude the chapter by discussing how the NIMC has operated as an interface between the elders in New Dener and visitors. I discuss how the NIMC has facilitated the creation of new relations with 'others' and by doing so, has changed the relationship that the elders have to their experiences of internment and dispossession.

II. Theoretical Discussion

1. Tourist Behaviour: An Overview of the Sociological Literature

To analyze the ways that visitors relate to the NIMC, it is necessary to identify the dominant fields of discursive activity that position them in relation to the NIMC. Above, I argued that tourism is one of the dominant fields of activity. In this section I first

provide an overview of seminal sociological literature on tourism. This work provides insightful descriptions of tourism as it ranges from relaxation and fun to the search for authentic experience. I then draw on more recent studies that critique this literature's structural functionalist framework. These studies offer a discursive method of analysis that will allow me to examine how tourism is articulated with other discursive practices, such as visiting museums.

In recent overviews of the literature on tourism prominent sociologists, including Yiorgos Apostolopoulos (1996), Chris Rojek and John Urry (1997), claim that after thirty years the study of tourism remains theoretically undeveloped. The main textbooks treat tourism as a set of economic factors and individual tourists as bundles of preferences. In the area of 'tourist behaviour,' the area of particular concern for this chapter, Rojek and Urry claim that what they call the 'traditional understanding' continues to dominate academic studies and I would add, popular discourses on tourism.

The 'traditional understanding' can be traced to the seminal works written by sociologists such as Dean MacCannell and Erik Cohen in the 1970s (Rojek and Urry 1997: 11). At this time, literature on tourism was influenced by the debates over the merits versus the evils of mass culture. Advocates of high culture claimed that mass culture threatened to "undermine, to destroy by contamination, the qualities of moral and aesthetic excellence inscribed in the 'high culture' of the educated elite...[They] construed [mass culture] as grossly inferior to the 'organic,' supposedly more robust forms of 'folk culture' which had previously comprised the cultural life of the common people" (Bennett 1982: 36). This rendition of mass culture was infused with paranoid references that associated the decline of ancient Greek civilization with the rise of the masses, barbarism and decadence (Brantlinger 1983: 18). In the literature on tourism, this position is typified by Daniel J.

Boorstin who "[bemoans] the disappearance of the traveller of old, who was in search of authentic experiences and [despised] the shallow modern mass tourist, savouring 'pseudo events'" (Cohen 1996 (b): 90).

In response, MacCannell argues that modern tourists, like the travellers of old and specifically religious pilgrims, are defined by their search for authentic experiences. But unlike the pilgrim, the tourist does not search for authentic experience in her or his own society. The shallowness and inauthenticity of modern life impel the tourist to look for "reality and authenticity elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures and in purer simpler life styles" (MacCannell 1989: 3). Utilizing a structuralist functionalist model of organic society, MacCannell claims that as modern society becomes more and more differentiated, it is increasingly characterized by "contradiction, conflict, violence, fragmentation discontinuity and alienation" (1989: 12). As modernization "breaks up the solidarity of the groups...and brings the people liberated from traditional attachments into the modern world where, as tourists, they may attempt to discover or reconstruct a cultural heritage or a social identity" (1989: 13).

MacCannell agrees with Boorstin's claim that tourists are constantly presented with "false fronts" and "pseudo-events" rather than "the real thing." But rather than deriding tourists for being shallow, MacCannell views these inauthentic presentations in terms of Goffman's front stage. Goffman separates social interactions into two categories: the front stage where people enact social performances for outsiders; and the backstage where people act naturally in the company of insiders. In the front stage the performances are self-conscious and calculated. They do not reveal what they actually think or their actual cultural beliefs or practices. If one can gain access to the backstage,

this is where one sees the group's actual cultural practices and beliefs. It is also where the "props" and motivations for the front stage performances are revealed (1989: 92-93).

In contrast to Boorstin, MacCannell argues that "[sightseers] are motivated to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives" (1989: 94). Motivated by this desire, they seek entry into backstage regions. According to MacCannell, false backstages are produced for tourists, both as protection against intrusion, but also for profit. Yet if determined and willing to take risks, tourists can move progressively from front stage areas constructed to appear like backstage areas to authentic backstage areas (1989: 101). The determined search for authenticity provincially or across the globe "helps the tourist construct totalities from his disparate experiences. Thus his life and his society can appear to him as an orderly series of formal representations, like snapshots in a family album" (1989: 15).

Erik Cohen is another key contributor to development of the traditional understanding of tourism. Like MacCannell he sees tourism as a form of the pilgrimage for "moderns who are alienated from their society" (Cohen 1996 (b): 92). Unlike MacCannell, he argues there are many different types of tourists. All tourists search for their "spiritual centres" outside of their own society. Here Cohen refers to what Edward Shils describes as "the centre": the nexus of every society's ultimate moral values. This centre is not necessarily religious. There can be multiple centres, for example, political, religious or cultural centres. For Cohen, the individual's "spiritual centre" is the centre "which for the individual symbolizes ultimate meanings" (MacCannell 1989: 92). With multiple centres, there are multiple types or modes of tourist experience.

Cohen identifies the following modes of tourist experience: recreational, diversionary, experiential, experimental and existential. He argues that the experience that tourists undergo depends on the relation that they have to "the spiritual centre" characterizing their society: whether they adhere to, or are alienated from, the centre of their society.

In the recreational and diversionary modes of tourism, tourists still adhere to the centres of their societies. These modes of tourism characterize modern mass tourism. In the recreational mode, tourists seek recuperation: "it restores [their] physical and mental powers and endows [them] with a general sense of well being" (Cohen 1996 (b): 94). This mode serves as "a 'pressure-valve' for modern-society" (1996 (b): 96). The diversionary mode offers an escape from boredom, making alienation endurable. Again, this mode has a specific function in the operation of an individual's society.

In the experiential, experimental and existential modes of tourist experience, tourists do not adhere to the centre of their own society. Cohen claims that these tourists seek alternative spiritual centres in other societies. Each mode indicates a different level of alienation and thus willingness to embrace the centre of another society.²

It is initially difficult to critique the problems with MacCannell and Cohen's work because their descriptions of tourists seem plausible. We can identify actual people who fit their descriptions of tourists: those seeking relief from everyday boredom and others

---

² Experiential tourists may observe and appreciate the authentic life of others, but experience it vicariously. They are not converted to the others' way of life. Unlike experiential tourists, experimental tourists engage in the authentic life of others. But they refuse to commit themselves to it. They sample and compare, hoping to find an authentic way of living that suits their desires. Insofar as this type of tourist is unaware of what they seek, tourism is a means to search for themselves. The existential mode characterizes travellers who are fully committed to an alternative spiritual centre in another society. Living away from this centre is like "living in exile": the only meaningful 'real life' for existential tourists occurs at the alternative spiritual centre (Cohen 1996 (b): 101).

who seek more meaningful, authentic experiences. Most of us have relatives, friends or acquaintances who, like diversionary or recreational tourists, have travelled to tourist spots like Disney Land, Fred Flintstone Parks and Club Meds. Most of us know others who, like the experiential and experimental tourists, have 'roughed it' in some 'traditional,' 'backwards' country to find spiritual renewal. Most of us have sought to peel back the artifice in tourist-ridden regions, hoping to have a meaningful social exchange with locals that allows us to 'touch' their reality. Moreover, travel guides, mainstream films, documentaries, novels, travelogues, advertisements for holiday packages, sporting equipment stores and airlines also cater to the categories of tourists identified by MacCannell and Cohen, reinforcing the belief that these categories of tourists do in fact exist.

While it might be the case that some tourists seek diversions while others seek 'authentic' experiences, the following assumption is riven with problems: that experience in modern society is somehow inauthentic and that we are driven to seek authentic experiences elsewhere. According to Chris Rojek and John Urry, MacCannell and Cohen presuppose that there is a "real essence of tourism," whether escapism or the search for authenticity. This stems from "a fairly simple-minded realism: that there are clear and identifiable processes 'out there' and these can be straightforwardly described by terms such as 'tourism' and 'travel'" (Rojek and Urry 1997: 2). Rojek and Urry reject the assumption that tourism is *the search for authenticity* against the backdrop of an alienating social system. Instead they argue that tourism is better understood as a complex set of social discourses and practices that *produce various types of tourist experiences*, one of which is the search for authentic experiences in so-called traditional societies. They argue that the 'cultures' that we travel to in order to gain new experiences are in fact produced. These cultures do not lie await in their pristine glory for the next horde of tourists to

discover them. Fantasies and images are cultivated. Unspoiled pieces of paradise where troublesome 'natives' have been evicted and kept 'under control' by local paramilitary units or as decadent retreats with pesticide poisoned golfing greens, dining halls that throw out more food than is consumed by overfed guests -- are all constructed.³

Moreover, Urry claims that not all tourists seek authentic experiences. Some visit places that are self-consciously inauthentic reconstructions of other cultures, geographic regions or scenes that refer to events from popular culture. This suggests that tourists can enjoy a sense of semiotic play rather than being bound to the earnest search for 'authenticity.' In this light it becomes problematic to define 'tourist behaviour' in terms of specific motivating forces that impel the tourist to seek particular goods or experiences. While it is possible to claim that specific groups of tourists behave in particular ways, it is problematic to claim that certain types of behaviour define all tourists. This claim overlooks how tourism is discursively constructed as leisure in contrast to work, neither of which are static activities.

Rojek and Urry provide a conceptual framework that lays the basis for a method of analysis. In "Transformations of Travel and Theory" (1997) and *Consuming Places* (1995), they elaborate a discursive method for analyzing tourism. They claim that tourism can be understood as a field of discursive activity that is not separate from but rather is constituted in conjunction with social practices and changes occurring at local and global levels.⁴ Their discursive method of analysis requires "a range of concepts and

---

³ The manner in which tourists view the introduction of McDonald's restaurants, access to fax machines and internet providers, flush toilets, distilled water, credit cards or bank machines -- whether they view them as necessities, luxuries or degrading forms of commercialization -- underlines how tourist sites and experiences are produced.

⁴ These social practices and changes have been occurring in transportation infrastructure, communication media, the ownership of tourist enterprises and the reorganization of national bodies with the deregulation of, for example, trade, investment and the movement of people across national boundaries. Rojek and Urry

arguments that capture both what is specific to tourism and what is common to tourist and certain non-tourist social practices" (Urry 1996: 115). It involves examining the various discursive and social practices that, on the one hand, have become articulated with, and on the other hand, constitute and are constituted by tourist activities.

To use Rojek and Urry's method of analysis to examine the ways that visitors relate to the NIMC it is necessary to identify the tourist practices as well as non-tourist social practices in which they engage. To conclude this section of the chapter, I will provide a working definition of tourism that delineates it from other social practices. My definition is based on the relation that tourists have to the sites they visit. Tourists travel to specific regions in order to partake in activities for the purpose of leisure. Leisure is distinct from the social and economic activities required to maintain their everyday lives in their places of residence. What constitutes leisure differs according to demographic group and cultural trends. In general, it is possible to identify leisure in contrast to work, insofar as it entails relaxation, entertainment or enlightenment that rejuvenates, invigorates or stimulates the tourist in a transformative manner.⁵

---

describe how the configuration of the contemporary subject's senses has been re-organized through key changes in political ideologies, building and communication technologies, aesthetic movements and economic structures. These changes have, on the one hand, led to the re-configuration of urban/global spaces and subsequently, the way people intermingle. On the other hand, they have led to the incorporation of mass produced imagery, notably the photographic image, through which people organize 'reality'. This new configuration of senses favours the sight over smell, touch and hearing. It organizes the contemporary subject around what Rojek and Urry call "the tourist gaze". According to Urry, "[people] are tourists most of the time whether they are literally mobile or only experience simulated mobility through the incredible fluidity of multiple signs and electronic images" (Urry 1997: 148).

⁵ Tourists seek transformative stimulus, whether rejuvenation, new insights, new information, nostalgia or pleasurable, perhaps inspirational, maybe even emotionally moving or frightening experiences. All of these experiences are safe insofar as, much like laboratory experiments, they are in some way artificial, either simulating actual events or removed from their original habitat or historical context of use (Cohen 1996 (b): 95). An important exception is extreme sports. A study of this activity might reveal important aspects of tourism in general or a transformation in how it is currently configured.

In contrast to travellers in the early twentieth century and before, the experiences of contemporary tourists are commodified. Tourist sites offer experiences that are produced for and then marketed to tourists. Capital is invested in the production of visually spectacular sights and culturally significant events. To accommodate tourists it is necessary to build transportation infrastructure and service industries. The experiences of tourists are further commodified by the practice of purchasing tangible evidence of their travels and documenting the sites they visit with photographs and video tapes.

Urry also points out that tourists clearly intend to return 'home.' I would argue that this aspect distinguishes them from residents in the vicinities they visit (Urry 1997: 3). It means that tourists do not have long-term social or economic stakes in the local environment or their interactions with local residents. In the most extreme situations, as Cohen claims, the encounters between tourists and hosts are "essentially transitory, nonrepetitive and asymmetrical; the participants are oriented towards achieving immediate gratification rather than towards maintaining a continuous relationship" (Cohen 1996(a): 56).

But the particular orientation that tourists have towards the sites they visit is not only determined by their constitution as tourists. Their orientation depends on how their visit has been articulated with other discourses. The articulation of tourism with colonization and U.S. Imperialism, for example, reveals the gendered construction of tourists in relation to the development of sex industries, especially in the 'third world.' I have indicated that the NIMC looks like a historical museum. The act of being a tourist is articulated with discourses specific to museums. In order to examine the ways in which tourists relate to the NIMC as a historical museum, I elaborate below how these discourses constitute their subjects in relation to the objects on display.

2. Historical Museums: Relations-of-looking at Racial Others

a. Mainstream Museums and Constituting a Public

Examining how visitors relate to the NIMC is not simply a matter of describing their expectations and reactions to the exhibits. As a tourist attraction, and specifically as a historical museum, the centre is situated in a field of discursive practices specific to mainstream museums. These practices are not isolated from other social processes. They are part of a larger field of discursive activity that contributes to the constitution of the contemporary subject. The first part of my discussion of museums I focus on literature in the field of cultural studies that traces the formation of mainstream museums in relation to science, ethnography and colonization. I then draw on Frantz Fanon's work to elaborate the power relations involved in 'looking' at museum displays of racial others. I conclude this section with a discussion of community-run museums that challenge the discursive construction of racial others.

In the introduction to *Museums and Communities* (1990) Ivan Karp claims that museums contribute to the constitution of different 'publics.' He claims that museums are an integral part of civil society.

[As] repositories of knowledge, value and taste...[on which civil society is based]...they establish the social ideals of a society, the sets of beliefs, assumptions and feelings in terms of which people judge one another and which they sometimes use to guide action. Social ideas often set up hierarchies of moral values...They embody notions people have about their differences and similarities and they are organized in terms of which is good and ...bad...superior and...inferior...what is central or peripheral, valued or useless, known or to be discovered (Karp 1992: 5-7).

While museums were once elite institutions in Western nations, they are now vested with the task of educating the general public. They do not simply convey useful information. They work discursively to construct the identity of citizens by defining their relation to other communities (Karp 1992: 6). Karp claims that a nation's relation to different communities -- whether another nation, an ethnic group or Aboriginal peoples -- changes and its citizens' identities shift. Yet, I would argue that it is important to underline that discursive configurations of identity from previous periods are resilient, especially if they cohere with the current discursive configuration.

Discourses that remain central to the constitution of contemporary Western citizens were established in museum exhibitions during the early 1800s. Exhibits in major museums were "intended to control the educational process and to guide the public to desired conclusions that served political ends" (Kreamer 1992: 368). Drawing on the scientific racism of the late nineteenth century, museums reinforced colonial policies by constructing the 'other' in an arrested state of cultural and intellectual development, thus encouraging the general public to support colonial domination.⁶ For instance, Tony Bennett describes how museums in Victorian England aided lower class and middle class Britons to imagine a homogeneous nationalistic identity "counterpoised to a racially different and exotic 'other'" (in Kreamer 1992: 369).

The construction of others in museums is a dynamic process. Meaning is not simply written onto the world. As Karp underlines, the "social ideas of civil society are

---

⁶ The construction of "the racial other" in relation to specific colonial projects was infused with references to a variety of "others" -- most notably women -- who were exploited and violated within the social, psychological and economic configuration of these colonial projects (see Ann Laura Stoler 1996 and Sander L. Gilman 1986 for a more detailed discussion). As well, the fluidity of the references, the way they moved beyond the historically and geographically specific circumstances to which they referred, shows how "the other" operates as a general socio-psychological figure in the interlocking complex of relations of domination underlying Western societies (see Homi K. Bhabha 1994 for a more detailed discussion).

articulated and experienced through striving for consensus [as well as] struggling against the imposition of identity" (Karp 1992: 6). Karp notes that some prominent museum historiographers, such as Neil Harris, claim that museums are currently undergoing a phase of deconstructing established systems of knowledge and authority. There have even been cases in the United States where state officials have challenged museums that deconstructed the "historical truths" central to the nation's collective past (1992: 10). Over the last decade in Canada exhibits, such as "The Cowboy/Indian Show" which was curated by Gerald McMaster at the Museum of Civilization in Ottawa, show that major museums in urban centres are increasingly including exhibits that deconstruct established discourses. Yet at the same time, the same museums still carry permanent exhibits that trace the evolution of Aboriginal cultures and also programme traditional dance and music performances by people from exotic locales. In this context Karp hesitates to embrace major museums as key sites of deconstruction. Yet he agrees that if museums are "places for defining who people are and how they should act," they are also key sites for challenging those definitions (1992: 4). I will return to the dynamic process of constructing others when I discuss community-run museums in the last part of this section of the chapter. It is first necessary to examine the relation of domination involved in 'looking' at racial others.

b. Relations-of-looking at Racial Others

MacCannell's (1989) and Cohen's (1996 (a); 1996 (b)) discussions of tourism fail to analyze the relations of domination that configure it as a field of activity. They claim that modern subjects are driven to find authentic cultures in other societies because the forces of modernization have produced structural faults that have led to alienation and fragmentation. Meaningful experiences are available only in more 'traditional' societies.

In contrast, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt (1991) traces the formation of the contemporary subject and in particular the museum-goer, through the articulation of scientific and ethnographic discourses. This allows her to examine relations of domination. According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt and Svetlana Alpers (1991), museums incorporate specific practices of viewing based on institutionalized systems of knowledge, most notably, scientific knowledge. Exhibitions of exotic cultures, for example, dissect then re-assemble the details of these cultures in a logic of classification that attempts to explain what distinguishes them from the supposedly developed Western nations. Implicitly following an evolutionary time-line, these exhibits contrast the 'primitive' or 'aberrant' with the 'developed.'

But the practices of viewing specific to museums are not just based on scientific discourses. While museums are one of the nodes through which established systems of knowledge are produced and deployed, residues of practices from now defunct systems of knowledge still inform current exhibitions. Of particular importance is the practice of collecting curiosities (Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt 1991: 393). Throughout the nineteenth century, proponents of implementing a scientific approach in museum exhibitions complained that collections of curiosities were displayed without systematic arrangement. By their very definition these collections were at odds with both Charles Darwin's evolutionary and Carolus Linneaus' hierarchical systems of classifying species. Curiosities were defined as chance occurrences and exceptions to the rule, freaks of nature, amazing events or natural wonders that were in and of themselves unique rather than instances of a category of things (1991: 392-393). As abnormal occurrences they engendered fascination, horror, titillation or wonderment.

From the nineteenth to the twentieth century as mainstream museums became established scientific institutions, they dispensed with displays of curiosities. But even so, exhibitions of live specimens, especially performances by humans from 'primitive' societies, continued to be designed to appeal to morbid curiosity and arouse fascination. Many of the exhibits used theatrical genres and techniques with ample references to popular forms of entertainment, including the circus and the chamber of horrors. To grant the exhibitions the guise of respectability during this period -- particularly in the early nineteenth century -- when conservative Protestants in the United States and Britain were critical of theatre -- museum performances were reframed in terms of science, nature and education (1991: 397-398).

Today, conventional ethnographic museum exhibits continue to frame the 'exotic/other' with viewing conventions that were established in the early nineteenth century. As discussed above, these conventions originally sought to affirm the evolutionary distance of colonizing nations from the subjects they exploited overseas. Exhibits of the 'exotic/other' did not simply convey information. How they positioned the viewer invoked a way of looking inscribed with power relations. It was a way of looking specific to the ethnographers, military agents and colonial administrators who mapped resources, populations and transportation routes in 'uninhabited lands' and colonial territories (Todorov 1987). These agents observed and documented the behaviours of 'indigenous' people using categories that reconfigured these people in systems of resource extraction and colonial production. Because the agents did not regard the inhabitants as equal social entities, they did not follow the complex social restrictions governing what was the appropriate manner for them to look at whom and what in these societies.⁷ To

---

⁷ All societies have restrictions or social proprieties with regard to *how a person can look* at certain subjects or events, depending on their status and relation to the subjects or events. Restrictions might require that, for example, while talking to a individual who is revered, one must keep your head slightly bowed versus

ignore social restrictions presupposes a disregard for the forms of social conduct and symbolic systems that are integral to a person's sense of self within a particular society.

The ability to disregard these cultural conventions indicates a social distance between the subject and the object of the gaze. The greater the social distance, the less the need to respect social proprieties that shield a person's intimate life from scrutiny. The gaze is not reciprocal. The position of the person who gazes at another shields him or her from the other looking back with the same penetrating, discombobulating gaze. The greater the social distance, the greater the authority to construct the other through the act of looking without reprisals, without challenges, without the mediation of the other looking-back.

To examine the extent to which the power-to-look was enacted by visitors at the NIMC, it is necessary to consider the different practices and dispositions that constitute *the subject who gazes at racial others*. In his study of the "psycho-existential" complex of the "black man" in Antilles, Frantz Fanon offers a way to conceptualize these practices and dispositions. I present some of his examples of these practices and dispositions because they will be useful in the next section of this chapter where I discuss how visitors relate to the NIMC.

---

boldly staring them in the eye. It might be necessary to formally obtain permission to discreetly watch an event which you will be later expected to emulate (e.g. dissertation defence).

There are restrictions or social proprieties regulating at *whom* and at *what* a person can look at, depending on their status and relation to the subject or event. For example, there might be restrictions that indicate that members of the general public can not observe federal prisoners during their daily routine or members of exclusive business clubs as they dine and drink. There may be restrictions on observing anyone but children under one's care as they conduct basic bodily functions.

To describe the relationship between the French colonizers and the colonized black inhabitants in Antilles, Fanon draws on Hegel's formulation of the master-slave relationship and reworks it using psychoanalytic concepts. He first lays out the existential conditions of what it is to be human: to be human is to be self-conscious. Fanon claims that self-consciousness is realizable only if another human being recognizes or acknowledges your existence. The recognition must be reciprocal: each person in a given interaction must recognize the other's existence. To refuse to recognize the existence of an other is to deny her or him consciousness of her or his self (Fanon 1968: 161-163).

The psycho-existential condition of the colonizer is based on denying the colonized's humanity. In the unconscious of the colonizer "there is a firmly fixed image of the nigger-savage" (1968: 199). This relation to the colonized is enacted in various practices and dispositions. For example, Fanon claims that to deny the colonized humanity is to treat them as if they "had no culture, no civilization, no 'long historical past'" (1968: 34). When the colonized learn to speak the language of the colonizer they are applauded as if they were children learning the rudiments of civilization. But if the colonized master not only the language of the colonizer, but also texts written by key political philosophers and use them to critique the socio-economic conditions of colonization, the colonizer admonishes the colonized, pointing out how ungrateful or insolent they have become. Politically astute colonized subjects threaten the socio-psychological complex of the colonizer.

Fanon also discusses how the colonizer is condescending towards the colonizer. Even if the colonized use the most formal mode of address in the language of the colonizer's homeland, for example, in French, the colonizer will use pidgin in order to "get down to

their level," "to put [the colonized] at ease." By automatically classifying the colonized as incapable of speaking anything other than pidgin, the colonizer primitivizes and decivilizes the colonized (1968: 32). Fanon contrasts this with the way the colonizer speaks to other blue-blood Europeans. Even if they do not share a common language, the colonizer recognizes that other Europeans have their own language, country and cultural standards (1968: 34).

The psycho-existential condition of the colonized as inferior to the colonizer requires the former to accept the latter's denial of her or his humanity. This relationship is also enacted in various practices and dispositions. For example, Fanon claims that the colonized regards the colonizer and the colonizer's culture as superior to their own. They yearn to become the colonizer in what amounts to a violent erasure of themselves. Thus, for example, to become cultured, to become civilized, to develop her or himself, the colonized will strive to secure whatever cultural capital is recognized in the colonizer's home country. They will repudiate the cultural practices and languages of their own people even though the colonizer will never fully recognize them as other human beings, no matter how well they master the traits of 'civilized man.'

Like Hegel's master and slave, the colonizer cannot exist without the colonized and vice versa. This mutually dependent relationship is vital for the colonizer. The colonizer depends not just on the economic, but also on the psychic domination of the colonized for their existence. For Fanon, it is the actual humanity -- the unacknowledged self consciousness -- of the colonized that poses a constant threat to the colonizer: the potential that the colonized will refuse to accept their inferiority threatens the socio-psychic organization of the colonizer's subjectivity and lifeworld. Thus the colonizer has a compulsive need to control the colonized in order to "keep him in his place." Given

that the colonizer's supposed superiority is maintained through institutionalized violence and exploitation, this compulsion is firmly lodged in psychological repressions and displacements that become infused with pathological forms of sexual desire.

While Fanon briefly discusses the psycho-existential complex of "the woman of colour" who desires "the white man" in his study of Antilles, his conceptualization of the colonizer and the colonized is primarily based on male subjects. To examine the constitution of the colonizer's subjectivity it is necessary to consider the organization of sexual relations between the colonizer and the colonized. Studies, for example by Ann Laura Stoler (1996) and Sander L. Gilman (1986) examine how the subjectivity of bourgeois European males in the nineteenth century was constituted in opposition to constructions of the sexualized, hysterical woman -- a construction that was riven with transparent references to fantasies about the "primitive" female subjects from the colonies.

Other historical studies of colonization, for example, Winthrop Jordan's *White Over Black* (1968) are useful here. Jordan examines the formation of the racial and sexual subjectivity of male British colonialists in the eastern and southern regions of what is now known as the United States during the 1600s and 1700s. He argues that the subjectivity of male colonialists was played out through a series of psychological displacements and sublimations developed to cope with the violent ways in which they dealt with their culturally specific fears and anxieties in the context of a complex of factors that included an economy dependent on slavery and the invasion of the land of peoples of the First Nations, the conflation and contradictory use of scientific, religious and liberal ideologies. With regard to the relationship between male colonizers and enslaved African women, he explains how the domestic and psychological order of the

colonial household – in complicity with white colonial women – was rooted in the institutionalized practice of raping enslaved African women. Anxieties and guilt about sexual violence were displaced onto the enslaved women. White colonizers claimed that it was the African women who, with their uncontrollable sexual desires, actively sought to copulate with them. Jordan argues that these anxieties and displacements were concretized in legislation. He describes how colonials set up laws that forbade sexual relations between "whites and blacks" which as Jordan points out, were constantly transgressed by the whites (Jordan 1968: 154-157).

Pathological subjectivities do not simply wither once relations of domination that were formally instituted, for example, through legislation, are dismantled. Such relations of domination leave residues of cultural practices, habits, forms of speech, symbolic systems, modes of relating – like the power-to-look inscribed in ethnographic museum displays – that cannot be simply switched off or willed to change through cognitive exercises. They operate as if part of an autonomic or involuntary nervous system which over time has become organized around a repetitive stimulus that has left residues and effects that work long after the original stimulus has ended (Curtis 1983: 765).

According to Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt, the power-to-look or the gaze is still inscribed in contemporary ethnographic displays. These displays invoke "the power to open up to sight differentially, to show with respect to others what one would not reveal about oneself -- one's body, one's person, and life" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt 1991: 415). These displays are arranged to reveal intimate aspects of extinct or less 'evolved' cultures.⁸

---

⁸ If the "cultures" continue to exist, they are usually not granted the status of "societies". The term culture denotes a group of people who share artifacts, rituals and a language rather than a political system.

They strip away the protection of privacy from what are considered to be the 'lower' orders of humanity while averting our gaze from the supposedly superior classes.⁹

3. The NIMC and Community-run Museums: Challenging the Construction of Racial Others

How is this analysis relevant to the ways that visitors relate to the NIMC? Insofar as people relate to the NIMC as a historical museum, its displays invoke practices of looking inscribed with the power-to-look or what feminist film theorists such as Laura Mulvey (1988) have conceptualized as voyeurism. As did Fanon in his study of Antilles, it is necessary to identify the specific practices of looking invoked at the NIMC. In particular it is necessary to examine the construction of the racial other on display at the NIMC. While the NIMC's exhibits recount the history of Japanese Canadians from the perspective of the local community, the images of Japanese Canadians call up racial discourses with codes framing the representation of Asians. Under the rubric of 'Orientals,' 'the East,' 'the Far East,' 'the Yellow Peril' and 'the Yellow Races,' Japanese Canadians are subsumed under the lexicon of the 'exotic other.' As Gina Marchetti argues with respect to Hollywood films, "these discourses create a mythic image of Asia that empowers the West and rationalizes Euroamerican authority over the Asian other. [In Hollywood films] romance and sexuality provide the metaphoric justification for this domination" (Marchetti 1993: 6). Through the lexicon of the exotic other or 'the Oriental,' Japanese Canadians lose the material particularities that mark them as human: as a living-breathing, aging-dying, giving-birth, thinking-compulsive, creating-destroying-

---

⁹ Exhibits of deceased members of this class are produced if a member can be used as an exemplar of moral fortitude, genius, etc. Another exception is public figures who have become icons in popular culture. Yet as icons, whether Lady Di, Michael Jackson or Ernest Hemmingway, they have been discursively constructed to be looked at and investigated in order to reveal the supposedly private side of their lives.

hoping, materially concrete group. Individual members lose the differences that defy stereotypes. If Japanese Canadians display 'Oriental' traits and behaviours -- for example, if they possess dark hair and use chopsticks with agility, or if there is a curve to their eyes combined with a smooth, rather than a prominent brow bone and they happen to be wearing a conservative blue suit with conservative glasses -- they are subsumed into the lexicon of 'the Oriental.' As 'Orientals,' they become sites for a shifting melange of contradictory qualities drawn from Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese or Chinese caricatures (Said 1979: 62). These qualities are no longer directly traceable to an original incident between specific groups from particular geographic regions (McAllister 1992: 9). The Asian becomes a category that, as Edward Said argues, "allows one to see new things, things seen for the first time, as versions of a previously known thing. In essence such a category is not so much a way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established way of viewing things" (1979: 58-59).

These codes for looking at Asians are widespread in British Columbia museums, where reconstructions of stereotypical 'Chinatowns' are especially popular.¹⁰ As discussed in previous chapters, until the Japanese Canadian movement for redress, the role that Japanese Canadians played in the development of British Columbia's economy -- or even as exotic or vilified images like those of Chinese Canadians-- were strangely absent from British Columbia's official histories. As Marchetti argues, "any act of domination brings with it opposition, guilt, repression and resistance, which also must be incorporated into these myths and silenced, rationalized, domesticated, or otherwise eliminated" (Marchetti 1993: 6). Removed from the social landscape in 1945 through an extension of orders in council passed by the federal cabinet under the War Measures Act, official historical

---

¹⁰ See Kay Anderson 1991 for more discussion on the construction of stereotypical Chinatowns.

discourses eliminated Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. These discourses did not need to negotiate their living presence as organized economic units, as political lobby groups demanding the right to vote or even as segregated Japantowns. In contrast, reconstructed 'Chinatowns' have had a prominent place, for example in the province's Royal British Columbia Museum and in British Columbia heritage sites like 'Barkerville,' a tourist site constructed to resemble the town of Barkerville which was built during the Cariboo goldrush of 1862.¹¹ In these exhibits, exterior walls that would have shielded the lives of the inhabitants from prying eyes are removed. Like a cross-section that cuts a snail shell in half in a scientific examination, the exhibits expose the mysteries of interior life. Whether pulsating internal organs or underground burrows where movement is tactile rather than visual, the removal of the walls gives us access to intimate backstage activities that in life are free from direct surveillance from outsiders. The exhibits play on an exotic foreign element, drawing on references to opium, prostitutes and secret clan societies. The experience is titillating, reinforcing voyeuristic relations-of-looking. The lighting is dim as we peer into the cramped gambling dens or medicinal stores lined with collections of odd glass vials holding concoctions used, we imagine, to heal all sorts of strange ailments. We see impoverished living conditions -- so different from 'our' working class: the rice bowls and chopsticks, Chinese language newspapers, strange clothing and footwear. High on a small shelf, there is usually an altar for a mysterious deity (as opposed to the gory Christian icon of a bleeding naked man with his hands and feet nailed to a cross).

Yet as argued in *Chapter 2*, the NIMC challenges the construction of Japanese Canadians as exotic foreigners by asserting their material particularities. Japanese Canadians are

---

¹¹ It would be interesting to examine how the construction of old Chinatowns has altered with the recent capital investments and immigration from Hong Kong in BC's lower mainland.

presented in a range of typical Canadian activities as pioneers, war vets, baseball players, performers in jazz bands and concerned citizens writing letters to decry the abuse of democratic principles. In this context, the NIMC belongs to a movement of small scale museums run by marginalized communities with mandates to re-interpret the ways that they have been constructed by established discourses. Many African American museums, for example, strive for a "positive education" and are guided by "the principle that museums can be the vehicle for social change" (Kreamer 1992: 376). If their budgets are sufficient and they are not invested in securing credibility by adhering to conventional museum practices, some also strive to create a more participatory, "dialogue-oriented" system of operation that includes members of their community, other grassroots organizations and individuals from the general public. A "dialogue-oriented" system of operation involves democratizing acquisition practices, the rationales for collections, access policies, educational and outreach programs and hiring mandates (Tchen 1992; Bickerton et. al. 1988). Museums with mandates to re-interpret their experiences from a critical community-based perspective are also sites where groups who are devalued by or deleted from official histories can claim and affirm "a heritage" and contemporary identities (Kreamer 1992: 374).

The NIMC operates against the grain of established historical discourses that have either omitted or marginalized the history of Japanese Canadians. As discussed previously, the landscape of the Slocan Valley is configured around the histories of mining and logging through a network of local museums, historical sites, plaques, books and newspaper articles and tourist guides. Until the NIMC was built, there were few references to the history of Japanese Canadians in the region. In this context, the NIMC offers Japanese Canadians from across Canada a place to affirm "a heritage" and their identities. As an educational centre, it challenges the way established historical discourses constitute non-

Japanese Canadian visitors as members of the general public around a lacuna of racial erasure.

Yet the extent to which the NIMC challenges the ways that visitors have constructed Asians is another question. As I argued previously, the very act of re-presenting Asians in a museum calls up the codes of ethnographic exhibits -- in particular, museum displays of 'Orientals' and thus relations-of-looking-at 'Orientals.' But visitors are not just positioned in relation to the NIMC through discursive practices specific to tourism, mainstream museums and official history. How visitors relate to the NIMC depends on what other discursive practices configure their visit to the NIMC and how they negotiate these discourses. The following section examines this problem.

III. Negotiating Dominant Discourses in the Field

1. The Point of Contact: the NIMC Workers

In the previous section I summarized the sociological literature on tourism and museums in order to describe how dominant discourses constitute tourists and specifically museum-goers in relation to exhibits of racial others. The purpose of the overview was to underline how museum-goers are not simply propelled by innocent curiosity or the search for authentic culture. Their orientation towards museums is sedimented with residues of habits, dispositions and practices derived from dominant discourses. This section shows how different visitors to the NIMC negotiate these dominant discourses. While some visitors fit the worst stereotype of the tourist, other visitors demonstrate that dominant discourses do not seamlessly constitute every visitor as intrusive tourists seeking access to backstage areas of local Japanese Canadian life.

To show the different ways that visitors related to the NIMC in the summer of 1996, I have selected passages from the fieldnotes I wrote during my research visit, which describe interactions between visitors and NIMC workers. Each evening and morning I wrote extensive accounts of the daily events. In my descriptions of visitors I recorded their interactions with members of the NIMC's staff and members of the Kyowakai Society. With a mandate to critically re-interpret Japanese Canadian experience, NIMC workers are positioned in a way that at times places them at cross purposes with certain groups of visitors. Workers who have been involved in other Japanese Canadian projects were especially aware of their role in challenging established historical discourses. In certain instances this role affected how the workers responded to the visitors. Because I was positioned as a NIMC worker, my critical understanding was also reflected in how I described these interactions in my fieldnotes. Therefore, before presenting passages from my fieldnotes, it is necessary to briefly discuss how the workers were positioned in relation to the NIMC.

I have defined the NIMC staff as anyone hired by the Kyowakai Society who works on the site of the NIMC on a regular basis. This definition includes the administrative staff and students hired to operate the NIMC from May to September, elders responsible for the garden and maintenance of the grounds, and researchers hired by the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee. The Kyowakai Society carefully selects the workers in order to ensure that they can appropriately represent their Society at the NIMC. Because most of the workers grew up in New Denver, the members of the Kyowakai Society either know the workers' backgrounds or have a personal connection to someone in their families.

Working at the NIMC is not just a summer job where workers can gain experience and earn wages. The workers also approach their jobs as if they were performing a service to the New Denver community. Japanese Canadian and non-Japanese Canadian workers were interested in working at the NIMC because the story that the NIMC shares with the general public, on the one hand, is an important part of New Denver's history, and on the other hand, it is a significant part of Japanese Canadian history. To protect the identities of the NIMC workers, where appropriate, I refer to them as local *Sunsei*. I also have increased their numbers and randomly changed their gender to further protect their identities.

When I conducted research in New Denver in 1996 there was little information about the visitors' patterns of interacting with the NIMC workers.¹² In particular the workers did not have information about what social groups visited the NIMC or their reasons for visiting. This was partly because the NIMC had been in operation for only two years. Based on interactions from the first two years of operation as well as work in the area of public education, experienced members of the staff expected that most visitors would approach the NIMC as a historical museum that provided information about Japanese Canadians in the area.¹³ Given that until quite recently Japanese Canadian history has been absent from British Columbia's social landscape, the staff also assumed that most non-Japanese Canadian visitors would be poorly informed about Japanese Canadians.

---

¹² Over time, as the NIMC is publicized, different groups might incorporate visiting the NIMC into their cultural practices: for example as local historians, human rights activists, sight-see-ers, Japanese Canadians researching family history, etc. When I began working at the NIMC, an analysis of the range of different types of visitors had not been conducted. Thus, with the exception of Japanese Canadian visitors, it was not clear as to whether different groups had already begun to regularly visit the NIMC.

¹³ For example, the Administrator toured Canadian elementary schools with a educational multi-media project on Japanese Canadian history.

Assumptions about the visitors' lack of information were reaffirmed by the problematic terminology that many non-Japanese Canadian and sometimes Japanese Canadian visitors used to refer to Japanese Canadians. Terminology is significant. As Trinh Minh-ha claims, "Power...has always inscribed itself in language....[Language] is one of the most complex forms of subjugation, being at once the locus of power and unconscious servility" (Trinh Minh-ha 1989: 53). For example, most non-Japanese Canadian visitors referred to Japanese Canadians as 'Japanese.' This was problematic, especially at the NIMC which underlines how the Canadian government violated the rights of Japanese Canadians during World War Two by treating them as if they were 'Japanese': foreign nationals who posed a threat to national security. Using the term 'Japanese' suggests that the visitors, like the Canadian government during World War Two, still construct Japanese Canadians as 'Japanese' foreign nationals. A common question asked by non-Japanese Canadian visitors included whether the government caught any 'spies' during the 1940s or whether any Japanese Canadians were 'loyal to Japan.' These questions draw on the same rhetoric used by the Canadian government during the 1940s to sway the general public into believing that all Japanese Canadians were potential spies and rabid Japanese loyalists. The government used this rhetoric to justify the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. It was also the rhetoric used by war veterans and others opposed to granting redress to Japanese Canadians during the 1980s.

As members of the Japanese Canadian community and/or the village of New Denver, the workers found the visitors' disrespect, problematic terminology and questions distressing. It underlined that the general public still constructed Japanese Canadians as racial others. Some visitors responded to the NIMC with a confused mixture of guilt and anger, indicating unresolved psychological trauma. The NIMC administrator reported the following to the Kyowakai Society:

There is a fatigue /"burn-out" factor involved in working at the N.I.M.C. which stems directly from the emotionally, intellectually, and politically offensive nature of the internment and its post-traumatic effects. This can be true for both Japanese Canadian and non-Japanese Canadian employees. Both [my] co-employee and I have discussed the matter. The responses and political perspectives of visitors who come to the N.I.M.C. vary greatly: from the aggressive to the emotionally riveted; from the indifferent to the elderly Japanese Canadian survivor and his/her family. It is the responsibility of the employer to train, prepare, equip, forewarn, and support future employees. [My co-employee] has mentioned that often the most difficult situations arise when she cannot answer a question posed by a visitor, whether that visitor is benignly inquisitive or, in the worst scenario, challenging the very injustice of the internment (Shozawa (b) 1996: 1).

The Administrator's report documents the psychological duress experienced by those working at the NIMC, and more generally at community-based 'museums' that challenge the way dominant historical discourses have constituted racial others. This was and continues to be the general context for workers interacting with visitors.

While I conducted research at the NIMC, workers displayed varying degrees of defensiveness and caution that stemmed from their concerns over the intrusive and disrespectful way some visitors approached the community. The defensiveness is reflected in some of the passages from my fieldnotes included in this chapter. But visitors who displayed hostility or insisted on using problematic terminology represented only one of the groups of visitors. Other visitors came to the NIMC to show support for Japanese Canadian friends who were interned or to search for information about what happened to their families during the war.

In this section of the chapter, I shall present descriptions of visitors from my fieldnotes. Like anthropologists who insert themselves in their fieldnotes as a character interacting with local inhabitants, I have constructed myself as a character working at the NIMC whose (sometimes irritating) assumptions, actions and attitudes are, on the one hand, data

to be interpreted, and on the other hand, a reminder that observations always are imbued with a particular perspective. I have also made a number of methodological choices with regard to how to categorize and re-present the different types of visitors. Because non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors have a different relation to the history of Japanese Canadians, I have separated them into two groups. I then divide non-Japanese Canadian visitors into two groups: those who related to the NIMC as a tourist site and those who related to the NIMC as a memorial. I also divide the Japanese Canadian visitors into two groups: those who objectified the local community and those who approached the NIMC as a pilgrimage site. The categories are not just based on information from my fieldnotes but also on discussions and correspondence with other NIMC workers and elders before and after my research visit in 1996.

I order the categories moving from visitors who displayed stereotypical ways of behaving to those who displayed more nuanced, complicated ways of behaving, thus mapping my growing awareness of the complexity of the visitors' relation to Japanese Canadian history and the community. By moving from simple to complex, I am not suggesting that I initially viewed every visitor as a hostile, invasive tourist. I did not create fictitious monsters from well-adjusted and well-meaning individuals who might have just been having a bad day! I am trying to convey how the more difficult visitors stood out. After wrangling with a group of 'typical tourists,' it was sometimes difficult to notice other visitors. Yet, encounters with all visitors – whether they kept to themselves or were difficult – were valuable. These encounters forced me to become aware of the complexity of the different people who travelled to the NIMC. I began to recognize the complexity of the psycho-somatic effects arising from political persecution for both those directly and indirectly involved, something beyond the scope of this dissertation.

2. The Non-Japanese Canadian Visitors

a. The Tourists

The first group of visitors I shall discuss are the 'tourists.' Their disrespectful treatment of the NIMC workers immediately drew my attention to them. It could be argued that like the prototypical relation between 'guests' and 'hosts' in the service sector of the tourist industry, the relation between the visitors and the NIMC workers is commodified. 'Experience' is purchased by the tourists through travel agencies, airlines, car rental agencies, restaurants, hotels, stores and tour companies. The quality of the interaction between the provider of the service and the consumers is part of the product being purchased. If aspects of the interaction are unsatisfactory, then the 'product' is deemed unsatisfactory. Given that people are on vacation, they have high expectations (Urry 1997: 40).

i. The Power-to-look: the Assertion of Authority

The interactions between the tourists and workers at the NIMC were not simply commodified. They were characterized by relations of domination. Like Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt's ethnographer, the tourists embodied the power-to-look: the power to open up to sight differentially, to examine details about someone else's life that one would never reveal about oneself -- one's body, one's person, and life. The power-to-look or the gaze strips away the forms of social conduct and symbolic systems that would normally govern how and when to look at another person. The disregard for the social proprieties governing how and when to look reflects a social distance between the person who looks and the person who is looked-at. The status of the person who gazes at another shields him or her from the other gazing back.

The social distance between the tourists and the NIMC workers was complicated by the workers' gender, race, age and class, as indicated by the fact they were working in the service industry. In the tourist industry, service jobs are characterized by low wages, unskilled labour and seasonal or part-time employment. Like other workers responsible for delivering services in the tourist industry, the staff at the NIMC have been mostly women. Most of the NIMC workers are students, either recent high school graduates from New Denver or university students from urban centres. It is also significant that most workers are Japanese Canadian.¹⁴ The tourists who visited the NIMC expected the workers -- as young women from 'racial minorities' working in the service industry -- to be subservient and cater to their needs (Urry 1997: 70-89). The tourists treated the workers authoritatively, demanding that they answer their questions. Sometimes they emphatically disagreed with the workers, as if attempting to demonstrate that they were more knowledgeable than the workers. In contrast, the same tourists tended to defer to the older *Sansei*, in particular, the President of the Kyowakai Society and the Chair of the History Preservation Committee. As can be expected, the male President received more deference from the tourists than did the female Chair. The tourists kept their distance from the elders as if they were uncertain about how to approach them due to what they might have assumed was a language barrier. The formal comportment of the elders might have also dissuaded the tourists from approaching them as well. This is something I shall discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

To give an example of the way tourists authoritatively treated workers, I have selected a passage from my fieldnotes that describes a tourist who ignores forms of social conduct

---

¹⁴ For example, amongst the three workers hired to operate the NIMC each summer, usually there has been not more than one non-nikkei worker.

that would normally govern how to respectfully treat another person. The interaction between this tourist and an NIMC worker (me) begins when he indicates that he is interested in the NIMC because of a fondness for Japanese culture. When the worker underlines that the centre is dedicated to educating the public about the violation of Japanese Canadian rights, he turns his gaze on the worker, and asserts his authority by asking intrusive questions about her personal history.

Fieldnotes #1: an interrogation: just how Japanese are you?

Today, a very difficult man came to the centre. He approached me in the Visitors' Reception Centre. He initially asked about the gardens, explaining that he was building his own Japanese garden. I inquired about how he became interested in Japanese gardens. He explained that he went to Japan about five years ago. He became fond of the architecture. He was also taking Japanese language lessons. Uncomfortable with his association of Japanese culture with Japanese Canadian internment camps, I reflected, "Well, I guess the buildings here aren't very Japanese. They are just internment shacks." He immediately reacted by asking me if I was born in New Denver. I said no. Where was I from then? Was one of my parents "Japanese"? I felt as if I was suddenly being interrogated about my status as a Japanese Canadian, as if that was somehow related to my right to work at the NIMC: was I a fake? and if I was authentic, just how authentic was I? But most of all it felt as if he was determined to assert his authority over me.

To deflect his onslaught of questions, I acted as if I did not quite understand what he was asking, while at the same time waving my status as a true-blue British Columbia resident at him: "Huh? Oh -- I'm from Vancouver Island." Having rural roots in itself is a testament to authenticity. But he persisted, trying to trace the effects of internment into my personal history: "How did your family get there?" Despite my indignation, I felt compelled to answer him. I tried to answer in a nonchalant manner: "Jobs." Attempting to turn the inquiry around, I asked where he was from. "Abbotsford." Trying to deflate his probing, with a subtle counter that underlined how he was the one passing through the area, I nonchalantly mused, "Oh...so you're visiting here." He returned to his interrogation about my credentials, retorting: "So how long have you been here." Me: "I was here this year and visited last year too."

Refusing to acquiesce in his interrogation, I persisted, trying to turn the gaze back on him but never getting further than sniping over who-is-more-familiar with New Denver: "Have you been here before?" Him: "Passed through, but I have never been to New Denver." I felt myself losing my composure as I thought: "Ha, a point." I wanted to find a way to exit the conversation and replied with a noncommittal, "Oh." Then to my horror, he punched out a phrase in Japanese. [When I lived in Vancouver during the 1980s, white men professing to be Asian experts -- often naval crewmen, martial artists or American tourists -- would regularly approach my friends and me with phrases in Cantonese or Japanese. There is little that is more disconcerting than Japan-o-philes -- people who exoticize Japan -- trying to speak to you in what they assume is your "native language" or checking out your comprehension to see how "Asian" you are.]¹⁵ Given that he had already determined that I was not a pure-blooded Japanese, it was as if he was demonstrating who in fact was the expert in Japanese culture. Rather stuffily I pronounced, "Well, you are encountering the cultural decimation of the incarceration. We never learned Japanese because of the war."

I pointed to some of the publications on the bookstand and stated, "That one is a good introduction to the Japanese Canadian redress movement." He picked it up. I was called to the phone by one of the elders working at the NIMC. The man was still at the book stand when I finished on the phone. He turned as if he expected me to want to continue talking with him. I marched off to the Centennial Hall. When I was in the Hall's kitchen, I saw him charging by. When I slipped out of the Hall, trying to sneak back to the office, he intercepted me and asked if there was a "Galapagos Island effect" with "the Japanese." I suppressed my urge to criticize the use of Darwin and said, "No." I explained that the community has continued to change over time. To emphasize this fact, I added, "Anyway most of the *Issei* [the original sources of Meiji era Japanese culture] are dead now."

He reflected, "Fifty years is such a short time for a language to stay still anyway." This seemed to be his gesture towards understanding something about Japanese Canadian culture. I offered, "Well, look at Japan. Over the last fifty years, the language has rapidly changed." I remained a bit defensive, but managed to say, "Well ...I hope you find what the NIMC has to say interesting" (McAllister, September, 6 1996).

---

¹⁵ I added the section enclosed in square brackets at a later date. I have added more details to sections of the passages from my fieldnotes where it seemed more explanation was needed. All chunks of information added after the fieldnotes were written are enclosed in square brackets.

This incident is an example of many similar exchanges that occurred between tourists and NIMC workers. It demonstrates how the ethnographic gaze constitutes Japanese Canadians as racial others. Consider the tourist's avid interest in Japan. The NIMC is dedicated to educating the public about the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War Two. To introduce himself to the Japanese Canadian worker by stating he had developed a recent taste for Japanese culture, the tourist showed that he primarily saw the NIMC as an example of Japanese culture. It was akin to introducing himself at a Holocaust Memorial or a public inquiry into the abuse of Aboriginals at residential schools -- by stating he was fond of Jewish food or native art, respectively. It would be like introducing himself at an Amnesty International meeting or information booth by stating that he liked third world music. He failed to recognize that the NIMC was about the history of one of Canada's immigrant communities: the Japanese Canadian community. He failed to acknowledge its purpose: its political critique of the Canadian government's actions. He did not comprehend that it was a memorial for generations of people affected by the internment camps. By focusing on Japanese aesthetics, the tourist objectified Japanese Canadians. He isolated the Japanese-ness of the NIMC as if it were an inert artifact severed from generations of people who have contributed to British Columbia's primary industries, whose rights were violated by the federal government, who challenged Canada's War Measures Act, etc.

Yet given that I was the 'worker' and given that I found the tourist offensive, it is easy to focus the analysis on the most problematic details of the interaction and overlook other aspects that might reveal a more nuanced exchange. For example, it is important to recognize that after the worker "marched off to the Centennial Hall" the tourist looked for her, wanting to continue the discussion. On the one hand, the worker, feeling that the tourist relished asserting his authority over her, was mortified that he was determined to

find her and continue the discussion. On the other hand, when the tourist found the worker, he seemed to want her to know that he had considered some of the particularities of Japanese Canadian experience. He asked if there was a 'Galapagos Island effect' with 'the Japanese' where, isolated from changing dynamics of contemporary Japan, Japanese Canadians became relics of old Japan. Unfortunately this again revealed that he regarded Japanese Canadians as 'Japanese' insofar as he believed the dynamic forces of change that shaped Japanese Canadians must emanate from Japan. He did not recognize that the pre-World War Two immigrant communities and the subsequent generations changed in relation to the dynamic forces that shaped Canadian society. Yet it is important to note that in this exchange he asked what the worker thought and considered her response rather than telling her what she should think. But while not dismissing his gesture, the effort that this tourist made to reflect on how he viewed Japanese Canadians, he still is an example of how tourists enacted the power-to-look.

The exchange between the tourist and worker in the Visitors' Reception Centre also demonstrates how tourists attempted to assert their authority over the NIMC workers. Like other tourists, this tourist asserted his authority by asking about personal details of the worker's life, in particular, about her family's history of internment. It was as if the tourist thought the worker was part of the exhibit. Like any experience of victimization or incarceration, this topic is sensitive. There are Japanese Canadians who still refuse to talk about what happened to them in the camps. Yet tourists, like the one described in the above passage, felt no compunction about asking the worker to reveal this information. These tourists invoked the power-to-look, ignoring social rules of conduct which specify that it is inappropriate to ask relative strangers about what could be painful experiences.

The fact that the tourist became defensive when the worker attempted to reverse the gaze when she asked him similar questions is further evidence of the fact that he was invoking the power-to-look. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblatt argues, power-to-look involves examining details about someone else's life that one would never reveal about oneself – one's body, one's person, and life. Other tourists who ask personal questions were also uncomfortable when asked personal questions that might have bearing on their visit to the NIMC, for example, why they were interested in Japanese Canadian history; whether they knew anyone who was a member of the community; what was their position on social justice; what was their ethnic background; whether they lived through World War Two.

Some tourists who tried to be empathetic also deployed the power-to-look. Wanting to understand how Japanese Canadians felt, these tourists inquired about the intimate details of the workers' lives. If a worker became uncomfortable, she or he had the option of using two strategies to divert the tourist: politely changing the subject or answering with impersonal examples. Some tourists stopped asking questions when the workers used these strategies. Other tourists persisted, treating the workers' social maneuvers like road blocks in a *Mad Max Road Warrior* movie. Because of the initial concern that empathetic tourists showed for the plight of Japanese Canadians, it was sometimes difficult to recognize the problematic nature of their interest until they gained entry into the intimate zone of a worker's feelings. This is when the tourists would begin to frame their questions in ways that, for example, constructed Japanese Canadians as resentful victims. For example, some wanted to know if the Japanese Canadians were still 'bitter' or 'angry.' To be bitter or angry suggests that the person is still resentful for something that happened so long ago that it is no longer relevant. Someone who is bitter has not 'let go of the past and moved on.' They are 'trapped in the past' and as such, unable to

function properly at a social level. Using negative terms to describe 'strong feelings' that various Japanese Canadians might have about the past implicitly negates the validity of feelings that might include anger about racist government policies, sadness about the humiliation that the *Issei* underwent or frustration about the way that many Japanese Canadians are disinterested in human right issues. In addition, the question is framed in a way that makes it difficult to identify the feelings that various Japanese Canadians may have with regard to the internment. Answering, "Yes, Japanese Canadians are still bitter" suggests that Japanese Canadians are angry because they are unable to let go of events that occurred in the past. Answering, "No Japanese Canadians are not bitter" suggests that they have 'moved on' and that the violation of their rights is no longer an issue. In both cases, having a connection to the past is a social impediment.

Returning to the passage above, the tourist's questions about the personal details of the worker's life indirectly question her authenticity as a Japanese Canadian. By questioning her, he assumed that he knew the criteria for an authentic Japanese Canadian. He also assumed that her authenticity was relevant. It could be argued that to work at the NIMC, it is helpful if workers have some association with the Japanese Canadian community. But we need to ask why it would be helpful. Having an association with the Japanese Canadian community might mean that workers would understand the community's history and know the protocols expected by the Kyowakai Society when they interact with members of the public. For Japanese Canadian workers it could also be an opportunity to further learn about their history and culture. But the expectation that all workers should be Japanese Canadians could also be based on the desire to see live Japanese Canadians as part of the NIMC's exhibits.

Other tourists also asked about the authenticity of the workers. They asked whether the workers' parents were Japanese Canadian and whether they spoke Japanese. If the answers were affirmative, the next question usually would be whether the workers were from New Denver. If the workers did not fit the tourists' criteria for authentic Japanese Canadians, these tourists indirectly or sometimes directly claimed that the workers did not have the right to work at the NIMC. As suggested above, some tourists want to confirm the authenticity of the workers because they expected to see 'real' Japanese Canadians at the NIMC. Like the tourist described in the passage above, some tourists questioned the workers' credentials in order to assert their authority.

Other tourists were concerned about the politics of representation. They felt that only members of the Japanese Canadian community should represent what happened to them during the 1940s. Yet sometimes this expectation led to some unpleasant exchanges. In the first year of the NIMC's operation, several members of the staff were local *Happa Sunset*. Unable to discern physical traits that identified these workers as Japanese Canadians, some non-Japanese Canadian tourists abruptly questioned their right to work at the NIMC (Truly 1995). They felt that 'white people' had no right to tell the story of Japanese Canadians. While well-intentioned, these tourists had problematic assumptions about the criteria that defined individuals as Japanese Canadians. Inadvertently the visitors were imposing dominant definitions of ethnic identity based on physiological traits.¹⁶

These tourists did not consider the complicated factors that communities use to determine whom they include as members in various situations. For Japanese Canadians

---

¹⁶ This demonstrates how complex it is for racialized communities to create the space to define the terms of their identities and community membership in ways that are distinct from the stereotypes circulating in popular culture, the news media and government bureaucracies.

in New Denver, who is included as a member of their community under what circumstances is complicated by the way their history is intertwined with the social development of New Denver. Over the years, Japanese Canadians have developed friendships, working relationships, social conflicts and families with a range of residents, including members of families who have lived in the area for generations, like the non-Japanese Canadian NIMC Administrative Assistant. The internment and subsequent settlement of Japanese Canadians in New Denver have also shaped its economic development.¹⁷

ii. Ignoring Social Conventions: Gaining Access to the Backstage

The tourists were not only concerned about the authenticity of the workers: they also sought access to the backstage areas of the community where authentic events supposedly occurred. This was evident during the annual Obon ceremony. In the passage below, I describe three sets of visitors who attempted to gain access to the NIMC while it was closed during this ceremony. In this passage I display my self-consciousness about being an outsider. During community events, the boundaries between outsiders and insiders are sharply demarcated yet at the same time complex. The boundaries shift depending on the event. For example, a number of non-Japanese Canadian residents were invited to Obon because they had close friendships with one of the recently deceased elders, Mrs. Kamegaya. During this event, I struggled over how to determine

---

¹⁷ Before the arrival of over 1,500 Japanese Canadian internees, the local economy was suffering from a recession. The internment camp created a large market for local stores as well as administrative and clerical jobs. The tuberculosis sanitarium also generated jobs. The government's decision in 1945 to gather Japanese Canadians incapable of supporting themselves from other camps and relocate them to New Denver and the subsequent decision in 1957 to deed the internment shacks to the remaining Japanese Canadians meant that New Denver had a captive market after the war as well. And after the war, since most Japanese Canadians worked in the facilities that were built when the camp was set up or in areas that provided supplies or services for the *Nikkei*, they did not "take away" the jobs of local white residents.

what was the respectful way to interact with as well as represent members of the community during this event. This made me more critical of the way tourists treated the community on this day.

Before presenting the passage, I will first describe the significance of the event for the local community. Obon is a Buddhist ritual that takes place in the beginning of August to guide the spirits of ancestors back to their homes. While some of the local Japanese Canadians are Christians and others are Buddhists, everyone participates in Obon. The community regards this ritual as a gathering to remember the many members of their community who are no longer living among them. In New Denver, Obon has always occurred in the Kyowakai Hall where the Buddhist altar is located. This Hall is now located within the NIMC's compound.

The Kyowakai Society closes the NIMC on the day Obon occurs. NIMC workers post signs on the NIMC's gates indicating that no visitors are permitted on site during the event. The regional Buddhist priest, a young married man from Japan who lives in Kelowna, travels with his wife to New Denver to conduct the ritual every year. To prepare the Kyowakai Hall for the ceremony, younger members of the Japanese Canadian community take down the historical displays under the guidance of Nobby Hayashi, one of the elders. The younger members sweep the floors and arrange chairs in rows facing the altar. Mr. Mori, a prominent elder in the community is responsible for preparing the altar in his capacity as the lay priest.

Fieldnotes #2: two buddhisms

The local *Sansei* and the NIMC workers arrived at the NIMC early in the morning to prepare the Kyowakai Hall for the Obon ceremony. I was invited to help but I was not going to attend the ceremony. A

few days before the ceremony, one of the local Sansei, conscious of my relation to the community as a researcher indicated to me -- with some offhand muttering about how it wouldn't be right to have some anthropologist scribbling notes during the ceremony -- that it would not be appropriate for me to attend Obon. The Sansei noted though, that it would be helpful if I could watch the gates with the Administrator's Assistant to make sure tourists did not wander in.

While we waited for Nobby to organize us to prepare the Kyowakai Hall, the first tourist arrived. One of the NIMC workers came running towards me. She told me that an irate male tourist had yelled at the Administrator's Assistant. The worker asked me to talk to the Assistant to ensure that she was OK. The Assistant was shaken but as she recounted the incident, she recomposed herself. The tourist had insisted on seeing the NIMC even though workers had posted signs stating that the centre was closed that day for a community event. Apparently the man was very sarcastic and very angry. He explained that he had decided not to leave New Denver at 7 AM as he had planned so he (and we supposed his family who were sitting in his truck) could visit the centre. They were from Hope, a town on the edge of the coastal mountains in the lower mainland. The tourist concluded the exchange by slamming the door of his truck and yelling, "*Well thank-you very much!*" Reviewing the incident, the Assistant said that she wasn't happy with her response. She had sarcastically responded to the tourist, "*Well, thank-you.*" When she came back into the garden, she meekly told me that she began to cry. Later, I wondered if the man was crying too.

That is when Nobby called us to help him prepare the Kyowakai Hall. Under his guidance, we dismantled the historical displays and arranged neat rows of folding metal chairs. On each chair we placed a familiar-looking flat square cushion made from scraps of material that can be found in other Japanese Canadian community centres with Nisei and Issei members. Nobby seemed nervous about us younger folks creating a mess in this carefully organized space. He tried to be patient! Mr. Mori arrived with the other members of the Buddhist Church. They removed the screen walls protecting the altar from view. The altar was magnificent -- transforming the Hall with the splendor emanating from the golden light which illuminated it.

After we finished preparing the Hall, two tourists -- a man and a woman -- slipped past the closed gates and began madly snapping photos of the site. I politely indicated that the centre was closed. The man smiled dismissively and kept snapping photos. In one smooth line, as if to cover the time he needed to take his photos, he purred on about how his friend was interned in a shack "just like one of these shacks" and how he would want to see them. Finally they left. Next a Nisei couple walked up to the Centennial Hall. I apologetically said, "Oh...it's Obon today and

the place is closed, I am terribly sorry." They apologetically started leaving. But then one of the local Sansei intervened. This Sansei said, "But if you'd like to join us for the service, please do..." I smiled, feeling like a stupid rule-bound cop. The Nisei man said, "But we are not dressed for the service." He made a gesture to indicate his short sleeves, shorts and runners. The Sansei said, "That's okay!" The couple asked for the bathrooms so they could "tidy up." They reappeared transformed in neatly pressed trousers and proper shoes...The Sansei later explained to me that he saw them chatting with the Buddhist minister and the minister's spouse. He invited them to join the ceremony because he had ascertained they had some sort of connection to the Buddhist Church.

I returned to the Kyowakai Hall after the ceremony was completed to help re-assemble the historical displays. The sweet scent of incense lingered in the hot dry air. There were still a few small gatherings of people chatting, their voices wafting around the Hall. Nobby instructed us about where to place each photograph and artifact. One of the local Sansei suddenly signalled to me. A woman -- clearly a tourist -- was standing at the entrance to the Hall staring in, her mouth hanging open. A young girl of about eleven or twelve stood beside her. I nodded to the Sansei and gave the photo I was about to hang on the wall back to Nobby. "Here! you do it!" Everyone laughed and off I went.

I approached the tourist, explaining that because of the community event, the NIMC was closed to the public that day. She was maybe fifty-five. With her short hair and amber earrings, she exuded an earthy middle-class aesthetic, suggesting that she was educated and well-travelled. The tourist ignored my firm but polite indication that the ceremony was a private event. She ignored me when I said: "So thank-you very much for your interest. You will have to come back another day." It was as if she had some sort of insistent hunger to stay and look. Her eyes hooked into the brilliant splendor of the altar. She clung to the site. Pleasant words poured from my mouth, but through the stiff formality of my body movements, it was clear that I was attempting to escort her out of the NIMC. She kept throwing out questions as if to stop her exit: "So how many people were interned?" "How many of you were there here?" I repeated, "So thank-you very much for your interest and this is the way to the gate."

The young girl tagged along. The tourist seemed unperturbed by her exposure to what must have seemed like a rather unpleasant "native" (myself). She kept repeating, "Yes, I know, we are leaving." I tried to loosen her fixation on finding a way to stay on the site by changing the subject. "So you are travelling through the valley?" She could see through my thinly veiled strategy. Her response was affirmative. "Yes -- we are travelling through the valley." When we reached the gate she suddenly asked her daughter for her camera. As she pulled it out,

I felt a wave of horror. Her gesture emphasized how she was determined to "capture" the site. I cautioned, "Oh, as I said, it is a very spiritual day here. We need to respect it, so please --" She retorted, "Well I want to tell you I am a *Buddhist* so I know this. And the way the minister responded to me was much more spiritual and respectful than the way you are talking to me, which is hardly respectful." I took a deep breath and replied, "Well, I accept your commentary. And will consider it." Probably expecting me to become angry, she paused and then wheezed out a deflated "Oh." At the NIMC's exit I repeated, "So thank-you very much. We appreciate your interest. I hope you enjoy the rest of your trip." They left.

I turned around and realized that one of the elders was sitting in the shade of the Visitors' Reception Centre. He was relaxing on a lawn chair, chatting with the other elders. My rush of determination to escort the woman off the site turned into a rush of embarrassment. Maybe I had been too insistent? Had I been coercive? How could I have assumed it was appropriate to apply such force on behalf of the elders when I did not yet know them very well? Maybe I embarrassed them.

I slowly walked up to the elder. Feeling like an oaf, I tried to explain. "I hope I was not rude. I am terribly sorry. I hope I did not embarrass you, but one of the *Sansei* told me that it was a very special day today and that there were to be no tourists, no people to snap photos of this place for their photo albums. It is a spiritual day and the *Sansei* said it must be respected, a day for the community. So I am terribly sorry if I embarrassed you with my insistence..." He listened to my apologetic muttering for a bit. Then looking a bit perplexed by my befuddled behaviour, he shrugged his shoulders and said, "Oh, that's OK!" Then he continued chatting with the other elders. I felt even more embarrassed. I was overdoing everything: I was too insistent when escorting the tourist off the site and my apologies were too formal and self-deprecating.

Later, to my embarrassment, I found out that the minister and one of the elders had let the woman enter the NIMC with them. Yet there were also some elders who shook their heads and exclaimed, "Why can't they understand? Didn't they read the sign? The centre was closed!" Others seemed nonchalant. Some seemed eager to show visitors the splendor of their Otera (McAllister, August 13, 1996).

The three sets of non-Japanese Canadian tourists enacted the power-to-look when they did not acknowledge the existence of social rules regulating the local Japanese Canadian community's organization of private and public space. In particular, these tourists

ignored the community's social rules governing who had access to different communal spaces. They were oblivious to the existence of proprieties that configure other groups' various socio-cultural spaces. It was as if space was either inaccessible or accessible.¹⁸ But these tourists were not simply ignorant of the social rules. They actively violated the rules by ignoring the signs and workers who tried to enforce them. These tourists wanted access to a space that was designated for community members and personal guests. They did not want to participate in the events occurring in this space. They either wanted to 'see' the NIMC or see the backstage activities of the local Japanese Canadians. For these tourists, the social conventions of the local Japanese Canadians were irrelevant.

To underline the way in which these visitors violated the local Japanese Canadian community's social rules, it is instructive to compare this event to a hypothetical private event taking place in a venue that is usually open to the general public. For example, consider a hypothetical event held in the National Gallery of Canada by the Governor-General of Canada to mark the return of the 'unknown soldier' from France. If the event was an invitation-only reception for dignitaries, it would be unlikely that tourists would sneak into the Gallery to stare at the proceedings, take photographs and then become irate when they were told that because it was a private event and must leave. In contrast to the Obon ceremony, it is unlikely that most tourists would violate the social rules governing the hypothetical event. If they were caught trespassing they would not become irate and challenge the security guards at the National Gallery. The elevated social

---

¹⁸ It could be argued that the dominant understanding of social space in North America is informed by the fact that much of what we consider "public space" is actually private property. The relation we have to this privately owned "public space" is commercial: shopping malls, amusement parks, coffee shops and so on. These spaces have been designed for us (insofar as we are constituted as members of the general population, i.e., not constructed as the working poor, racial others, etc.). Ads beckon us to visit these spaces...As a result we generally relate to these spaces as spaces we have a right to occupy (these spaces are distinct from those that have become the territory of various subcultures/lifestyle groups). We consider these spaces as accessible spaces, even if they are closed. When closed, they just happen to be momentarily without service. If we can wheedle our way past the door or gates, we do so without compunction.

position of the participants at the hypothetical event would protect them from the gaze of the tourists.

The way the 'Buddhist' woman approached the NIMC reveals residues of intrusive ethnographic practices. Like MacCannell's tourist, this woman sought the backstage area of local Japanese Canadian life. The fact that only 'insiders' had access to the NIMC gave the impression that something authentic was happening: not a fake or copy for tourists. This woman wanted access to authentic culture. It was as if she wanted access to the NIMC especially because it was out-of-bounds. With the NIMC's 'Oriental,' exotic references -- especially underlined by the ornate shrine in the Kyowakai Hall enveloped in the scent of incense -- entry into this zone changed from simply out-of-bounds to 'forbidden/erotic.' Part of the museum goer/tourist's pleasure lies in finding a way to dupe the natives and move into the forbidden zones of their life: to pry back the protective shell and peer at the exposed innards of the living community.

Yet perhaps this tourist regarded the Obon ceremony as a public performance. It is true that in other places Obon is a public event that is celebrated with special foods and festive activities such as *odori*.¹⁹ But in New Denver, Obon is no longer a public event. Even if the woman had received permission from the Buddhist priest to enter the NIMC, there were numerous indications that the centre was closed to the public that day. Since only the Buddhist priest and one of the elders had given their permission for her to enter the NIMC, the tourist should have expected other workers and members of the community to ask her to leave. Yet when she was initially asked to leave the site, she did not indicate that she had been given permission to walk around the NIMC's site. This

---

¹⁹ *Odori* are Japanese folk dances for women that are performed for particular community occasions as well as for entertainment.

suggested that she was not too occupied with the fact that other Japanese Canadians might think she was trespassing. What were her reasons for wanting to be on the site while it was closed? As she stood, literally with her mouth hanging open at the entrance of the Hall, clearly she did not intend to participate in the ceremony. When she approached the Otera, the ceremony had finished. She came 'to look.'

To further underline my point, consider the tourists who took photographs of the NIMC for their friend who was interned in a shack "just like one of these shacks." Like the other tourists who ignored the signs, these tourists also ignored the worker who informed them that the centre was closed. Unlike the other tourists, they did not display anger or indignation. The woman and especially the man reacted with indifference when intercepted by the worker. Of all the tourists who tried to enter the NIMC during the Obon ceremony, this man embodied the most extreme form of the power-to-look. His indifference showed that he was unaffected by the worker, as if the worker was completely insignificant. He did exactly what he wanted to do. He entered the NIMC and took as many photographs as he pleased. In a manner that recalls a way of looking specific to the ethnographers, military agents and colonial administrators who mapped resources, populations and transportation routes in 'uninhabited lands' -- these tourists recorded the site through photographs. Unlike military agents, they of course did not have plans to invade the local community! But the way they systematically recorded information, information which they intended to use for their own purposes, while ignoring the protests of the worker, embodied residues of various agents entering 'foreign' societies to collect data about these populations.

It is also significant that the three sets of tourists differed from the *Nisei* couple. When told that the NIMC was closed, this couple immediately responded by apologizing for

being inside the NIMC – even though they knew the Buddhist minister and his spouse. While this couple was undoubtedly very polite, they also felt obliged to observe the local Japanese Canadian community's social conventions. In contrast, the non-Japanese Canadian tourists challenged or resisted the workers who informed them that the NIMC was closed. These tourists reacted by displaying either anger, complete indifference or indignation. This seems strange insofar as they were the ones who were trying to force their way into the NIMC. But if we recall Fanon's colonizer, the behaviour of these tourists is not so strange. These tourists acted as if they had a personal 'right' to enter the NIMC. Two sets of these tourists felt threatened by the workers' denial of this 'right.' On the one hand, perhaps it was disconcerting to be given directions by workers who did not command institutional authority. Not only were the workers who told them what they were *not permitted* to do and where they were *not permitted* to go, low-paid seasonal employees; they were casually dressed young women and one was a member of a 'racial minority.' On the other hand, the workers' refusal to defer to the tourists represented a refusal to accept the inferior positions in which the tourists had cast them.

Could it be argued that the tourists' anger and indignation were triggered by the workers' firm direct mannerisms? As one of the workers, I must admit that my tone was more apologetic with the Japanese Canadian couple than with the other tourists. Perhaps my mannerism suggested that the non-Japanese Canadian tourists had purposely violated community rules. Maybe I did not leave them the possibility of gracefully withdrawing from their faux pas. But not every visitor who was turned away that day or on subsequent days responded with anger and indignation. Moreover, ruffled pride can not account for the tourists' determination to 'get in,' to 'look at' and take photographs of the NIMC. It does not explain the tourists' aggressive responses. Yet it does not mean that their

responses were not embedded with complex histories and ambiguous urges. To end this section, I shall discuss the tourist from Hope, British Columbia.

It is easy to dismiss the tourist from Hope. This is especially the case if you are hermetically sealed inside a community that shares similar perspectives and positions. In my case, this community was the community of NIMC workers who, as the Administrator's report claims, were burnt out from dealing with "the emotionally, intellectually and politically offensive nature of the internment and its post-traumatic effects." While it is easy to argue that the tourist's display of anger was an inappropriate reaction to being told that the NIMC was closed. Yet just because his reaction was inappropriate does not mean it was not complex. It is necessary to ask whether it is possible to 'explain' his reaction in terms of the power-to-look.

While the elders often offered insights that challenged my presuppositions, in this case it was Meg Seaker, one of my aikido teachers who questioned the significance I granted to this tourist. When I arrived in New Denver, I began to train at an aikido dojo in Mirror Lake, a small settlement over the Selkirk mountain range in the next valley along the shores of massive Kootenay Lake. This space offered a reprieve from the emotional intensity of fieldwork as well as a place to reflect on incidents, such as the incident involving the tourist from Hope. I recollected the incident to Meg as an example of the way tourists could be like intruders, invading community spaces. She did not try to 'correct me,' 'moralize' or logically dissect my argument. But nor did she readily agree with my quick dismissal of the tourist. Instead, she wondered whether the man from Hope was upset because he was disappointed. She recounted her travels through France. While there, she had decided to make a pilgrimage to a tiny museum dedicated to a French artist/writer. When she arrived, it was closed. There was no schedule posted

indicating its hours of operation. After several days waiting for it to open, she left, disappointed. She reflected that perhaps the chance to visit to the NIMC had personal significance for this man just as the visit to the tiny museum in France had personal significance for her.

While Meg did not condone the tourist's anger, she did make me reflect on the complexity of his reaction. The tourist had originally planned to leave New Denver at 7 am, but he changed his plans so he could visit the NIMC. He underlined how he *changed* his plans, emphasizing how he had to deliberate over his decision to delay his departure by four hours. What did the four-hour delay in his departure mean? Perhaps he had obligations, maybe he had childcare commitments or perhaps returning to Hope late would have meant he would get little rest before starting work the next morning. Because it is at least a nine-hour drive through mountainous terrain to reach Hope, it would not be easy to return another weekend. Why would someone from Hope, British Columbia, a small town at the foot of the coastal mountains, a town with a reputation as a rough loggers' town -- be so intent to visit the NIMC? Why was he so upset? If I had paused to reflect, I would have realized that the Tashme internment camp for Japanese Canadians was located just east of Hope. Did he or his family have personal connections to members of the Japanese Canadian community? Or was there another reason he felt determined to stay in New Denver to visit the NIMC? This question was productive insofar as I could not answer it. The incident began to make me question my assumptions that I had so easily turned into conclusions. It marked a pivotal point during my stay in New Denver when I began to consider the complexity of different visitors' reactions to the centre. In the next section I present examples of some of these visitors.

b. Complicating the Analysis: Personal Connections, Personal Responsibility

Part of the process of conducting fieldwork involves a 'growing awareness' about your own presuppositions. These presuppositions usually orient you towards the social world in a certain manner. Over time, as you let go of some of these presuppositions -- especially those presuppositions held in place by assumptions formed in another context - you begin to realize the complexity of the social and political circumstances in which you are currently located. In the beginning of section II, I discussed how NIMC workers saw their work as a community service. With previous experience as a community worker in Vancouver's Japanese Canadian community, it could be argued that my presuppositions were derived from a field of discursive activity -- a discourse that constituted me as a community-worker in a racialized community that placed me in opposition to outsiders and tourists. As I interacted with more of the visitors and discussed these interactions with other NIMC workers, elders and people outside the research context, such as the aikido teachers in Mirror Lake, I began to let go of some of these presuppositions that situated me in opposition to 'outsiders'/tourists.

In this part of the chapter I discuss the complex relations that some non-Japanese Canadian visitors had to Japanese Canadian history. While they were constituted as tourists insofar as they visited the NIMC as part of their leisure activities, what constituted 'leisure' and how this situated them in relation to the NIMC was not completely determined by the discursive practices of tourism. The way they approached the NIMC showed that they were not seamlessly constituted as tourists or museum-goers who deployed the power-to-look. Below, I present examples of visitors who had personal connections to either Japanese Canadians or the events surrounding their removal from British Columbia during the 1940s. They include visitors who had Japanese Canadian

friends as well as others who at some level felt implicated in the uprooting and internment of Japanese Canadians. It was not always possible or appropriate to ask visitors why they decided to travel to the NIMC. While there were other visitors who seemed to have a personal connection to Japanese Canadian history, I was not privy to exactly the nature of that connection.

I start this section by briefly outlining some of my initial presuppositions. I then present a passage from my fieldnotes that describes an incident shook some of these presuppositions and demonstrated the complex and fragile relations that some non-Japanese Canadian visitors have to the NIMC.

i. Meaningful Gestures

Reflecting back to the summer of 1996, I now realize that when I arrived in New Denver, I regarded the NIMC primarily as a community venue. While conducting research for my dissertation, I was also working for the Kyowakai Society on a project for their History Preservation Committee. The purpose of the project was to redirect the NIMC's focus away from tourism. The local *Sansei* felt that, as a community-run project, the NIMC should contribute to preserving local history and cultural knowledge. In this context, I expected visitors to be respectful and appreciate the Kyowakai Society's efforts to share their history with them. I responded defensively when visitors treated it like a tourist attraction.

Because the project was based at the NIMC, I was exposed to the wide range of visitors. It became evident that not everyone was a tourist. I was particularly struck by the vulnerability of some visitors. Unlike the tourists, they were not intrusive. They were

more cautious about exposing their feelings or crossing the personal boundaries of the workers. Their vulnerability reminded me that the past does not simply belong to one group.²⁰ It made me think that for persecuted groups to heal, they had to find ways to rebuild relations to others.

In the following passage from my fieldnotes I am working on the History Preservation Committee's project inside the Centennial Hall. I am involved in an intense discussion with other NIMC workers over the merits of developing a cataloguing system based on the way the elders have organized their social worlds: using significant place names,

---

²⁰ This does not mean that everyone should be granted the same authority to speak about past events, especially events involving experiences of persecution. By making this assertion I am not implying that certain groups are "not allowed" to speak about experiences of persecution. But rather my point is that those who have been the targets of persecution -- as well as those who have suffered the intergenerational effects -- have a different relationship to what-has-passed than those who were neither the targets, their offspring or members of the survivors' social group.

The insights that members of the persecuted group have about the cultural and social framework through which the violence is experienced and re-worked differs from someone who has developed an expertise on the group's cultural and social framework through reading and select contact as a participant-observer: the sociologist/anthropologist/well-meaning advocate. The input of these experts is useful but too often neglects adequate attention to the survivors' socio-cultural and historical frames of reference.

Who is given the authority to explain the impact of persecution has a socio-psychological impact. Granting this authority to those who have not suffered the direct or intergenerational effects of the persecution can further reproduce relations of control and domination, further silencing the persecuted group. As a survivor, to be granted the authority to explain, describe and explore what happened to you -- as well as its significance and impact -- in a way that is negotiated and mediated with other survivors is to be given space to find the appropriate terms through which to re-build a lifeworld: hopefully finding ways to heal. This does not mean that by virtue of being a survivor or their kin, one is innately able to give others a superior *explanation* of the effects of the violence endured. Complex relations of domination, complicity and denial structure survivor communities as much as, although in different ways than the way they structure the socio-psychological complex of dominance/dominant subjectivities. But the point here is that *the act of explaining*, describing and exploring your direct or intergenerational experiences of violence is a socio-psychological process. To be effective, this process can not be imposed on those who have been the target of violence.

This does not mean that survivors should not have dialogues with other groups, individuals or "experts" about the effects of violence. Nor does it mean that no one else can refer to or discuss the effects. Dialogues with others are crucial at different points in the process of healing. My point is that if the authority to explain the effects of persecution is granted to those who have not been the target of violence -- rather than the survivors and their kin -- it is bound to reproduce relations of domination/silencing. The effects of persecution are something the survivors need to work out in ways that suit their cultural framework, community conflicts and historical relations with other groups.

family lines, events and institutions. Our goal was to avoid unconsciously implementing the logic of organization used by dominant institutions like museums, libraries and archives.

Fieldnotes #3: fragility

An older white woman walked by the doorway of the Centennial Hall, her gauzy presence illuminated in the bright light of the July sun. As she passed by, she smiled in a knowing almost familiar way into the darkness of the Hall. Following her gauzy presence, like a shadow -- if that were possible on this hot July day -- was a very white, very elderly man. Delicate, pale and quite frail, he hesitated at the doorway. He peered into the building. We stopped. He smiled and stepped, shoes on, over the threshold into the dark space of the Hall. Probably not seeing us completely because of the transition from the bright sunny day to the darkness of the Hall, he began to inquire about whether we were interested in Japanese dolls. He pointed to a small doll in a glass case sitting by the entrance way. He explained that he had a Japanese doll that he would like to give the NIMC.

Our bodies tensed. We were tired, in part tired by the sensitive engrossing work and in part tired by the visitors who ignored the "do not enter" and "private entrance" signs, who entered in a demanding ruckus of enthusiastic questions in the midst of our work. This was the only building on site that was off limits to the public. It was where Kyowakai Society conducted their meetings and held social events. It was not on display. So it was easy to become irritated when the visitors ignored the signs and pulled at the locked doors, interrupted meetings, wandered in and asked questions.

One of the workers leapt up. "No, we are not interested in Japanese Dolls." Unsaid but said in this short statement was: we are not interested in Japanese things and all the paraphernalia of the exotic orient. We are concerned with the history of internment in New Denver. The worker continued in a war-moat voice, from a solid, fortified position, loaded with years of training and curtly stated that we were busy at present. With that, the man was dismissed. He raised his hand in apology, backing out of the door, "Sorry, please excuse me..." his voice trailed off as he exited.

My heart cracked as I saw him withdraw. We looked at each other, wide-eyed, not sure what we had done. This elderly man, so frail that a breeze could crack his bones. Such a small spontaneous gesture, so obviously taken by what he saw that day at the centre,

stepping blindly across a threshold a little awkwardly into the dark Hall, but with good will, good intentions...Oh what did we know about what his gesture meant, meant to him, meant at a bigger level.

This man immediately recognized that we regarded his gesture as inappropriate. This, combined with his fragile appearance, had a strong effect. It was as if we gave a huge shove to what we thought was an intruder moving into our space. But instead of resistance, we encountered an open space -- space left by his departure -- a space that we fell into with the energy of our own shove. While we did not discuss this incident until much later, at the moment we realized we had made inappropriate assumptions about him. We assumed that he was 'just another tourist' who had confused Japanese Canadians with the Japanese and failed to recognize the political and social significance of the NIMC. When he withdrew rather than trying to persuade us to accept his offer, we realized that the situation was more complex. He was not blindly driven with his own need to make his gesture, oblivious to those he wanted to extend himself towards. He approached the interaction with us in a two-way exchange: as mutually negotiated. This interaction showed us how easy it was to dismiss the visitors and misread their gestures.

This man's gesture was filled with historical resonances, especially his offer to donate a Japanese doll to the centre. The doll may have had no connection to the Japanese Canadian community. But given the man's age and interest in the NIMC, there was a chance that there was a connection. The man was probably in his thirties when the government removed Japanese Canadians from British Columbia's coast. If he was living in British Columbia during the 1940s and depending on his socio-economic position and occupation, he could have had contact with Japanese Canadian workers, students, clients, domestic servants or shopkeepers. He would have witnessed or could have been implicated in their removal from the coast in 1942. He could have had contact with them

while they worked on beet farms in the prairies. Alternatively, he might have been involved in projects to resettle Japanese Canadians in Ontario through the government or a church organization.

How did the doll potentially connect him to the past? There are many stories that circulate in the Japanese Canadian community about the Japanese doll collections that *Issei* women lost when the government forced them to leave their coastal homes. When they came to Canada to join their husbands, some had the fortune to bring their possessions with them across the Pacific Ocean. When the government implemented its plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia's coast, its agents swept into their communities and sold their possessions – including the dolls – which the Custodian of Enemy Property was supposed to hold under trust. In other cases, citizens broke into the storage rooms where some Japanese Canadians had left their possessions and ransacked everything, including the dolls.

Years later, some of the citizens who had 'inherited' these dolls or purchased them at estate sales became determined to return them to their rightful owners. But it was not clear who the rightful owners were. Nor was it obvious how to find the original owners since the government forced Japanese Canadians to leave British Columbia. Moreover, many of the *Issei* have died. When Japanese Canadians began to set up their own archives in the 1990s, some of these people began to come forward. These archives offered a place where people could return broken bits of the past. Was this man trying to return one of the dolls that once belonged to an *Issei* woman? How had he acquired the doll? Did he buy it? Was it given to him? His sensitivity as well as the familiar warmth exuded by his female companion suggested that they both had some sort of meaningful

connection with the community. Who were they? What stories did they have to tell about the past?

Why did we fail to extend ourselves to this man? We were gripped by a project that was critical of tourism as a commercial venture that voyeuristically turned living communities into exotic others. In this context, I was fixated on/by the project's critical orientation towards tourism: I had become fixed within an inflexible (rather than a nuanced and reflexive) discourse of the self-determination that positioned marginalized communities in opposition to 'the colonizer.' It was as if I had become entrenched in an unnecessary war, ultimately with my own fears. Yet it is also easy to blame oneself and fail to recognize the complexity of these situations. For example, it is important to consider how difficult it is to re-appropriate a community space once it has been turned into a tourist site: to reappropriate a communal space out of a history of internment -- not just physical internment, but emotional internment, rooted in our psyches.

ii. Recognizing the Social Significance of the NIMC

Because of this incident, I began to pay more attention to the significance that the NIMC had for other visitors. In this section I will present examples of an array of visitors who recognized the social significance of the NIMC for Japanese Canadians, other members of the Canadian public and in some cases, for themselves. Many of these visitors had some sort of personal connection to members of the Japanese Canadian community. Some had a Japanese Canadian spouse, family friend, co-worker or college friend. Others had a pre-war or war-time association with members of the community. For example, some had Japanese Canadian schoolmates, neighbours, gardeners or employees.

It was evident that these visitors either felt compelled to visit the NIMC because of these connections or these connections made their visit more meaningful.

I begin and end this section with visitors who felt indirectly implicated in the government's removal of Japanese Canadians in order to indicate that, as Robert Jay Lifton argues, the psychological effects of violent events are not confined to the victimizer and the victims.²¹ In particular, he discusses how guilt radiates through a population. Guilt here is understood as a turning anger inward "precisely because [the person] can not but help accept and internalize the world in which [she or] he has been victimized [or seen victimization], including in some degree the motivation and behaviour of the victimizer" (Lifton 1967: 497).

There were a number of visitors that felt tainted by their association with the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia, even if they were not directly involved in implementing the government's plan. Visiting the NIMC became part of the process of working through this association. The President of the Kyowakai Society recounted stories about some of these visitors to me.

Fieldnotes #4: to be just...²²

The President told me about a *Hakujin* man who was about 60 years old who came up to him and said he felt really bad. The man explained that his parents had taken advantage of the Japanese Canadians' situation and bought things really, really cheaply -- so he and his siblings had things in their possession that to this day -- they did not really properly come by. The President

---

²¹ Lifton describes the way in which guilt radiated outward from the atom bombing of Hiroshima: "survivors feel guilty towards the dead; ordinary Japanese feel guilty towards survivors; and the rest of the world (particularly but not exclusively) feels guilty towards the Japanese" (Lifton 1967: 499).

²² In this passage, as in other passages from my fieldnotes where I recorded accounts told to me by local residents and various members of the Japanese Canadian community, I tried to convey their form of speaking.

guessed that seeing the context and the history at the NIMC made this man reflect. He said that most people make some sort of connection -- makes them think -- though, there are of course some tourists (McAllister: July 18, 1996).

Perhaps the NIMC caused the man to reflect about the articles that he and his siblings had in their possession that 'they did not properly come by.' Or perhaps these possessions had always made him feel uncomfortable. Either way, the NIMC offered a public site for such people to address what they experienced as complicity. These visitors were not 'empathetic' like some of the tourists described in the last section. These tourists saw themselves as somehow implicated in the uprooting and internment of Japanese Canadians, in some cases, if only because they had witnessed what happened when they were children. Whether they quietly visited the site, told one of the workers about their past, or offered to make a donation, it was a way to publicly acknowledge their regret about what had happened in the past and make a gesture towards making amends. These tourists approached the NIMC as if it was a memorial.

Some visitors recognized the social significance of the NIMC for the Japanese Canadian community. They expressed their support for the community's efforts to heal from their traumatic war-time experiences.

Fieldnotes #5: recognizing the healing process

A woman was standing outside talking to one of the elders who takes care of the NIMC's garden. She asked, "Are the Japanese who went through this angry?" He said, "Some." She replied, "Oh so this is part of the healing process...was there any apology?" He stated, "Redress." She responded, saying, "The site was meaningful and thank-you very much" (McAllister: September 6, 1996).

Comments written by visitors in the NIMC's guest book also indicated that they recognized the social significance of the NIMC for other members of the public. These comments typically described the treatment of Japanese Canadians as 'sad' and 'disgraceful.' There were statements about how 'this episode in history should not be repeated.' A number of the visitors more directly articulated a concern about social justice and human rights. In the passage below, the visitor makes a connection between the treatment of Aboriginal Peoples and Japanese Canadians. She shares what she learned from the NIMC with the workers indicating that the NIMC had effectively conveyed the political and social impact of the internment.

Fieldnotes #6: making connections to other persecuted groups

Another woman: "I knew about how badly [the] British Columbia [government] treated the Aboriginal Peoples -- but didn't realize how badly they treated the Japanese" (McAllister, September 6, 1996).

Given the extreme forms of racism against Aboriginal Peoples circulating amongst British Columbia's populace, it is significant that the woman openly criticizes their treatment. She also uses the term 'Aboriginal Peoples' rather than 'Indian.' This suggests that she is well-versed in social justice issues. Some visitors were not as attuned to issues involving social justice and the use of non-racist terminology. But they were open to re-thinking how they conceptualized Japanese Canadians as a 'racial minority.'

Fieldnotes #7: changing perspectives

Today a man asked if Japanese Canadians caught TB in New Denver or if they had it when they arrived. His question recalled the reasoning that the Canadian government used to justify interning Japanese Canadians after 1945: to introduce them to hygienic practices and cure them from the diseases they caught while living

in their substandard housing.²³ One of the elders who works at the NIMC on a regular basis simply answered: "When they came up." Nervous that this answer would reinforce the stereotype that prewar Japanese Canadians were a diseased and uneducated people by nature, I added, "Well TB was widespread amongst all working class communities not just Japanese Canadians!" The man reflected, "Oh, I hadn't thought of it like that" (McAllister: September 9, 1996).

Unlike the tourists, this visitor did not respond defensively when his assumptions were questioned. He accepted the new perspective offered by the worker without making excuses for his misconceptions or demonstrating that he was not as 'ignorant' as his question might have suggested. This interaction shows the educational dimension of the NIMC. In this vein, a number of educators also approached the NIMC staff to inquire about resources on the history of Japanese Canadians, saying that their curriculum was inadequate in the area of social justice in Canada.

Many of the visitors walked through garden and viewed the exhibits, saying little to the workers or the other visitors. If the visitors did not approach us it seemed inappropriate to ask them about their interest in the NIMC. Other visitors commented on the exhibits, saying to each other, for example, "These shacks aren't so bad! My grandparents lived in shacks like this" or "How could two families live together in such a small room?" Some would try to recognize the locations depicted in the archival photographs, exclaiming, "I've been there!" or "I didn't realize that there was an internment camp there!" Others quietly walked through the NIMC as if they were in deep thought. Many visitors were riveted to the lists of Japanese Canadians interned in New Denver posted on a wall in the Visitors' Reception Centre. The Kyowakai Society produced these lists in the 1940s when it was responsible for coordinating and representing Japanese Canadians held in the

---

²³ See the Canadian Government's Department of Labour's 1945 propaganda film, "Of Japanese Descent" National Film Board of Canada.

internment camp. The local *Sansei* worked with the elders to translate the lists from Japanese to English. Visitors searched the lists, looking for an old friend, someone they knew in school, a colleague from work. Sometimes they would just quietly trace the names with a finger slowly drawing a line connecting all the names.

Some visitors stopped to chat with the NIMC workers about the weather and the local scenery. This was often a way for them to introduce themselves and shyly share their own experiences relating to the internment.

Fieldnotes #8: the park next door

Today I met an interesting older woman at the NIMC. A male friend accompanied her. After musing about how many people did not know about the history of Japanese Canadians, she mentioned that she grew up in East Vancouver, out by the Pacific National Exhibitions grounds: what previously was Hastings Park. She confessed that her parents lived nearby Hastings Park when hundreds of Japanese Canadians were detained there before they were transported to internment camps. Her parents and their neighbours -- no one -- said anything about "it." She tried to recall when she heard about the internment. "It was the time when people began to talk about it, in the 50s or 60s?" I offered, "The 60s and 70s? More the 70s." "Yes." She confirmed that it was only then that she heard about it, [that thousands of women, men and children were brought to Hastings Park and held in livestock stalls before they were shipped out to internment camps]. Her soft-spoken friend reflected, "Yes, so much happens..." His great grandfather was incarcerated as an Italian national in Petawawa for two years, though he added that it wasn't anything near the magnitude of what happened to Japanese Canadians. I asked where his grandfather was located: "Hamilton." I then continued, "Oh there must be lots of stories..." He nodded. I asked if his grandfather was still alive. "No..." but he interviewed an older man who was interned there (McAllister: August 13, 1996).

It seems that this woman felt implicated in the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia because she lived near Hastings Park when she was a child. She was shocked by the silence of her own parents and neighbours. She was amazed that she did

not learn about the internment, dispossession and removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia until the 1970s. This is when *Sansei* activists began to research what happened to their community during the 1940s. This meant that for over twenty years her parents and their neighbours had never directly discussed the events that took place in their own neighbourhood in Hastings Park, where over 13,000 uprooted Japanese Canadians were processed before being shipped to internment camps, beet farms and road camps. Up to 4,000 Japanese Canadians were held in Hastings Park at a time for up to four months or in some cases, more -- while the government finished building internment camps and finalizing its plans about what to do with them (Sunahara 1981: 56). The woman felt implicated in her parents and neighbours' silence about Hastings Park. Her use of general terms such as 'it' to refer to the confinement of Japanese Canadians in Hastings Park indicates that she was still working through how to articulate what seems to have been socially organized in the lives of her family and neighbours as a secret.

Her friend's recollections about his grandfather were equally significant. He offered his grandfather's internment as a parallel experience. Whether or not the internment of Italian nationals was just as traumatic as the internment of Japanese Canadians, he nevertheless was careful not to be seen as comparing whose experience was worse or turning the focus of the discussion to his family's history. In this, he actively demonstrated his recognition for the NIMC as a site that memorializes the experiences of Japanese Canadians.

c. A Memorial or a Tourist Site?

Like the two visitors described in the previous passage, many visitors approached the NIMC as if it were a repository for their memories: for unresolved feelings over the

disappearance of a childhood friend, schoolmates, neighbours or feelings of being implicated in or tainted by the government's removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia. It was a place where they could also acknowledge the isolation and trauma that reverberated through the life of a Japanese Canadian spouse, friend or colleague. Having a public place -- a memorial -- to acknowledge violent events from the past is important. The social landscape has been until recently organized around lacunae of racial erasures in general, and specifically, around the pre-war presence and expulsion of Japanese Canadians. Jordan describes how the formation of pathological forms of subjectivity become organized into the structures of domestic life and the legal system when violent acts -- like institutionalized rape of enslaved African women by British colonialists during the 1600s in Virginia -- are repressed and displaced. In this context, the NIMC offers a place where people can put painful fragments of what had passed -- not necessarily together -- but at least with other fragments. Elsewhere it is difficult to find such a place. These fragments are incongruous with our everyday worlds, whether a maze of beige post-modern suburban housing units, rural farming settlements, company towns where everyone is linked through a primary industry or boxed-in apartment dwellings in the rush of a large city. The NIMC offers a context where these fragments have significance: a weight of meaning that somehow connects them with the dissonant experiences of others.

Yet not all visitors approached the NIMC as if it were a memorial. In the first part of this section, I described a number of 'tourists' who deployed the power-to-look, ignoring the social rules of conduct and reducing the NIMC workers to objects of their gaze. Like Fanon's colonizer, the tourists did not recognize the humanity of the workers or Japanese Canadians. I gave an example that showed how tourists subsumed Japanese Canadians under the lexicon of the 'Oriental', where Japanese Canadians lost the material

particularities that marked them as distinct human beings and confused them, most notably, with 'Japanese nationals.' This was disturbing because it recalled the same rhetorical framework that the Canadian government used to justify the removal of Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s. As Said argues, Orientalism allows one to see new things as versions of a previously known thing. The category of the 'Asian' and specifically, 'Japanese, ' is not so much a "way of receiving new information as it is a method of controlling what seems to be a threat to some established way of viewing things" (Said 1979: 59).

I also illustrated how tourists actively ignored social rules that regulated access to the community's public and private spaces. Like MacCannell's tourist they sought authentic culture in the backstage areas of the community. But unlike MacCannell's tourist, the relations of domination that configured these tourists in relation to the NIMC were not opaque. With residues of habits and dispositions from the likes of military agents, colonialists and ethnographers of the nineteenth-century, they forced their way into the backstage area of the community in order to observe or document what was off-limits. The resistance and anger they displayed when they were asked to leave, suggested that, like Fanon's colonizer, they were threatened when the young, female workers, especially the female workers who were racialized, denied what they considered their right to access the site. But as I will discuss in the next section, the power-to-look was not just deployed by non-Japanese Canadian visitors. While Japanese Canadian visitors had a different relation to the NIMC than non-Japanese Canadian visitors, this did not mean that they are not configured in relation to other Japanese Canadians in relations of domination.

The point of this section was not to conclude that non-Japanese Canadian visitors can be categorized in one way or another: committed to making amends or driven by a compulsion to objectify and observe Japanese Canadians. Rather, the point has been to show that different visitors had different ways of negotiating the discourses that configured them as tourists and museum-goers in relation to the NIMC.

3. Scattered Japanese Canadians: Searching for a Collective Past/Identity

a. A Significant Site

How do Japanese Canadian visitors relate to the NIMC? I start this section by drawing on the literature on community-based museums. This makes it possible to argue that like the 'tourists,' Japanese Canadian visitors are discursively constituted. As a critical community-based museum, the NIMC works against the grain of official historical discourses. Like other community-based museums, it has a mandate to re-interpret the historical experiences of Japanese Canadian from a critical community-based perspective. It is a site where members of the community can claim 'a heritage' and affirm their identities.

Given that the population of Japanese Canadians is approximately 70,000, a significant proportion of the visitors to the NIMC are Japanese Canadian. For example, during the summer of 1996, several Japanese Canadian groups visited the centre each week, with at least two groups visiting each day, especially through July and August. Some travelled specifically to visit the NIMC from other towns in British Columbia or the nearby province of Alberta. Others visited the NIMC on their way to see relatives living in the region. Yet others journeyed to the NIMC from locations scattered across Canada, and in some cases, the United States and Japan. A few were post-war immigrants from Japan. Most visitors were Japanese Canadians who had been interned or whose families had

been interned. This meant they were implicated in the history of internment presented at the NIMC and thus had a different relation to the centre than non-Japanese Canadian visitors.

As discussed in previous chapters, even before the NIMC was built Japanese Canadians travelled to New Denver searching for their 'roots.' The search for connections to pre-war and war-time experiences is part of a larger discursive field of activity through which Japanese Canadians have built a post-World War Two collective identity. Like other historically persecuted groups who have sought to redress the violations of their rights, the nature of Japanese Canadians' search for connections to the past has changed over time: from the grassroots activism of the 1970s to the social movement to redress the violation of their rights in the 1980s to the exploration of personal histories in the 1990s.

In this discursive context, the NIMC publicly reclaims one of the geographic sites that embodies the historical presence of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. It reclaims this site from the erasure of official historical discourses. For Japanese Canadians in particular, it is significant that the NIMC is located on the site of a former internment camp that the internees subsequently transformed into a community. As such, the NIMC marks a site of continuity -- of knowledge, social relations and cultural practices -- in a context where Japanese Canadians were dispersed and their land and resources were liquidated.²⁴

---

²⁴ Of the many so-called ethnic groups in Canada who have a physical presence as communities in the urban landscape, Japanese Canadians can only claim two geographic sites: Vancouver's Powell Street Japantown and Steveston. Here I am not referring to areas that have concentrations of stores and restaurants that cater to Japanese tourists, Japanese students, temporary Japanese workers or non-Japanese clientele. It would be useful to look at areas with a high concentration in these businesses to determine the user groups and spin-off activities. Here, though, my focus is on service areas that cater to Japanese Canadian residents, especially those who were relocated after the war.

The NIMC is one of many post-redress efforts to reclaim significant pre-war and war-time geographic sites through historic plaques, memorials and interpretive centres. In contrast to the histories written before and during the movement for redress, post-redress histories focus on personal and geographically specific histories. The switch from histories that spoke on behalf of all Japanese Canadians to histories that address specific experiences is still in process. Such a switch can be a difficult because it requires recognition of difference within the community, differences that in some cases are based on relations of domination. In a context where Japanese Canadians are still trying to re-imagine themselves as a unitary community – difference can also be experienced as exclusion. In this context, the Kyowakai Society was sensitive about how other Japanese Canadians would respond to their interpretation of the internment. The NIMC workers were aware of these issues and as a result, granted Japanese Canadian visitors a level of ownership over the site that they do not grant to non-Japanese Canadian visitors.

The pre-war Japantown along Powell Street in Vancouver, so aptly captured by Audrey Kobayashi in *Memories of Our Past* (1992) was partially revitalized by Japanese Canadians after 1949. Over the years community organizations moved back to the area, including the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association, the Japanese Language School and the Vancouver Buddhist Church. In the 1970s, new organizations also moved into this area, including Tonari Gumi, a seniors' drop-in centre. As well, many businesses opened shops here, such as Hanna, a florist shop, Evergreen, a traditional craft store, Aki's Japanese restaurant, fish shops such as Fujiya and Kay's Seafood and a barbershop and cafe whose names elude me.

But over the last decade, most Japanese Canadian organizations and businesses have moved out of the Powell Street area. In the 1990s the civic zoning laws and the provincial budgetary cuts that were implemented in the 1980s began to materialize, de-stabilizing this fragile transitional urban zone into "the heroin capital of Canada." Old-timers have closed their stores and most community organizations have moved either to the new National Nikkei Heritage Centre in the large suburb of Burnaby or to other neighbourhoods throughout the region.

The other prewar community site that Japanese Canadians revitalized after the war is Steveston. Steveston developed alongside of the growth of fishing industries that concentrated along the mouth of the Fraser River. In Steveston Japanese Canadians found work with fishing companies, canneries and as boat builders. After the war, as Daphne Marlatt describes in *Steveston Recollected* (1975), many returned. Today, there are few stores and services oriented towards pre-war nikkei. But Japanese Canadians still have a presence in the residential areas, on the fishing docks, as mechanics in garages, as business people and in the schools. In other provinces, Japanese Canadian community services and businesses tend to be scattered throughout urban areas rather than clustered together in specific sites.

It is easy to romanticize New Denver. This is especially the case for *Sansei* and younger generations. They have distance from their relatives' experiences because they were not interned or forced to leave British Columbia. Those searching for their 'roots' could view the Japanese Canadian residents in New Denver as a living remnant of the pre-war and war-time communities: what a settlement of *Issei*, *Nisei* and *Sansei* might have been like if they had not been forced to disperse. Japanese Canadians could also view their visit to New Denver as a 'return' to a site that embodies their origins. These conceptions could result in a static conception that does not recognize the particular circumstances in which the Japanese Canadian community developed nor the changes it has undergone. Japanese Canadian visitors also might fail to recognize the specificity of the New Denver camp and approach the NIMC as if it represented the experiences of all Japanese Canadians who underwent internment.

As a researcher it would also be easy to romanticize the experiences of Japanese Canadian visitors. I could present the large number of Japanese Canadians travelling to visit the NIMC as a movement to affirm a collective identity and heritage, where identity and heritage are not problematized. But as this section shows, while many Japanese Canadians visit the NIMC to seek a connection to their past, this is not a straightforward process. For some it can be emotionally difficult. Others find entering a public community space awkward. There are also some Japanese Canadians who objectify the internment camp experience. In this section of the chapter, I draw on passages from my fieldnotes to present examples of Japanese Canadian visitors who objectified New Denver, sought a collective experience, attempted to bridge intergenerational differences within their families, explored unresolved traumatic issues in their families, visited the NIMC as a regular community event or had an ambivalent angry relation to the NIMC.

b. The Power-to-look at Other Members of the Community

i. Advising the Female Workers

Because Japanese Canadian visitors have a personal connection to Japanese Canadian history does not mean that they do not deploy the power-to-look at members of their own community. For example, there were several male Japanese Canadian visitors who after surveying the NIMC, began to instruct the female NIMC workers about what the Kyowakai Society needed to do in order to preserve the community's history. In one case, a middle-aged, middle-class *Shin-ijuusha* man and *Hakujin* woman arrived at the NIMC just after it closed. We apologized, informing them that the centre was closed. The woman assured us that they were not upset, noting that the workers must be tired after a long day of work. After the man introduced himself, he began to instruct us -- two female workers -- about what the Kyowakai Society should do if it wanted to preserve the internment shacks. He told us that the Society should get the village to change the bylaws so residents living in the remaining internment shacks would not be able to renovate them. This would preserve the local history. When we tried to explain the Kyowakai Society's approach to 'preserving history,' he brushed our points aside. He did not register our growing discomfort. He did not ask why the Kyowakai Society had not considered this option. He did not acknowledge the fact that the Kyowakai Society had already 'preserved' three internment shacks at the NIMC! He did not consider the impact of forcing people who had lived in impoverished humiliating circumstances to continue to live in leaky small shacks. Was he suggesting that the Kyowakai Society should preserve poverty? As well, by forcing residents to keep the internment shacks in their original state, the Society would have turned the entire settlement into a living museum. He did not consider whether the residents wanted to become museum objects.

This man first assumed that the Kyowakai Society needed advice and second, that it wanted advice. He also assumed that he was in a position to give advice even though they had not asked about the NIMC's goals, mandate or guiding principles. His approach differed from those of other visitors who offered critiques of the NIMC's exhibits or asked why the NIMC did or did not include information on particular events. Rather than sharing his impressions and interpretations or asking about the goals of the NIMC, the man who gave his advice assumed authority over the workers. He felt the need to instruct the female workers. He was not sensitive to the social signals that indicated that the workers were increasingly unreceptive to their advice. With an orientation towards the world that recalled conventional ethnographers and military agents, he surveyed the site and attempted to organize it within his own systems of knowledge.

ii. Objectifying Research

The power-to-look was most glaringly evident amongst a number of researchers (and especially with Japanese journalists) who visited New Denver in the summer of 1996. These researchers stayed in New Denver for relatively short periods of time: from two to four days; they visited individually or in groups. In some cases non-Japanese Canadian researchers accompanied Japanese Canadian researchers. Like other Japanese Canadian visitors, these researchers were drawn to New Denver to seek information about the community's past. Specifically they sought unique and authentic material for their research projects. Some also treated the members of the community as unique and authentic artifacts. On the one hand, unlike the tourists, the researchers did not fail to acknowledge social protocols. But on the other hand, their knowledge of these protocols as well as their membership in the Japanese Canadian community helped them acquire the information they sought. The researchers used the social protocols in a superficial

and instrumental though arguably (unlike the Japanese journalists) unconscious manner. Like the tourists they stripped away the conventions that normally govern how and when to look at another member of the community. The ability to ignore social conventions indicates that there is a relation of domination between the subject and the object of the gaze. In this case, the researchers felt no need to negotiate whether and how they deployed the gaze in their interactions with the NIMC workers and local Japanese Canadians.

The NIMC workers and the Japanese Canadian residents from New Denver initially greeted the visiting researchers as if they were members of the larger Japanese Canadian community. While the elders were busy with summer guests and various social commitments, some felt compelled to greet them as if they were guests visiting from other regions. Because the researchers were not staying for a long period, it was sufficient for a few elders to invite them into their homes. Because the researchers were *Sansei* or younger *Nisei*, the NIMC workers regarded them as peers working on similar historical projects. Several workers invited the researchers to their homes for lunch or dinner. The NIMC workers looked forward to discussing issues involved in conducting historical research in the community. But the researchers did not approach these discussions as mutual exchanges. The researchers often turned the discussions into informal interviews, asking streams of questions about the topics they wanted to investigate. After the first series of exchanges, some of the workers were uncomfortable, feeling as if the researchers objectified them, regarding them simply as sources of information rather than hosts and members of the same community.

The following passage recounts the activities of one group of researchers who visited New Denver in the summer of 1996. Before arriving, they had followed the social

protocols and informed the Kyowakai Society that they planned to visit the area. There were going to be three researchers: two Japanese Canadians and one *Hakujin*.

Fieldnotes #9: the search for information

We were initially enthusiastic about their visit and the chance to talk with people working on other community projects. But soon, not only did I, but a few other NIMC workers (though definitely not all the Japanese Canadian residents) began to try to avoid them. As the days passed and the researchers' scheduled departure approached, they became more frenzied in their search for information. They dropped their social veneer in discussions -- which degenerated into what felt like interrogations. Everything we said seemed like it was "potential material" or a "potential lead." They did not seem to notice social clues that indicated that the person being questioned was making gestures that indicated, "Enough! I am tired," "Enough! that is not your business!" (McAllister August .....1996)

The nature of research by its definition requires some form of objectification. Thus it is not possible to dismiss these researchers simply because they objectified their research subjects. The problem here was the manner with which the researchers negotiated their relations with their 'research subjects.' They did not ask the various people they encountered whether or when it was appropriate to gather information from them. The researchers approached most of their interactions as research opportunities even though their research subjects approached the interactions as informal social exchanges.

It might be possible to argue that the researchers had secured informal consent from their research subjects because they had identified themselves as researchers beforehand. Thus anyone who entered an interaction with them, knowing they were researchers, had tacitly given their consent. But informal consent is something that must be constantly negotiated. In the passage above, the researchers were insensitive to the signals that indicated that their research subjects did not want to be questioned. Moreover, the

research subjects found the manner in which these researchers extracted information unpleasant. It was a unilateral rather than a mutual exchange. Perhaps if the researchers had approached their subjects in a more respectful manner, there would not have been as much criticism.

At the same time, it is important to point out that securing informal consent is difficult, especially if you are a member of the community that you plan to research. Sometimes people are willing (or not willing!) to talk simply because they regard you as another member of the community. As such, your position as a member of a community in some cases can allow you to rapidly gain access to other members. Some members of the community may seek you out to record their stories and recollections. In the case described above, the researchers asked questions about their projects under the guise of social camaraderie. Initially the workers willingly answered their questions. But when the researchers persistently continued to ask questions, shedding all social protocols, the workers became uncomfortable. In some cases, the workers actively tried to avoid the researchers.

If the researchers were not socially sensitive enough to negotiate informal consent, it might have been better for them to ask their research subjects for permission to ask questions at particular junctures in a conversation or at a specified time and place. This would have allowed the research subjects to make a clearer distinction between their social interactions and their research activities. This would have allowed those approached to formally dis/agree to being questioned. It would have allowed the research subjects to question the researchers about their projects and specifically the conditions of the exchange.

Again, to be fair, the difficulties involved in securing consent are especially complicated for researchers studying their own communities. If researchers – whether artists, academics or community activists – do not consciously identify how they are situated in relation to their research subjects, they can end up problematically assuming that they embody the 'voice of the community.' This is an authoritative position and does not recognize the relations of domination within the community as well as the relations of power involved in the production of knowledge.

c. Pilgrimages

i. Bus Tours

In contrast to the Japanese Canadian researchers, Japanese Canadian visitors seeking to affirm their heritage did not instrumentally use their membership to gain access to the local Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. Some felt bound by the community's social conventions. Others were awkward or showed resistance. Like Cohen's tourist, most travelled to the NIMC in search of a centre of meaning that did not exist in their everyday lives. The act of 'returning' to former internment camps is discursively constructed like a pilgrimage that will help them reclaim their past. In this section I discuss visitors who travelled to the NIMC on pilgrimages; the first part of this section examines Japanese Canadians who travelled to the NIMC on bus tours of the internment camps.

Japanese Canadians who travelled to the NIMC on bus tours participate in a collective effort to reclaim their past. Two Japanese Canadian bus tours visited the NIMC in the summer of 1996 with approximately forty participants in each tour. Bus tours are typically organized by a community organization such as Tonari Gumi, a seniors' social

service organization or in conjunction with a reunion for former internees from particular camps. The National Association of Japanese Canadians organized the first bus tour in 1987 to motivate the members of the redress negotiating team during negotiations with the Canadian government (Kobayashi and Miki 1989: 7-8). The tours were especially popular in the early 1990s after the Canadian government granted Japanese Canadians a settlement for redress. At this time, because of the availability of funding for community events from the settlement, there were numerous reunions and conferences that brought together Japanese Canadians from across Canada in different locations. The events that occurred in British Columbia often included the option of participating on a bus tour.

How do the participants on these bus tours relate to the NIMC? To examine their relation to the NIMC through their interaction with the people on the tour, it is necessary to consider their interaction with the other bus tour participants and the members of the Kyowakai Society they meet at the NIMC. First I will consider the social interaction amongst the tour participants. While none of the participants necessarily knows each other, they have a common point of reference: they or someone in their family underwent internment, forced labour, scattered dispersal, loss of property or the suspension of their rights. These participants tend to socialize with the other participants. They chat about their recollections, where they were interned, where they lived before 1942 and so on. Because everyone is usually Japanese Canadian, there is some assurance that other participants will be sensitive to what the others are experiencing. They will know the appropriate social conventions for interaction in what could be an emotionally charged situation. At the same time, the formality of the new acquaintanceships offers enough social distance to ensure others will not pry into vulnerable feelings. The tour calls for a light and congenial mode of interacting. This can provide a safe distance from confusing or strong emotions that might be difficult to control in the company of primary

social figures, for example members of one's family. Yet the camaraderie of the 'tour' also means they will not be alone in their memories or their failure to remember what happened. Moreover, it can also be the case that the participants are reflective rather than extroverted. If the tour includes individuals with different backgrounds, for example from different status, age, education, occupational groups -- sometimes they are not certain how to interact as a group (McAllister 1993).

On the bus tours, adhering to social conventions can be part of the discursive performance/enactment of the pilgrimage. Adhering to social conventions reinforces the idea that the participants' experience is collective. Here I use the term 'collective' not to indicate 'the same,' but rather to indicate 'as a group.' To be a member of a group, individuals must share a common point of reference. In this case, the common point of reference is membership in the Japanese Canadian community, and in particular, membership in the pre-war or wartime community, which usually means the member was interned or members of their family were interned.²⁵ Sharing a common point of reference does not entail having the same emotional investment or recollections. It does mean that the way in which individuals render their experiences stemming from their common point of reference will be mediated by other members of the group.

Now I will consider the interaction between the participants and the members of the Kyowakai Society. Tour organizers contact the NIMC beforehand to arrange for someone to host their group. The *Nisei* and *Issei* members of the Kyowakai Society have a prominent place on these occasions. The NIMC workers stay in the background. As members of the Kyowakai Society, the *Nisei* and *Issei* greet the participants of the bus

---

²⁵ Certain individuals who claim to be members of a group may argue that certain individuals do not share the same point of reference. Others may refuse to identify with the group, arguing that the common point of reference is socially irrelevant. This reveals the contested dynamic nature of group membership.

tour as visitors to their community. The President of the Society or another representative of the Society guides them through the site. After touring the site, there is usually an informal break for lunch or tea. Usually these visits are structured so that this is the only chance to individually interact with members of the Kyowakai Society.

Many of the participants on these bus tours are *Nisei*. Because the authority figures during their childhood were *Issei* or older *Nisei*, they tend to be self-conscious with the elders. They are especially self-conscious if they have recently begun to attend community events or they were children in the New Denver camp and remember the elders. The *Yonsei* and *Sansei* are usually awkward as well. Typically, they have had little contact with *Issei* and older *Nisei* members of the community so they either idealize the elders or are uncertain about how to approach them. In addition, on these occasions the elders are very formal, which dissuades the participants from being overly familiar or asking invasive questions. The presence of other *Nisei* participants also tends to make them self-conscious about their behaviour in this context. Following social protocols, the tour group usually thanks the elders, leaving a donation and sometimes showing their appreciation by giving a formal speech.

The tours are discursively constructed as pilgrimages insofar as the participants seek another centre of meaning outside of their everyday lives. But unlike Cohen and MacCannell's tourists, the participants are not alienated members of modern society seeking spiritual meaning. They are involved in a field of discursive activity through which traumatic experiences are constituted into particular events: for example, the internment, the violation of their rights, the forced dispersal of Japanese Canadians out of British Columbia. By constituting their experiences as particular events, they can incorporate what happened into the public space of what becomes defined as their

community. How their experiences become constituted in part shapes what sort of community is formed.

The relation that the participants have to the NIMC also differs from Cohen's conception of the relation that tourists have to the society where they find their spiritual centre. At a romantic level, New Denver represents a society that the participants lost: a lifeworld that was destroyed during the war. In this context the purpose of the pilgrimage is to seek a connection with what-has-passed. Yet because many of the participants are older *Nisei*, they do not have the distance that is required for a romantic construction of the past. They are implicated in what-has-passed: their family histories, their identity, their trauma. In other words, they are seeking a connection with a part of themselves that was destroyed or severed from their lives.

How does this place them in relation to the elders, specifically, do they deploy the power-to-look? Given that any number of the *Nisei* participants are faced with confused feelings or sometimes traumatic responses, they are not necessarily in a position where they have the power-to-look. Moreover, given the presence of the other Japanese Canadians, there is peer pressure to 'behave properly' and respect the community's social conventions. Yet given the demographic shift that will occur when the older *Nisei* and the elders in New Denver pass on, undoubtedly the nature of the bus tours, if they continue, will also change.

ii. Building Intergenerational Bridges

Most of the Japanese Canadians who visited the NIMC came as families or couples. Visiting as a family involved building an intergenerational link between war-time and

post-war generations. Often the older generations came with members from the younger generation and used the NIMC as a means to share their experiences during the war. Given the demographic shift in the community, this process also has a bicultural dimension.

During the summer of 1996, bicultural families and couples frequently visited the centre: Japanese Canadian grandparents with small *Happa* grandchildren, bi-cultural couples as well as families with *Happa* children. The practice of visiting the NIMC as a bi-cultural family or couple can be viewed as part of the process of changing the notion of the Japanese Canadian family as 'genetically Japanese.' Introducing a non-Japanese Canadian spouse to Japanese Canadian history is part of the process of introducing them into the community. This is not a straightforward process. One can encounter unpredictable community members who might criticize or reject one's non-Japanese Canadian partner. The non-Japanese Canadian partner might be unfamiliar with the codes of conduct and sensitive community issues. As a result, she or he might appear uncouth, offensive or unreceptive to other members of the community. In the following passage, I describe the caution a *Sansei* woman showed when she introduced her bicultural family to her mother's history during their visit to the NIMC.

Fieldnotes #10: extending the family

Another *Happa* family visited the centre today. The *Hakujin* grandmother and grandfather walked in first and asked, "Where are pictures of Rosebery?" Their Japanese Canadian daughter-in-law followed with her husband and young boy. The daughter-in-law talked to one of the non-Japanese Canadian members of the staff, saying that her mother's family name was Nakashima and her father's was Nagano. I exclaimed, "Oh -- my mum was also Nakashima!" I knew that, of course, we were not related but still...She looked at me in a blank sort of way. She seemed impatient, perhaps a bit disconcerted by what I realized was my intrusive attempt to identify with her. She seemed to want to get

on with the business of showing her new family around -- on her own terms. The grandfather turned to another worker and me, "So Rosebery would have shacks like they have here..." We chimed, "Oh no, they've been ploughed down!" We made a rough map of Rosebery to show them the location of the old camp. The grandparents seemed so warm. They wanted to know, not in a *we-want-to-claim-knowledge-about-our-daughter-in-law* way, but a *oh-so-this-is-where-your-mother-was-interned?* way. It was as if the grandparents wanted to be introduced to what was important to their daughter-in-law -- her family and her family's history. This was now important to their son, their grandson and themselves (McAllister, August 13, 1996).

It is significant that the *Sansei* introduced herself to a non-Japanese Canadian worker rather than the other *Sansei* worker or myself. The caution the *Sansei* displayed when I responded to her introduction suggested that she had some discomfort entering the NIMC as a 'community space.' In Japanese Canadian venues, members often introduce themselves with their parent's family names as well as the camps or prairie town where they were interned.

The process of introducing oneself to other members of the Japanese Canadian community is not straightforward, especially if certain family members have refused to discuss the past and as a result have invested discussions about and references to past events with tension and ambivalence. When talking to *Nisei* or *Issei*, identifying oneself with one's parents' family names, one can also unknowingly associate oneself with old political factions, embarrassing tragedies, an elite or low status and so on. But with regard to the *Sansei* woman, she freely identified herself by her parents' family names. She also did not seem uncomfortable about talking about her family's history insofar as she had spoken to her in-laws about where her mother had been interned.

But she was uncomfortable talking to the *Sansei* and *Happa* workers. For some members of the younger generations, entering a community venue can be awkward because they

are not accustomed to socializing with Japanese Canadian peers. Others who have worked with Japanese Canadian organizations or in the redress movement have become embroiled in the emotionally charged political conflicts that plague the contemporary Japanese Canadian community. As a result, these Japanese Canadians tend to be cautious of other Japanese Canadians. They have had firsthand experience with the fractured and emotionally fraught process of community formation. If either situation was applicable to the *Sansei* woman, she would undoubtedly be uncomfortable or wary of other *Sansei*. Or perhaps introducing her new family to her mother's history was a personal process and she did not want others to 'interfere' or 'take over.' It is possible that as one of the NIMC workers, this was an instance where I was intrusive and assumed an inappropriate amount of familiarity. As a *Happa Sansei*, perhaps I over-identified with her bi-cultural family.

iii. Coping with Unresolved Family Trauma

For some *Sansei*, visiting the NIMC was a difficult process. They travelled to the NIMC in order to try to understand why their families refused to discuss the past. In the passage below, I describe a man facing this situation. His visit reveals that there are still Japanese Canadians who continue to be traumatized by their experiences surrounding internment, despite the success of the redress movement.

Fieldnotes #11: a shadow

A motorcycle carrying two passengers circled the centre, pulling up outside the gates. A travel-weary man and woman in their late 30s clad in protective black leather gear approached the Visitors' Reception Building where another worker and I were talking. Both looked thin and worn. The man meekly said "Hi." He was pale -- too many cigarettes, too many worries, too much of something or perhaps not enough...He had that look, like he might be Japanese

Canadian. A shadow of movement softening his angular-angled comportment. But I wasn't sure. He drifted off towards the exhibits. The woman lingered behind. After looking at the books on display, she commented on what we were discussing as they came in, something about how it is difficult not to be filled with grief whenever you reflect on the internment.

Tentatively, the woman began to ask if we knew anything about Kaslo. She asked if there were any maps. She made a gesture towards the man who had accompanied her and explained that her husband's family was in Kaslo during the war. She told us that his family lived in one of the houses, but they weren't sure which one.

The other worker said that the government had placed a lot of people in the local hotels. The woman replied, "Isn't it odd? that they were in a house?" The worker explained that the BCSC used whatever buildings were available in Kaslo. While the NIMC did not have much information on Kaslo, we suggested that they could ask some of the old-timers. She immediately responded by stating that his family didn't like to -- never talked about the internment. His family was resolutely silent about what happened during the war. It was a forbidden subject. We suggested that there were other old-timers from Kaslo who would probably be pleased to talk about the internment. She said that her husband felt uncomfortable prying. He felt that people didn't want to talk about it. After we gave her the addresses of some organizations that might have more information, she drifted off as well, catching up with her husband (McAllister, July 26, 1996).

If the man was trying to find information about the Kaslo internment camp, the way he drifted past the NIMC workers, barely meeting their eyes, suggested that he was not comfortable approaching other members of the community. The way the woman rather than the man approached the workers suggested how difficult the topic of internment must have been for him. As his wife, the woman was not asking questions for him because she thought he was incapable of doing so. She seemed desperate to find some clues that would help her husband understand what happened to his family. Yet she tentatively approached the workers. She was cautious. Only when it was apparent that the workers were comfortable answering her questions did she share more information about his family. She presented information that she thought was important -- that his

family had lived in a house – to see whether the workers would be able to explain its significance. She only disclosed how his family refused to discuss the internment when the workers insisted that they should talk to the old-timers.

Given that the woman was not familiar with the names of community organizations we gave her, it is possible that neither the man nor the man's family participated in Japanese Canadian events or were members of Japanese Canadian organizations. For example, it is likely that they did not receive any of the community newspapers or interact with Japanese Canadians outside of their family. This would have meant that the man was isolated from others trying to heal from or express their trauma. Through community organizations and newspapers it is possible to discover other Japanese Canadians trying to find out about the community's past whether by participating in community events, reading literature on others' experiences, historical research or art projects. The woman seemed to confirm that the man did not have any contact with Japanese Canadians outside his immediate family when she suggested that he had the impression that Japanese Canadians in general did not like discussing the internment. If he had contact with other Japanese Canadians he would have seen the different ways that various Japanese Canadians dealt with their experiences during the war. This would have included elders who are community activists and researchers who act as mentors to members of the younger generation.

The fact that he was a *Huppa* in his late 30s was also significant. His Japanese Canadian parent must have become involved with a non-Japanese Canadian partner in the early or mid-1950s.²⁶ If the parent became involved with a non-Japanese Canadian partner in the

---

²⁶ If we assume conservatively that the man was in his mid-30s, then his nikkei parent would have had to have been born at least in 1944 (the parent would be 17) but more likely in the mid- to late- 1930s (the

1950s, it would not have been long after the restrictions on the civil rights of Japanese Canadian were lifted in 1949. At this time, intermarriage was still considered 'wrong' by *Issei* parents. In the 1950s and 1960s there was little support for *Happa* children or bi-cultural couples within the Japanese Canadian community. The man was also too young to have been involved in the Asian Canadian movement during his formative years during the 1970s. In any case, informal observations suggest that the participation of *Happa* in community organizations has become significant only recently in the 1990s. It might have also been the case that one of this man's parents was *Happa* and the other one was non-Japanese Canadian. He might have been adopted. These factors just further confirm how he was socially isolated from other Japanese Canadians.

In contrast to the *Sansei* woman described above, the man was not unreceptive to the *Sansei* workers. For this man, the effects of the internment were still raw – he was not comfortable facing, never mind dismissing or confronting, members of the community. This suggests how the trauma of his family has been passed down to him. The need to find information about Kaslo was not a matter of affirming the man's identity and heritage. It was a matter of helping him cope with his trauma and the trauma experienced by his family.

iv. A Regular Community Practice

Other Japanese Canadians visited the NIMC on a regular basis. They had turned visiting the centre into a regular practice. Their trips were part of the process of maintaining a community. They were comfortable in Japanese Canadian community venues. They

---

parent would be 22-26). According to census data, for this demographic group, the intermarriage rate was 18.3 % for Japanese Canadian men and 26.8 % for Japanese Canadian women (Kobayashi 1989: 32).

were relaxed and congenial when they interacted with other Japanese Canadians. These visitors often brought their own Japanese Canadian guests so they could proudly show off the centre. They freely extended themselves to others, chatting and seeking social connections. I recall one group of *Nisei* from Kamloops who merrily burst into the Visitors' Reception Centre, exclaiming that this was their annual visit to the centre.

Fieldnotes #12: a small world

One of the women brought her mother's old leather suitcase and brownie camera. She wanted to donate them to the NIMC. They were cleaning out her mother's place and were going to throw away "this old stuff" but then she thought perhaps the NIMC could use them. Her friend jumped up and exclaimed, "Are you Kirsten McAllister?" She just saw my mother and father last week in the Greek restaurant in Nanaimo! Then I bumped into her husband who was talking to the President of the Kyowakai Society. The husband told the President, "I met her *Ojiisan* after the war -- he was a fisherman." The President noted, "Just like our family!" (McAllister: September 6, 1996).

The enthusiasm of these *Nisei* was infectious. Their donations and the way they freely identified the connections they had with other Japanese Canadians showed a consideration for, and inclusion of others that characterized an understanding of 'community' that was distinct from the more cautious Japanese Canadian visitors. They did not retract from the social networks that knit together the pre-war communities in common concerns as well as conflicts. It was as if they pulled and tugged at worn threads from the past, knitting them together into what might become a new social fabric.

Again, it is important to emphasize that for some Japanese Canadians the process of affirming connections with other community members is not necessarily an easy process. I recall a story about an elderly *Nisei* man who came to New Denver with his grown children. He quietly mentioned that he thought he knew someone who still lived in New

Denver, someone he knew while he was interned during the war. His children inquired at the centre and discovered that this man still lived in New Denver. The father seemed enthused so his children urged him to knock on his old friend's door. The father approached the house, walked up the steps and then he froze. Despite the encouragement and urging of his children, he could not bring himself to knock on the door. He turned and walked away from the house.

v. Ambivalent Feelings

Some Japanese Canadian visitors displayed ambivalence towards the NIMC. In the passage below, I describe a *Nisei* woman who made me wonder what it was like to have one's life displayed to members of the general public. On the one hand, she seemed proud of the centre. She wanted the workers to know that she grew up in New Denver. On the other hand, she displayed hostility towards one of the workers. Because the passage describing the *Nisei* woman, her husband and the NIMC workers presents the complexity of the interactions that occurred at the NIMC, I have decided to provide the full passage. While I focus on the *Nisei* woman's ambivalence towards the NIMC, other details, including the *Nisei* woman's relation to the camp where she grew up, as well as my interpretation of the interaction, offer different insights into how visitors related to the NIMC.

Fieldnotes #13: whose history

Yesterday, a very fit woman in her early sixties with a bob hair cut, birkenstocks, wearing sporty shorts and a tee-shirt, visited the site. Her tall relaxed-looking *Hakujin* husband must have been in his late sixties. She marched into the office building and stated that she recognized some of the people in the photos in the Kyowakai Hall's displays. She informed us that she was related to Ayoma Spain, one of the former residents in New Denver. Her authoritative manner indicated that she wanted us to know that she was a bona fide New Denver-ite. This was her home town and the NIMC was portraying her history. She turned to speak to me,

bypassing the Administrator and other members of the staff. I deferred to the Administrator, as she was the one in charge. The Administrator asked if the woman wanted to identify some of the people in the photos. She consented. I piped in, "Oh I'll come along!" I hesitated, sensing that I had been a little too spontaneous in my assumption that I was welcome. Then I thought, oh well, I am working with the History Preservation Committee and this will be important information for the Chair.

As we walked past the Kyowakai Hall she suddenly turned to me. Glaring, she asked pointedly, "And *who are you*." I pretended not to take in the full force of her implied accusations. Was she saying, you don't look Japanese Canadian so what is your business here? Or perhaps she was saying, how is it that *you* presume that you can accompany us? I replied, quizzically, "My name is Kirsten?" She continued, as if she were some sort of quality control inspector. "Do you live here?" In other words, she implied, if you are not from New Denver, what right do you have working at the NIMC. I explained that I was working for the History Preservation Committee and doing some independent research. Then, she tossed out, "Oh, you just *never know* who is who here." We went into the Hall. She skimmed over the photographs, identifying various people. Further underlining her credentials, she also cited the names of various elders in New Denver, advising us that we should consult with them about the people in the photos. To indicate just how familiar she was with the elders, she asked the Administrator if the elders still lived here or there, at this or that address.

Like an annoyed wasp -- or perhaps she regarded me as a persistent mosquito -- she again swivelled towards me and tried to repel me with, "And *where are you from*?" Rather than receiving the blow of her words, I again tried to look slightly puzzled: "Well, I grew up on Vancouver Island but am now studying in Ottawa."

Rather than cowering, I was getting a little annoyed with her accusatory tone. I decided to try to turn the exchange into something more productive. When she again advised us to ask the elders about the photographs, I explained, "Well, when the NIMC initially collected the photographs, there was not enough care taken to identify the people and places, so we often just have the photo. Any identification or source we can get is very useful." I continued, "You also mentioned that you are connected with the Spain family. There are some documents that refer to the Spain family in our Historical Collections. We might need references for this material. This will be very useful for the History Preservation Committee."

The husband who had been quietly tagging along, noted, "Yes, without information, they are not of much value." He pointed to

the *ofuro*²⁷ in the back room of the Hall and commented about how he'd love to have a Japanese bathtub as they are made so well. "The water just comes right up to your chin." I responded, joking that yes, the Japanese have figured out all the qualities of displacement (i.e., knowing the extent to which the body displaces water, they can calculate the tub dimensions which will result in water up to one's chin).

Deferring to her show of expertise, I asked if we could get her address so we could call her to ask for further details if necessary. She hesitated -- perhaps nervous -- realizing that the hostile front had not deflected us. Instead, we chose to enthusiastically accept her expertise, recognizing her as someone whom the Centre would, as she had presented herself, find knowledgeable. But she did not leave her number or address. As they left, we both went, "Byeee," waving our hands. She turned to the Administrator and said in a more relaxed friendly way, "Oh, and *what was your name* again, I have such a bad memory, getting old I guess!" It was hard to tell whether she was using the "I have your name and number" surveillance technique or retreating a bit from her hostility. (McAllister July 27, 1996).

The interaction with this Japanese Canadian woman and her husband was complex. As the descriptive terms in the passage indicate, when I wrote the passage, I read her response as hostile. I discussed her response with another *Sansei* worker. I wondered if the woman responded to me in a negative way because I was *Happa*. But the other worker said that woman had initially reacted to her in a similar manner the day before. This information made me consider what I interpreted as hostility. It differed from the hostility displayed by the tourists. She was not trying to access the backstage activities of the community. Her hostility was not a response to 'natives' who informed her that the backstage area was off limits. She grew up in New Denver. It was her past that was on display! By questioning my background and my relation to the NIMC, like the tourists she was asserting her authority over me. But by positioning herself as an insider who had lived in New Denver, it was as if she regarded me as the intruder. Was she

---

²⁷ *Ofuro* is the term for Japanese-style baths where one cleans oneself outside of the 'bath' and then immerses oneself and soaks in a tub of hot water.

uncomfortable about the way the NIMC publicly displayed the social circumstances of her childhood?

Yet she also seemed proud of the centre. By informing the NIMC workers that she knew people in some of the archival photographs on display in the Kyowakai Hall, she wanted them to know that she had a special relation to the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver. When we responded by acknowledging her knowledge of the community and asked if we could contact her for more information, she avoided giving us her address and phone number. This suggests that she was not trying to assert herself as an authority figure whom we should consult. Instead it suggests ambivalent and confused feelings that were manifested in aggressivity.

This incident made me reflect on the difficulty of representing 'living histories.' In some ways it was as if the *Nisei* woman was trying to claim ownership of the history that the NIMC presented. It was her history. She had grown up in New Denver and she knew the individuals in the photographs. They were not just interned Japanese Canadians but family friends, playmates and so on. Strangers, with uncertain connections to the community of New Denver, in particular, the NIMC workers, now presided over how the history was presented to the general public. Moreover, just as much as I felt that some of the tourists peered at the workers as if they were on display as living Japanese Canadians -- the staff at the NIMC, including myself, peered at other Japanese Canadians (as per the reaction of the 'daughter-in-law' who was hesitant about the way I identified with her family name) visiting the centre as potential sources of information.

d. Remembering Difference

In this section of the chapter I have discussed the range of ways Japanese Canadians relate to the NIMC. They do not necessarily share the same memories or have the same investments in what happened during the 1940s. As such, the NIMC can never affirm everyone's recollections. In some cases, the Centre challenges how individuals remember the past. For example, I heard stories from other NIMC workers about how some Japanese Canadians were upset when they saw the centre. They claimed that it did not accurately portray the conditions of the camp. The garden was too pretty. The shacks should have been set in muddy fields with burnt out stumps, just like it was when they were interned in New Denver. They wanted the NIMC to portray the desolate, barren state of the camp. There was nothing 'pretty' about what they experienced. It was as if these visitors felt that the NIMC should not just depict the conditions they endured in the camps, but immerse the visitors in the misery and depression they experienced.

As the Administrator stated in her report to the Kyowakai Society, the lack of signage at the NIMC was the problem. Without signage to indicate that the garden is meant to be a place to peacefully reflect on what-had-past, some visitors "are mislead to believe that a beautiful garden such as this one actually existed during the war" (Shozawa 1996(b)). It could be that the Japanese Canadians who criticized the NIMC's lack of realism were actually worried about the way the NIMC might mislead people about the internment camps. More signage could help underline the intent behind the garden as a memorial: as a place to reflect and re-member. This would also help to differentiate the purpose of the NIMC from that of conventional historical museums whose mission is to depict or reconstruct particular events and the lives of certain people as significant and important.

Whether Japanese Canadian visitors were disappointed, proud or ambivalent, there are a number of ways that the NIMC potentially challenged their assumptions about the internment and how it should be represented to the general public. They were challenged both through its portrayal of the past and their encounters with other visitors and the staff. When the NIMC challenged how someone had constructed the past, they could have found it disturbing. Our accounts of the past work to construct a sense of ourselves by reiterating ourselves in a particular configuration of relations and events. If the representation of the internment differs from the visitors' accounts of what happened, it can challenge the investments that they have in the way they have constructed what happened, whether they relate to the past as a horrific experience, a shameful family secret or a nostalgic period of childhood.

On the one hand, as a public venue, the NIMC offered the chance to interact with other visitors and exchange ideas. As visitors meeting in a public space, social conventions required them to interact politely. To interact politely, for example, one inquires about and listens to others. In this context it was possible for some visitors to consider the perspectives of different visitors at the NIMC rather than staying locked in their own interpretation of what happened in the past. For other visitors, engaging in a mutual exchange about the internment with others was more difficult. Each visitors' response, especially if they have been traumatized, partly depends on their 'state of coping.'

Yet whatever the reasons for deciding to visit the NIMC, the fact that Japanese Canadian visitors travelled to the centre showed that, like the non-Japanese Canadian man whose parents had taken advantage of the situation of Japanese Canadians during the war, they were seeking a way to approach what-had-happened. It was significant that Japanese Canadians travelled to a public centre marking an old internment camp that was run by

elders. For years many Japanese Canadians tried to cut their ties to the Japanese Canadian community and erase their Japanese Canadian character traits. It has only been since the movement for redress in the 1980s that Japanese Canadians across different demographic groups have begun to seek connections with other members of the community and explore their past. Thus the fact that they were willing to 'be seen' at a centre depicting Japanese Canadian history by members of the general public was significant. It shows that, rather than retracting from the world, these Japanese Canadians are extending themselves towards other members of the community. In different degrees, they are in the process of rebuilding relations and adjusting their understanding of what took place during the war.

Visiting the centre also facilitates a way to recognize that the world *is ongoing and changing*. For example, by visiting the centre, Japanese Canadians can meet other Japanese Canadians who also recognize the importance of re-membering the past. Until the 1980s the majority of Japanese Canadians were resigned or even determined to let what the government did to them slip from public consciousness. By visiting the centre they individually recognize the community's need to openly discuss the past and how the war affected its members. At the NIMC they met others who also recognized that this is important. The interest Japanese Canadians have in re-visiting the past underlines how much the community has changed. This is especially important if their families are unable to speak about what happened, as was the case with the couple who arrived on the motorcycle.

In addition, while visiting the centre it is difficult to avoid realizing the demographic shift in the community. Many new members of the community are from bicultural families: a demographic shift that resulted from the government's policy to force them to

disperse outside of British Columbia in 1945. Now over 90% of Japanese Canadians 'intermarry' (Kobayashi 1989: 32-33). As a result, their offspring do not physically fit within the parameters of the conventional definition of ethnocultural groups as 'racially pure' to which many members of the community and the general public still adhere. The presence of bicultural families at the NIMC, challenges the nostalgic ideal of the Japanese Canadian community as a racially pure community descended from pre-war Meiji era immigrants. A number of Japanese Canadians who have prominent public positions in the community, such as *Sansei*, Terry Watada, who has a column in the national newspaper, *The Nikkei Voice*, and *Shin-ijuusha*, Tomoko Makabe, who published the books, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada* (1995) and *The Canadian Sansei* (1998) still adhere to this conservative definition of ethnicity. The number of bicultural families visiting the NIMC show that rather than representing what many feared would be the 'end of the community,' at the centre one can see that these bicultural families are actively seeking out their roots...signifying a change in and not necessarily the end of, the community.

IV. Mediated Relations

Most of the interactions that the elders had with visitors were buffered through the NIMC staff. The elders heard about the reactions of visitors to the NIMC through the Administrator, the President of the Kyowakai Society, the Chair of the History Preservation Committee or other Japanese Canadians working on site, such as myself. In *Chapter 5* I described a range of ways that non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors related to the NIMC. Hearing about the large range of people who travelled to the centre underlined the importance of sharing their history of internment. The appreciation shown by the visitors, as well as the personal connections that visitors

made to the Japanese Canadians' history of internment was meaningful. Rather than being isolated by their experiences of internment, the NIMC facilitated the ability of the elders to realize that others felt a connection to the Japanese Canadian community and recognized that what they underwent was wrong.

There were also tourists who were difficult. I described their relation to the NIMC in terms of the power-to-look. The power-to-look strips away the forms of social conduct and symbolic systems that would normally govern how and when to look at another person. These forms of conduct and symbolic systems are integral to a person's sense of self. The ability to ignore these conventions indicates that there is a relation of domination between the subject and the object of the gaze. At the NIMC, the tourists felt that they had the right to unlimited access to the experiences and activities of local Japanese Canadians. This relation is characterized by invasive controlling relations rather than by mutually negotiated relations, never mind relations of trust. These relations do not facilitate the ability of those whose experiences of violence are publicly displayed to rebuild the capacity to trust others.

It is important to again underline that the connection between the visitors and the elders *was mediated* through those working on the site. For people who have been the direct target of political violence, there is no need to face the confused emotional baggage of the general public. As cited above, in the NIMC Administrator's report to the Kyowakai Society,

There is a fatigue/'burn-out' factor involved in working at the N.I.M.C. which stems directly from the emotionally, intellectually, and politically offensive nature of the internment and its post-traumatic effects. This can be true for both Japanese Canadian and non-Japanese Canadian employees. Both [the other] co-employee...and I have discussed the matter. The responses and political perspectives of visitors who come to the N.I.M.C. vary greatly: from

the aggressive to the emotionally riveted; from indifferent to the elderly Japanese Canadian survivor and his/her family (Shozawa 1996 (b)).

Making a public statement about a historical event, such as the internment of Japanese Canadians, that has implicated a large number of people, civil organizations and government bodies, is an onerous task. It is difficult to bear the unpredictable reactions and the inevitable denials and criticisms of those implicated in the events. But at a distance, the different reactions, especially criticisms but also angry outbursts, can be instructive. With respect to the NIMC, the visitors' different reactions have shown the elders that there is a diversity of experiences that has followed from the internment and forced dispersal. It also has shown them that various Japanese Canadians have dealt with these experiences in different ways.

If the elders found that they could not accept the reactions and accounts of others visiting the site, it would have been difficult to continue to keep the NIMC open. The inability to accept that others have different accounts -- without having to necessarily accept others' accounts over their own accounts -- indicates that they would have had a strong investment in keeping their account intact. It could have suggested the views of others that challenge their account were experienced as threats. By 'accept other accounts,' I am referring to the ability *to accept that various people will have* different experiences of and feelings about what happened in the past. For example, in other community contexts I have met Japanese Canadians who described their childhood years in the internment camps as 'fun,' 'carefree' and full of adventures. Some actively dismissed the accounts of other Japanese Canadians who talked about the internment in terms of 'ruining their lives.' It was as if they could not accept -- needed to deny -- that the internment had a severe emotional and social impact on any other Japanese Canadian.

To feel strongly that others must have the same account of what happened, especially if it is coupled with the need to authoritatively exert one's rendition of what happened -- would be exhausting. It would be an endless task as the nature of 'other views' is that they differ from your view. The act of publicly re-presenting painful, devastating experiences brings up a range of different feelings in the viewers. In the case of the NIMC, as the Administrator noted, this includes discomfort, sadness, anger, defensiveness as well as indifference. One can not control how others react. Finding ways to accept that it is valid for others *to have* different responses and views is part of the process through which one re-builds relations with others. It means others are not a threat. As such, it is possible to accept others as they-are-constituted as an 'other' through difference.

Hearing about the varied ways that visitors interacted with the NIMC staff, especially the younger non-Japanese Canadian staff, also expanded the elders' sense of connection to others. As mentioned above, hiring local non-Japanese Canadian students to work at the NIMC in a sense, incorporated them into its operation: they became part of the visitors' experience of the NIMC. The way visitors 'behaved' towards the students, in some instances, became a concern for the elders and President of the Kyowakai Society. For example, above I discussed instances where visitors questioned the appropriateness for what they categorized as 'white people' to work at the NIMC. As well, there was the case where the visitor from Hope became angry at the Administrator's Assistant when she informed him that he could not visit the NIMC during Obon.

The Administrator reported these incidents to the Kyowakai Society. She indicated that one of the unrecognized challenges of working with visitors was having to contend with their emotional responses, ranging from anger to an upsetting indifference. At some

level, the staff were targets for the visitors' various psychological displacements. They were put in a position where they had to bear some of the burden of a history of racism (Shozawa 1996 (b)).

During informal discussions where the staff processed these interactions, they reflected on their reasons for applying to work at the NIMC. In my discussions with two members of the staff working at the NIMC in the summer of 1996, they identified with the local Japanese Canadian community because they were related in various ways to local Japanese Canadians whether through old family friendships or family marriages. They felt strongly about the need to educate the public about the history of Japanese Canadians during the 1940s. They saw the internment as a part of their local history. It was a fundamental part of the way their community developed. Their views circulated amongst the Japanese Canadians working at the NIMC. This expanded the elders' realization of who was encompassed by the consequences of the government's efforts to destroy their pre-war communities in the 1940s. It underlined how others were committed to changing the circumstances that lead to the political violence they underwent. This would have further contributed to a shift in their understanding of who was encompassed in a sense of 'we' as distinct from the sense of there being an 'us' and a 'them.'

In 1996, two years after building the NIMC, the elders felt strongly about the importance of educating others about the historical persecution they underwent. They have a sense of responsibility as well as an increasingly nuanced understanding of what they felt was important for visitors to learn. Mrs. Inose describes ways the NIMC could be further improved.

Mrs. Inose: I would certainly like [the NIMC] to be more educational...so people could come and learn what discrimination is really like for...minority people. And it should be

more....that the experience will be [the] education. I think people could learn a lot by coming here and knowing that discrimination is a very -- what would you say -- something that could happen quite easily -- and that if people realize what does happen and could happen perhaps that will be an education that will stop a lot of discrimination. As we have [set it up now] -- I don't like those artifacts. Well, I suppose even they could [provide some] education because we don't [use those items anymore. They are useful] for those who want to study the past. Yes -- it has to be more [oriented towards] education, for people to understand what discrimination can do to people.

Kirsten McAllister (KM): So that could be something worked on? So it talks about that history more?

Mrs. Inose: Yes -- and what it can do to *human beings*. Some people are strong enough to overcome and get stronger from discrimination, like in our case, our people picked up and really went ahead and bettered themselves...despite all...they went through....To be able to overcome these things -- but a lot of people aren't strong enough.

KM: So you saw that around you as well?

Mrs. Inose:...in one sense, as devastating as it was, [we were able to make it do] some good for us as well. And yet there are those people who never really overcame the misery, [never overcame] what happened. It helped the younger people more -- the older people they lost everything they worked for and their children. And it was too late to start over again (Inose, Interview, August 16, 1996).

Mrs. Inose discusses how what happened to the Japanese Canadians can show others what discrimination 'can do to people.' She makes the argument that to understand discrimination it is necessary to understand what it does: the damage, the devastation, the pain that some never overcome. It is also something that can happen quite quickly: hatred and fear can be mobilized quickly and crystallize into government policies that destroy the lives of thousands of peoples. She points out that in order to protect society from future acts of violence, it is vitally important to underline the fundamental humanity of minorities who are potential targets of hatred. This is something that she feels very strongly the NIMC needs to underline: the humanity of the victims. While acknowledging the devastating affects of political violence, she also makes it clear that the victims have the capacity to survive and rebuild their lives in new ways. This shows

that through building the NIMC, Japanese Canadians in New Denver have also been able to rebuild a sense of a future that recognizes the potential of violence as well as the potential of intervening in violent acts.

V. Conclusion: New Relations with Others

In this chapter, I examined how non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors related to the NIMC. Given the way that we relate to racial others and tourist sites have become entrenched practices, I claim that it might be difficult to critically read the interactions between visitors and the NIMC workers and members of the Kyowakai Society. I argue that it was necessary to review the literature on tourism and museums that described tourism and museums in terms of discursive fields of activity that are articulated with other practices. Given that the NIMC presents the history of Japanese Canadians, a group that official historical discourses have constructed as racial others, I argue that it was necessary to examine how in particular, museum-goers viewed racial others. I drew on the work of Frantz Fanon to examine how museum-goers are discursively positioned in relation to exhibits of racial others. I argue that residues of scientific, colonial and ethnographic practices of looking affected the way museum-goers viewed exhibits of racial others. I argue that discursively, as museum-goers they were positioned in authoritative positions and deployed the power-to-look. The power-to-look strips the social conventions that specify how to interrelate with others. These conventions are integral to a person's sense of self. As such, I argue the power-to-look manifests a relation of domination. Yet I drew on museum literature that points out that discourses of domination are not seamlessly imposed on the world. Social meaning is always contested. I cite instances where community-run museums attempted to deconstruct official historical discourses that constituted them as racial others and

present a site to affirm identity and heritage of their members. I argue that NIMC belongs to this category of museum.

In order to examine how visitors related to the NIMC, I argue that it was necessary to analyze how they negotiated dominant discourses. I present passages from my fieldnotes describing interactions between different visitors and NIMC workers to illustrate the complex range of ways they negotiated these discourses. I organized the passages in a manner that also emphasizes the fact that the implicit perspective was based on my own position as a visiting researcher who was working for the Kyowakai Society. Over time, with my growing awareness my understanding of the complexity of the visitors' interactions changed. Using the literature on tourism, museums and colonial relations, I analyzed various visitors' interactions. While non-Japanese Canadian and Japanese Canadian visitors have a different relation to the NIMC, I provide examples where both groups deployed the power to look. Most of the non-Japanese Canadian visitors who approached the NIMC workers had a personal relation to members of the Japanese Canadian community. Some sought to understand more about the impact of the internment as a way to better understand the trauma of a Japanese Canadian friend or co-worker. There were others who felt somehow implicated in the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia in the 1940s. Their visits were public acts through which they informally showed their regret: small gestures to make amends. Visits by Japanese Canadians were constituted as pilgrimages. They sought a connection to their past: until the grassroots movement in the 1970s to discover the community's roots and the subsequent movement for redress, this connection was severed. The ways that Japanese Canadian visitors related to the NIMC was just as diverse as that of the non-Japanese Canadian visitors. For some, visiting the NIMC each summer was a regular cultural practice through which they maintained community

relations. For others, it is was a way to introduce their non-Japanese Canadian family members to their history and community. As such, visiting the NIMC was a way to challenge the conservative racial definition of the Japanese Canadian family so it included bi-cultural families. There were other visitors who tentatively sought out ways to find more information about the internment to cope with the trauma of their families. As well, some visitors had ambivalent feelings towards the NIMC.

The chapter finishes with a discussion of how the elders view the range of responses from the visitors. I argue that, on the one hand, the large number of people who visit the NIMC has stressed the importance of sharing their history. On the other hand, I argue that the range of reactions displayed by the different visitors -- including appreciative comments, anger and quiet reflection -- has revealed how people have been affected in different ways by the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s -- and that many are still working through the devastating effects.

Conclusion

Points of Departure

I. Points of Departures

As the earth tilted away from the sun, the shadows extended from the dark recesses of the mountain slopes. Dense cool air flowed into the valley like an ancient glacier. During the night, while everyone slept, snow had dusted the massive ridges towering over Slocan Lake. With their white shrouds, they seemed to reach for the sky, no longer earthbound. Even at night, peering up from the darkness of the valley, I could see their white forms glowing eerily in the moonlight: now part of the celestial world.

The insect-life that survived the first frost, notably an odd horde of spiders, scuttled indoors. An elderly woman in the post office informed me that this was a sign that winter was coming. The population of mice and other creatures inhabiting the walls of my temporary home also increased. I could hear the occasional scuffle or indignant squeal as their tiny claws scrabbled through the insulation in the walls.

Everyone was preparing for the deep snow and freezing temperatures. As people restocked their supply of firewood, dug up their dahlias and finished their canning, it was as if the world was moving inside, drawn to the warmth emanating from wood stoves into the quiet contemplation of winter.

It was time to leave. I swept the rough floorboards of the huge creaking house that had been my home over the summer. Once a grand Victorian home of the local mining company's assayer during the early 1900s, now it was an abandoned wooden shell. Returning the array of cooking pots, blankets and bicycle pumps that people had generously lent me, I began to disassemble my life in the valley.

The elders were so much more experienced in the act of departing than I. They understood that in every act there are possibilities, not to repeat the past, but to transform it into something beyond the limits of what was. As I drove west, across damp grey savanna and over the bare mountain ranges with boxes of field notes, photographs, documents and their words, I knew that this departure was yet another starting point.¹

---

¹ This passage is compiled from descriptions in the fieldnotes that I produced for this research project.

II. The Theoretical and Political Problem

In July of 1996 I travelled to the Village of New Denver to learn about the role that collective forms of remembering plays in rebuilding communities that have been the target of political violence. While political violence includes acts ranging from genocide to political torture, this dissertation was concerned with less extreme forms of violence. In particular, I was concerned with programs designed to forcibly uproot communities, dismantle their socio-cultural institutions, disperse their members and assimilate them into mainstream populations. In this context, my definition of political violence included systematic acts taken against a specific community which are either devised to damage or destroy -- or inadvertently result in damaging or destroying -- the community's capacity to function as a social collective. As such, violence is a relation. In particular, it is a relation of domination.

I also defined violence as an experience. Drawing on studies in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder, I argued that systematic efforts to dismantle and disperse a community can be experienced as 'violent.' According to Judith Lewis Herman (1992), we experience events that damage or shatter our taken-for-granted understanding of how the world operates -- our lifeworld -- as violent. Herman claims that once our taken-for-granted understanding of the world has been damaged or shattered, the world becomes unpredictable and threatening. We find it difficult to trust others. As a result, we tend to withdraw from the social realm, cutting ourselves off from relations and experiences that could help us heal. In this context, rebuilding communities for historically persecuted groups can be conservative projects. Historically persecuted groups can construct a past where they are constituted as passive victims and others are constituted as threats. This can be the basis for dangerous forms of reactionary nationalism.

Rather than viewing historically persecuted groups as passive victims, this dissertation recognized them as active agents in their socio-political and ethical lives. This dissertation has sought to learn how historically persecuted groups have transformed the destructive forces of violence in their lives. According to Herman, the ability to transform the destructive force of violence depends on the ability of the survivors to find ways to collectively mourn what they lost, which can include their former ways of life and social identities. They must find ways to acknowledge the way the violent events have irredeemably changed their lives. This helps them rebuild a new understanding of the world that recognizes rather than denies the potential for future acts of violence. To accomplish this, the communities must find ways to collectively remember their past.

This dissertation has sought to examine what was involved in developing collective forms of remembering that contributed to creating a just society. Idealistically, I was interested in memory projects that fostered, on the one hand, mutual respect rather than hostility between different groups and, on the other hand, mutual recognition of the capacity and responsibility of these groups to act in ways which recognized their fundamental interdependence.

III. The Case Study

My study focused on the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC). In 1994 the Kyowakai Society opened this centre in New Denver, an isolated village located in the mountainous Slocan Valley. The Kyowakai Society represents a small group of Japanese Canadian elders living in this village. The elders built this centre to mark this valley with their history of persecution. From 1942 to 1945 New Denver was the site of an internment camp that held over 1,500 Japanese Canadians. The Canadian government

operated a total of six internment camps in this region. The camps held 6,000 women, men, children and elderly people who had been uprooted from their homes along the coast of British Columbia. The government sold their houses, community buildings and properties without their permission in order to pay for the costs of their internment. With their physical presence along the coast liquidated, they became an impoverished, displaced population. In 1945 almost everyone was forced to leave the province. Many were shipped to Japan and others were dispersed to scattered locations in central Canada. This was part of a larger plan devised by the Canadian government to remove over 21,000 Japanese Canadians from the province of British Columbia during the 1940s.

The Canadian government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia effectively destroyed their complex network of pre-war settlements along the coast of British Columbia. The government implemented policies to assimilate those who agreed to move to central Canada while expelling the rest from the country by shipping them to Japan. As a result, the government insured that Japanese Canadians were not able to rebuild their socially cohesive, self-governing pre-war settlements in British Columbia or elsewhere in Canada.

The thesis acknowledges that the level and extent of destruction experienced by Japanese Canadians was not as drastic as that of groups who have experienced genocide and political torture. Nor are the experiences of Japanese Canadians equivalent to the experiences of the First Nations. Yet, I have argued that it was possible to define the plan to force all Japanese Canadians to leave British Columbia as an act of political violence for two reasons: firstly, there are indications that, for Japanese Canadians, this plan was a violent 'experience.' While no studies have been conducted on symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder amongst Japanese Canadians, historical studies and

personal accounts provide indications that Japanese Canadians have displayed symptoms from Ochberg's list of the subcategory of traumatic stress (Ochberg 1988). For example, they have exhibited shame about their cultural identities, self-blame for the way the government treated them, and a paradoxical gratitude towards their victimizers.

Secondly, these acts can be considered violent insofar they were systematically designed and deployed to destroy the capacity of this community to operate as a social collective.

The elders living in New Denver today are among the few Japanese Canadians that the Canadian government permitted to stay in British Columbia after 1945. The government closed most of the other internment camps but it kept the camp in New Denver open as a station for T.B. patients, 'the incurables,' 'the old' and 'the sick.' The government expected them to 'die off' in fifteen to twenty years. Instead, over the years, these Japanese Canadians and their families transformed the internment camp into their home community. It has not necessarily been an idyllic or even a stable community. Many were trapped in New Denver by poverty and illness. Eventually, many found ways to leave the village and join members of their families in central Canada. Others gravitated back to the village after 1949 when all the legal restrictions on Japanese Canadians were finally lifted because, as one of the elders explained, "we had nowhere else to go."

Today there are fifteen remaining elders in New Denver. Most of their children have left for better jobs and educational opportunities in larger urban centres.

By building the NIMC, the elders have made a public statement about the violation of their rights. It is a permanent fixture in the residential area in New Denver south of Carpenter Creek, occupying almost one complete block. The centre describes the losses, the humiliation and social devastation experienced by the Japanese Canadians who were interned in New Denver. It also presents their efforts to seek justice and their success in

building a local community. For Japanese Canadians scattered across the country the NIMC offers a site at which to regather in order to collectively remember their past.

IV. Summary of the Research

This dissertation documents four levels through which the NIMC has reconfigured the local community of Japanese Canadians in New Denver. In *Chapter 2* I examined how the NIMC reconfigured the geographic and temporal relations of the community to what was for most of the elders, the former site of their internment camp. Using a phenomenological approach and drawing on Walter Benjamin, I sifted through the layers of the site's appearance. I moved from the appearance of New Denver as quaint village to its configuration as an internment camp during the 1940s. I examined the NIMC's orderly representation of the camp and compared it to the fragmented and partial images of the camp embodied in artifacts and archival documents. I reflected on what the artifacts and archival documents, as well as the accounts of the elders, revealed about life in the camp. I argued that they revealed the instability of what it is possible to know about the past. I concluded the chapter by reflecting on the paradox of memorials. In order to mark the changing landscape of the Slokan Valley with the Japanese Canadian history of internment, as a memorial, the NIMC has to remain outside of normal time: outside of the erosion of social and ecological time that constantly transforms the surrounding landscape. Yet it is only possible to *appear to be free* from the erosion of time. To remove the marks of time, energy must constantly be expended. Yet for the elders in New Denver, the NIMC was not a static marker of the past. They offered a vision of memorials as catalysts for change. The NIMC has changed as their understanding of how to 'better communicate' to others 'just how quickly' racial hatred can materialize in public policies that target marginalized groups. In sum, this chapter

showed that the NIMC, whether as a museum or as a memorial, situated as it was amidst the debris of the past, was not able to create a fixed image of the internment camp in New Denver. This revealed the instability of the ability to know the past. This formed the starting point for my analysis of the NIMC.

In *Chapter 3* I examined how the NIMC reconfigured one of the local Japanese Canadian community's main social institutions: the Kyowakai Society of New Denver. For the elders, the NIMC represented one of the many changes that the Kyowakai Society has undergone over the years. During the construction of the NIMC, the Kyowakai Society underwent a change in leadership. The leadership was transferred from the elders to the younger *Sansei* generation. The role of the women in the development of the community also became more prominent. This resulted in changes in the operation of the Kyowakai Society. These changes, including the use of English rather than Japanese during the Society's meetings, reinforced the ability of the *Sansei* to take leadership roles. The process of building the NIMC introduced changes as well. By applying for funding from external agencies and hiring contractors from outside their community, a new organizational logic was introduced into the local community. The funding agencies and contractors regarded the community venues as 'cultural artifacts' rather than part of the living community. But the community was not, as Mr. Mori, one of the elders, feared -- 'museumized.' I described how the members of the community revised and reappropriated different components of the NIMC during its construction and after it was completed. This required the younger members of the community to work with the elders, especially the women, in order to collaboratively redefine the community's terms for recollecting and sharing their history with the general public. But the elders also realized that, more fundamentally, in change there is continuity. A change in leadership meant that the Japanese Canadian community would not disappear when they died. In

sum, this chapter showed that in working collaboratively with the *Sansei*, while relinquishing their formal leadership positions, the elders were able to ensure that the community in New Denver would continue for another generation.

In Chapter 4, I examined some of the different narratives that the local Japanese Canadians have used to construct their experiences of internment. The NIMC used the 'redress narrative,' the narrative developed during the Japanese Canadian movement for redress, to describe the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s. This narrative presents what happened from the point of view of Japanese Canadians. It defines the government's actions as a violation of their rights. While the redress narrative was used to make a public statement about the experiences of Japanese Canadians, the NIMC also facilitated a number of other small scale memory projects for the community. This chapter focused on two memory projects. I described one memory project where the elders, in particular the women, worked as a group to furnish two internment shacks now on display at the NIMC. At one level, I described how the search for household items became a forum for the women to collectively remember their pasts. At another level, I questioned whether the process of looking for artifacts in their homes turned their personal belongings and lives into artifacts. I argued that this was a complicated process given the fact that most elders already had their own collection of artifacts which they used to explain their histories to researchers and other visitors.

The second memory project I discussed was the slide show, "A Time Gone By." This project was produced by Mr. Matsushita, one of the elders, in conjunction with Ruby Truly, a younger member of the community. Mr. Matsushita's slides depicted the intersection between different groups in New Denver, notably, Japanese Canadians and

white residents. While the slide show did not re-present images of the camp during the 1940s, it did re-present the transformation of the camp, notably the way Japanese Canadians' lives have become integrated with the lives of the other residents from the perspective of one of the elders. I described how the slideshow brought together the Japanese Canadians and local residents to recollect their past as one community. I described how their different memories and points of view created a dialogic moment of what Bakhtin calls interillumination. In sum, this chapter described how the NIMC has facilitated memory projects that have brought together different perspectives on the past - both from within and outside their local Japanese Canadian community. In this way, the NIMC has contributed to creating a changing rather than static understanding of the past.

In *Chapter 5* I examined how the people who travelled to New Denver to visit the NIMC incorporated the centre into different fields of activity. In order to understand how discursive fields of activity position visitors in relation to the NIMC, I examined the sociological literature on tourism, museums and post-colonial and colonial subjects. I started with the premise that dominant discourses construct the NIMC primarily as a museum. In the context of British Columbia where historical museums typically include voyeuristic exhibits of 'Chinatowns,' I described how one would expect the visitors to be discursively positioned as museum-goers in voyeuristic 'relations-of-looking' at racialized others. But I also argued that museum-goers are not seamlessly constituted by dominant discourses -- they also negotiate these discourses and re-fashion them around their own bodies of experience.

I then examined the way that a variety of different visitors related to the NIMC. I again presented how I had to sift through my presuppositions, this time, in order to recognize

that there were differences between the visitors. There were two main groups of visitors: non-Japanese Canadians and Japanese Canadians. I described how it became evident that many of the non-Japanese Canadian visitors had a special relation to Japanese Canadian history. Some came to show their regret for their direct or indirect participation in the actions that the government took against Japanese Canadians. Others came in order to understand the experiences of a Japanese Canadian friend or relative. Others to support the NIMC's effort to educate the public about one of the many Canadian cases where the rights of marginalized groups have been violated. The second group of visitors were Japanese Canadian. I argued that they had a special relation to the NIMC insofar as it is the only internment camp which has been marked by a public memorial. As well, the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver is one of the few communities that has developed on the site of a former internment camp. For these visitors, visiting the NIMC was like a pilgrimage to a centre of meaning that was the source of a fundamental aspect of their identity. But having a special relation to the site did not mean that they all related to the NIMC in the same manner. Some objectified the local community. Others brought their bi-cultural families in order to include them in the community's history of persecution. There were also others who displayed ambivalent feelings about the NIMC and their past experiences.

I argued that the NIMC operated as an interface between the elders and the visitors. I discussed the significance of the visitors for the elders. I argued that, on the one hand, the large number of visitors has stressed the importance of sharing their history. On the other hand, I argued that the range of reactions displayed by the different visitors -- including appreciative comments, anger and quiet reflection -- revealed how various visitors have been affected in different ways by the government's plan to remove Japanese Canadians from British Columbia during the 1940s. The wide range of visitors

has shown the elders that the history of Japanese Canadians encompasses the lives of many people, not just Japanese Canadians. In sum, this chapter underlined the importance of the NIMC as a public site where people can gather to acknowledge how the actions that the government took against Japanese Canadians have affected their lives.

V. Insights and Contributions

What insights does this study of the NIMC offer? This dissertation is concerned with forms of collective remembering generated by historically persecuted groups themselves. I was interested in the initiatives taken by grassroots organizations rather than the practices developed by professionals in the fields of psychiatry and psychology. I recognized that psychiatrists and psychologists have made vital contributions to the examination of the effects of violence as well as the process of 'healing,' especially in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder. But few studies have focused on the initiatives made by historically persecuted groups to develop their own culturally specific forms of 'healing.' Few studies emphasize that 'healing' is a social process which reconfigures social groups. This is why I was drawn to the work of Judith Lewis Herman (1992) and Robert Jay Lifton (1967; 1973; 1979). Both emphasized the societal impact of violence. They also argued that efforts to change oppressive social and political structures were part of the process of healing. Likewise, by situating the NIMC in relation to the movement for redress, this dissertation sought to emphasize that for many historically persecuted groups 'healing' includes transforming the socio-political conditions that underlie the violent acts that were launched against them.

Insofar as this dissertation was concerned with the role of collective forms of remembering in the process of rebuilding and transforming the communities of historically persecuted groups, it underlines that remembering entails more than 're-presenting' the past. Collectively remembering the past involves social relations and cultural practices. Collectively remembering the past can function to reproduce, transform or exclude a community's established social relations and practices.

Remembering can change social relations, some of which, as studies in the field of post-traumatic stress disorder have revealed, can be organized around psychological disorders such as repression and disassociation. In this context, this dissertation points to the need to examine the social and psychological effects of reproducing, transforming, creating, or excluding established relations and practices.

This dissertation also claims that it is important for members of historically persecuted groups to collectively remember their past both as one community and as smaller collectives. Remembering the past as one community provides insights into the systematic nature of their group's experiences of persecution, the political mechanisms used to divide their members, as well as the extent and nature of the social, psychological and economic damage. But because the effects of violence are never uniform, this dissertation has emphasized the need for different groups within any community to initiate their own memory projects. These projects can potentially reveal the differential effects of violence with regard to reinforcing relations of domination, changes in social institutions, the formation of new political factions, changes in economic activities and new configurations of gender, class and geographic settlement patterns.

Drawing on Lifton's discussion of collective psychic imagery, this dissertation also underlines the importance of developing collective forms of remembering that draw on

cultural imagery and practices that are meaningful to the group. Collective forms of remembering will not effectively involve members of a group if the imagery and practices are meaningless or considered inappropriate. At the same time, this dissertation shows that drawing on a group's cultural practices to develop memory projects is not an easy process. This problem raises a number of questions. How does a group identify what are meaningful cultural practices, especially when historical persecution usually results in cultural alienation and divisions between different generations within a community? What are the appropriate means for determining which practices should be incorporated in a group's efforts to collectively remember the past? How does a group determine whether the use of particular practices and images exclude some members of the community while reinforcing the cultural hegemony of others?

This dissertation has attempted to provide insights into epistemological questions resulting from methodological problems facing researchers who are positioned both as 'outsiders' and 'insiders.' Recognizing that sociological knowledge co-exists with other forms of knowledge, I examined questions about the ability of those with training in fields of knowledge production such as sociology to first, recognize the existence of, and second, understand marginalized forms of knowledge. I asked how can we respectfully engage with marginalized forms of knowledge without reducing them to evidence for supposedly more 'superior' sociological theories. To this end, rather than just deconstructing the dominant discursive constitution of the NIMC, I also sifted through my own presuppositions – which this study has shown is a never-ending task. I showed how my own presuppositions positioned me in relation to the NIMC. In order to sift through my presuppositions as I wrote this dissertation, I had to struggle to find another language that could bring together what I learned from the elders and the conceptual and analytic practices of my discipline. Most researchers who conduct qualitative field work

face this problem. This dissertation suggests that every researcher is positioned and positions her or himself in different relations to the communities with which she or he works. Thus, ultimately, the appropriate way for each researcher to resolve this problem can only be struggled through as she or he negotiates the constitution of her or himself in the field as it crosses research and disciplinary knowledge – and as she or he commits her or his experiences to words. Those who have not or do not engage in research with living communities of people can not make definitive statements about the complexities of this problem. The capacity to 'know' or 'understand' here is not attainable by analytic exercises. It is profoundly grounded in sifting through the somatic materialization of one's own presuppositions as they are configured and only become realizable in living relations with others.

This dissertation also indicates some of the challenges historically persecuted groups face when they work with mainstream funding agencies and professionals who are not acquainted with their cultural practices and history. I suggest that building and operating memory projects like the NIMC inevitably will make the misunderstandings and differences between the members of the historically persecuted group as well as between the group and the employees from outside the community evident. This can result in conflicts that are productive, providing new insights and understandings. Or it can result in unproductive conflicts, creating what seem to be insurmountable differences. Whether or not conflicts become opportunities for changing misunderstandings and learning to respect differences depends on how the differences and misunderstandings are facilitated. As a researcher, it is difficult to assess these conflicts. In some instances it is easy to conclude that the historically persecuted group are yet again being 'oppressed' by those in power. But in order to draw conclusions it is necessary to consider the involvement of the members of the historically persecuted group during different phases of the memory

project. If the researcher fails to do this, it is possible to overlook the community's strategies for dealing with the challenges of working with agencies and professionals, whether it is to momentarily abandon the project, formally challenge the professionals' plans or collaborate with the younger members of the community to build small scale memory projects.

My analysis has demonstrated that if the social meaning of a memory project is going to be examined it is not sufficient to restrict the analysis to the production of textual meanings. The various 'audiences' must be considered as well. In this regard, in particular, this dissertation provides insights into the discursive constitution of historical museums. By drawing on the literature from the fields of tourism, museum studies and post-colonialism, I describe how museum-goers are positioned in voyeuristic relations-of-looking to exhibits of racial others. Yet by examining the ways different visitors relate to the NIMC, I was able to demonstrate that the visitors were not seamlessly constituted as tourists or museum-goers, or alternatively as members of the Japanese Canadian community in a nostalgic search for 'their roots.' I demonstrate how visitors negotiated the dominant discourses in different ways, incorporating the NIMC into different fields of activity.

This dissertation also contributes to the formulation of what constitutes political violence. I challenge the common sense understanding of violence. I formulate a definition of political violence that includes acts that severely damage or destroy the capacity of communities to function as social collectives -- not just extreme forms of political violence such as genocide and political torture. Common sense understandings of violence include acts committed with the intention, on the one hand, to physically damage or obliterate an other's body, or, on the other hand, to physically invade and in

some cases severely mutilate an other's body, as in the case of rape and torture, in a way that violates their fundamental socio-psychological core of being. This dissertation has questioned what constitutes our fundamental socio-psychological core of being. I argue that it is not just located in the corporeal form of the body.

To examine what constituted this socio-psychological core of being, I elaborate what was involved in 'shattering' our 'basic trust' in the 'world.' I theorize basic trust in terms of the lifeworld. Using the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1991), Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1994) and Robert Jay Lifton (1967; 1979), I describe how, over time and repetitive routines, our sensory experiences psycho-somatically integrate us with the environments in which we live. We develop presuppositions about how that world works and what to expect in different situations. This, I argue, constitutes our lifeworld. The configuration of these presuppositions -- or what Merleau-Ponty refers to as our body schema and Robert Jay Lifton calls our inchoate image -- is not in our heads. Our body schemas situate us in relation to the world, orienting us towards the future. They are the basis around which our bodies are organized. As such, this dissertation extends the conception of the subject beyond the corporeal boundaries of our bodies, arguing that our bodies are integrated with the environments in which we live. Acts taken to systematically destroy those environments -- whether to destroy the physical environment or to dismantle the social structures that integrate us with the its soci-political and physical geographic organization -- violate our body schemas.

And finally, through this research project, I have attempted to make a contribution to Japanese Canadian scholarship. The members of the Kyowakai Society of New Denver gave me an opportunity to learn more about my community's history and share what I learned with a larger community, beyond the geographic boundaries of the Slokan

Valley. Of particular importance was the attempt to document the history of a specific internment camp and the way former internees transformed it into their home community. This lesson is significant given that much of the material history of Japanese Canadians, like histories of many other persecuted groups – including their documents, buildings and cultural practices – was destroyed during the 1940s, what remains are oral accounts of a decreasing number of elders and remnants from the camps and pre-war communities. By trying to bring together different sources – artifacts, archival documents, oral accounts, living communities – I tried to introduce new possibilities for reading and recounting the history, of imagining it into the present. By centering my study on the NIMC, I have been able to examine the configuration and activities of the contemporary community. It forced me to attempt to develop a dialogic account in which I attend to the voices of other community members and face the problem of developing cultural forms of representation that would respect the integrity of the community's forms of knowledge rather than reducing them to evidence for sociological theories. And, finally, I was able to record and recognize the creative, collaborative practices that the elders in New Denver are passing on to the next generation.

VI. Limitations

As an in-depth study of the Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre over the course of a three-month research period, there are a number of issues that this dissertation does not address. I was not able to examine how non-Japanese Canadian residents and organizations viewed the NIMC. Nor was I able to provide an in-depth analysis of how the NIMC reconfigured the relations between the local Japanese Canadian community and other social groups, businesses and organizations in New Denver. There were indications that many of the residents, businesses as well as the Village of New Denver

supported the construction of the NIMC. There were also indications that some groups of residents were hesitant about or even opposed to the construction of the NIMC. To analyze these relations, it would have been necessary to stay in New Denver for a much longer period. I would have had to interview a cross-section of other residents and representatives from an array of organizations. I would have had to examine archival records documenting how various residents' views about the Japanese Canadian internment camp and later, Japanese Canadian residents changed over time. As well, I would have needed to conduct a more thorough study of the economic and social development of the region.

This dissertation studies the development of the NIMC up until October 1996, including the first three years of the NIMC's operation. I do not examine what has happened subsequently. Has the NIMC closed? Have the numbers of visitors drastically decreased? Has the NIMC begun to focus more on tourism? Was the social and political potential of the NIMC only realized for a brief span of time or 'moment' after it opened? Even if this were the case, I would argue that it would not negate the fact that the process of building and operating the NIMC transformed the local Japanese Canadian community in ways that facilitated their ability to develop a new understanding of the world. From this 'moment' it is possible to learn about the role that collective forms of remembering play in transforming the communities of historically persecuted groups. I have heard that the NIMC has continued to follow its mandate for public education. Recently, the Kyowakai Society's History Preservation Committee, with the active participation of the elders, produced an educational package on Japanese Canadian history for elementary schools. As well, the number of visitors has increased, especially the number of Japanese Canadian visitors, many of whom have started making summer annual visits to New Denver.

Another limitation of this dissertation is its lack of engagement with certain fields of study that might have enriched my analysis of the NIMC. One of the central problems I faced in writing this dissertation was finding textual forms -- a language -- with which I could make sense of what I learned. I was determined to draw on the elders' forms of communication and modes of analysis rather than just utilizing standard forms of analysis and writing practices. I was absorbed by the task of trying to articulate -- to find a way to communicate -- what had happened in New Denver. If I had resorted to the standard forms of analysis and writing I would have only been able to present the NIMC as a combination of a museum, memorial and tourist site. While I was inspired by the work of Jackie Stacey (1997) and Annette Kuhn (1995), specifically their experimental textual interventions with regard to questions of voice, testimonials and the constitution of fields of knowledge, this dissertation would have benefited from a more thorough consideration of these issues. If I had drawn from the pre-existing literature on writing practices designed as alternatives to the conventional formats in the social sciences, for example in post-modern anthropology (Clifford 1988; Marcus and Fischer 1986), post-colonial studies (Ashcroft et. al. 1995), feminist critiques of and experiments with voice, testimonials and objectivity (Smith and Watson 1992) as well as continental philosophy (Derrida 1987), my approach would have been more sophisticated as well as part of a richer dialogue.

My use of the concept 'landscape' would have also benefited from more engagement with the pre-existing literature (Buttimer 1976; Shields 1992; Duncan and Ley 1993; Bachelard 1994). While I attempted to conceptualize landscape in the Slovan Valley using a phenomenological approach, my use of this term remained, at some level, metaphorical. As a concept, landscape touches on the central problematic of this dissertation. The discursive construction of the landscape in the Slovan Valley has been

a key component in the economic and political organization of the lives of the inhabitants – whether the landscape has been organized around the imperatives of the tourist industry or the xenophobia of the 1940s. Examining how local Japanese Canadians have negotiated these discourses and incorporated the changing landscapes into their lives would have provided a richer phenomenological study of this site.

And finally, my theorization of the relation between 'violence,' the lifeworld and our bodies remains at a preliminary stage. At a conceptual level, the discussion would have benefited from an engagement with feminist theorizations of the body, sexuality and violence (Irigaray: 1985; Grosz 1994; Butler 1997), discursive studies of the body and violence (Scarry 1985; Feldman 1991) as well as a more thorough use of colonial and post-colonial theorizations of the racialized body (Stoler 1995; Crapanzano 1980). At a practical level, it would have benefited from a broader examination of studies on colonial projects and assimilation programs (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992; Fournier and Crey 1998). At an ethical level, it would have benefited from a more thorough examination of the moral imperative invested in the word 'violence'; the relationship between the formation of the lifeworld and critical, self-reflexive forms of conceptualization; and the extent of the possibility to foster mutual recognition with others through Merleau-Ponty's conceptualization of perception.

VII. Conclusion

Given the insights and limitations of this dissertation, what can I conclude? It is possible to conclude that the way the NIMC has reconfigured the Japanese Canadian community in New Denver has allowed its members to acknowledge the way that the violent events have irredeemably changed their lives. It has also allowed them to rebuild a new understanding of the world that recognizes rather than denies the potential for future acts

of violence. It has facilitated their ability to extend themselves to others and enter new relations of trust. The process of building and operating the NIMC has further empowered Japanese Canadians in New Denver to take actions to intervene in future acts of political violence by educating the public about the violation of their rights and how easy it is for the government to abuse its power. Through building and operating the NIMC, the elders' sense of social responsibility now reaches beyond their own community, providing them with a sense of continuity, a sense of a future – as they face the end of their mortal lives.

Glossary of Terms

1. Terms for Cultural Items, Practices and Social Roles

Bukkyo: Buddhist place of worship

Butsudan: Buddhist Shrine

Manju: Japanese sweet that has a centre with sweetened bean paste which is wrapped with rice dough

Matsutake Gohan: Sushi rice prepared with pine mushroom slices.

Ofuro: Japanese-style "bath" where after cleaning oneself, one soaks in hot water

Ojisan: honourable older man, a term used to formally refer to one's grandfather

Odori: traditional Japanese folk/ceremonial dances

Sembei: Japanese rice crackers.

Nihon-go: the (spoken) language of Japanese

Nihon-machi: Japantowns, areas with a gathering of Japanese Canadian services and businesses catering to a local Japanese Canadian population living amongst a larger, dominant population.

2. Terms that Designate Social Position by Generation

Issei: first generation Japanese (in this study) Canadian (born in Japan) living in new homeland

Nisei: second generation Japanese Canadian (parents are *Issei*).

Sansei: third generation Japanese Canadian (parent/s are *Nisei*).

Yonsei: fourth generation Japanese Canadian (parent/s are *Sansei*).

Shin-juusha: new immigrants from Japan, post-war immigrants.

3. Terms for Categories of People

Hakujin: white person, white foreigner

Happa: one of many terms to indicate someone with only one *Nikkei* or Japanese parent. The term is adopted from Hawaii. Other terms are "double," "halfer," "mixed-race," and "bi-cultural." All terms are somewhat problematic.

Nikkei: people whose kin are or were from Japan who have settled overseas.

References

- Adachi, Ken. 1991. *The Enemy that Never Was*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Alpers, Svetlana. 1991. "The Museum as a Way of Seeing." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institution: 25-32.
- Anderson, Kim. 1997. "Reclaiming Native Space in Literature / Breaking New Ground: An Interview with Jeannette Armstrong." *West Coast Line: A Journal of Contemporary Writing and Criticism*, 23, 31/2: 49-65.
- Anderson, Kay J. 1991. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1989. "Introduction." Eds. Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis. *Woman-Nation-State*. London: MacMillan: 1-15.
- Anthias, Floya and Nira Yarval-Davis. 1992. *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour, Class and the Anti-racist Struggle*. London: Routledge.
- Apostolopoulos, Yiorgos. 1996. "Introduction: Reinventing the Sociology of Tourism." In *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*. Eds. Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Stella Leivadi and Andrew Yiannakis. London: Routledge: 1-14.
- Araryahu, Maoz. 1993. "From Remains to Relics: Authentic Monuments in the Israeli Landscape." *History and Memory*, 5, 2: 83-103.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, Eds. 1995. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Ashworth, Mary. 1979. *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia*. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- Bachelard, Gaston. 1994. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. 1987. *The Dialogic Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Balibar, Etienne and Immanuel Wallerstein. 1991. *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. London: Verso.
- Bannerji, Himani, Ed. 1993. *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics*. Toronto: Sister Vision Press.

- Beck, Ulrich. 1997. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.
- Becker Annette. 1993. "From Death to Memory: the National Ossuaries in France after the Great War." *History and Memory*, 5, 2: 32-49.
- Ben-Amos, Avner. 1993. "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism." *History and Memory*, 5, 2: 50-81.
- Benjamin, Walter. 1985. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction." *Illusions*. New York, Schocken Books: 217-251.
- Bennett, Tony. 1982. "Theories of the Media, Theories of Society." In *Culture, Society and the Media*. Eds. Michael Gurevitch, Tony Bennett, James Curran and Janet Woollacott. New York: Methuen: 30-55.
- Berdahl, Daphne. 1994. "Voices at the Wall: Discourses of Self, History and National Identity at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial." *History and Memory*, 6, 2: 89-124.
- Berger, Thomas R. 1982. *Fragile Freedoms: Human Rights and Dissent in Canada*. Toronto: Irwin Publishing.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. "The Other Question: Stereotype, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism." In *The Location of Culture*. Ed. Homi K. Bhabha. New York: Routledge.
- Bickerton, Lillian, Leonard DeLozier, Linda Johnston, Donald A. Baird and Laura M. Coles. 1988. *Manual For Small Archives*. Vancouver: Association of British Columbia Archivists.
- Bischoping, Katherine and Natalie Fingerhut. 1996. "Borderlines: Indigenous People in Genocide Studies." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 33, 4: 481-506.
- Blackmore, Michael. 1986 (a). "Maps and Map Images." *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford. Blackwell: 277-278.
- Blackmore, Michael. 1986(b). "Cartography." *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford. Blackwell: 41-44.
- Boggs, Carl. 1986. *Social Movements and Political Power: Emerging Forms of Radicalism in the West*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

- Brandt, Susanne. 1994. "The Memory Makers: Museums and Exhibition of the First World War." *History and Memory*, 6, 1: 95-122.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. 1985. *Bread and Circuses: Theories of Mass Culture as Decay*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Broadfoot, Barry. 1979. *Years of Sorrow, Years of Shame: the Story of the Japanese Canadians in World War II*. Don Mills, Ontario: Paperjacks
- Brody, Hugh. 1988. *Maps and Dreams: the Indians and the British Columbia Frontier*. Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre.
- Brown, Laura S. 1995. "Not Outside the Range: One Feminist Perspective on Psychic Trauma." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press: 100-112.
- Brunner, José. 1997. "Pride and Memory: Nationalism, Narcissism and the Historians' Debates in Germany and Israel." *History and Memory*, 9, 1/2: 256-300.
- Bulletin Annoucement*. 1991. "J-C Cemetery Memorial Monument Planned for Port Alberni." *The Bulletin*, 33, 11: 16.
- Bulletin Staff. 1991. "Chemainus Revisted." *The Bulletin*, 33, 9: 20-23.
- Bulletin Staff. 1995. "BC Parks and Langham Society Interpret Road Camps." *The Bulletin*, 37, 11: 18.
- Burchell, Gordon, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, Eds. 1991. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmental Rationality*. London: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.
- Butler, Ken, Dan Nicholson, Jan Murray and Rodney Huculak. 1995. *The Silvery Slocan Heritage Tour: a Scenic Drive in the West Kootenay*. The Word Publishing: New Denver, British Columbia.
- Butler, Judith. 1997. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of Performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Buttimer, A. 1976. "Grasping the Dynamism of the Lifeworld." *Annals of the Association of American Geography*, 66: 277-292.
- Canada. British Columbia Securities Commission. 1942. *The Removal of Japanese From Protected Areas*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.

- Canada. Department of Labour. 1947. *Re-establishment of Japanese in Canada, 1944-1946*. January.
- Canada. Department of Labour. 1945. *Of Japanese Descent*. National Film Board of Canada.
- Canada. Department of Labour. 1978. "The Administration of Japanese in Canada, 1942-1944." *Two Reports of Japanese Canadians in World War II*. New York: Arno Press.
- Carroll, William K. Ed. 1992. *Organizing Dissent: Contemporary Social Movements in Theory and Practice*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Caruth, Cathy. 1995. "Preface." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press: vii-ix.
- Clifford, James and George E. Marcus, Eds. 1988. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cohen, Erik. 1996 (a). "The Sociology of Tourism: Approaches, Issues and Findings." In *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*. Eds. Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Stella Leivadi and Andrew Yiannakis. London: Routledge: 51-74.
- Cohen, Erik. 1996 (b). "A Phenomenology of Tourist Experience." In *Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*. Eds. Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Stella Leivadi and Andrew Yiannakis. London: Routledge: 90-114.
- Comaroff, Jean and John Comaroff. 1992. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crapanzano, Vincent. 1980. *Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Curtis, Helena. 1983. *Biology*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Daneli, Yael. 1988. "Treating Survivors and Children of Survivors of the Nazi Holocaust." In *Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence*. Ed. Frank M. Ochberg. New York: Brunner/Mazel: 278-294.

- Davidson, R.A. 1944. "Memorandum to Geo. Collins, Commissioner of Japanese Placement, re: Change of Policy -- Japanese. National Archives of Canada." August 31. Records of the British Columbia Securities Commission, RG36, V16, file 622, part 3.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1987. *The Post Card*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Duncan, James and David Ley, Eds. 1993. *Place Culture Representation*. London: Routledge.
- Eagleton, Terry. 1983. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Elliot, Jean Leonard, Ed. 1971. *Immigrant Groups*. Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- Enomoto, Randy. 1998. "NAJC President's Report, September 28, 1998," *Nikkei Voice*, 12, 8: 3, 9.
- Erikson, Kai. 1995. "Notes on Trauma and Community." In *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press: 183-199.
- Fanon, Frantz. 1968. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York: Grove Press.
- Farmer, Paul. 1996. "On Suffering and Structural Violence: A View from Below." *Dialectics*, 125, 1: 261-283.
- Featherstone, Mike, Mike Hepworth and Bryan Turner, Eds. 1991. *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*. London: Sage.
- Feldman, Allen. 1991. *Formations of Violence: the Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Figley, Charles R. and Rolf A. Kleber. 1995. "Beyond the 'Victim: Secondary Traumatic Stress." *Beyond Trauma: Cultural and Societal Dynamics*. Eds. Rolf J. Kleber, Charles R. Figley and Berthold P.R. Gersons. New York: Plenum Press: 75-98.
- Figley, Charles R. 1988. "Post-Traumatic Family Therapy." In *Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence*. Ed. Frank M. Ochberg. New York: Brunner/Mazel: 83-109.

- Fischer, Michael M. J. 1986. "Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Berkeley: University of California Press: 194-233.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. Ed. Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon.
- Fournier, Suzanne and Ernie Crey. 1998. *Stolen From Our Embrace: the Aduction of First Nations Children and the Restoration of Aboriginal Communities*. Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre.
- Freud, Sigmund. 1962. *Civilization and its Discontents*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Gilman, Sander, L. 1986. "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Towards an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine and Literature." In *"Race," Writing, and Difference*. Ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 223-261.
- Go and Do: West Kootenay's Visitor Magazine*. 1996. "Centre tells of struggles of the Japanese" Fall/Summer: 137.
- Goldberg, David Theo. 1993. *Racist Culture: the Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Gordon, Colin. 1991. "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction." *The Foucault Effect: studies in governmental rationality*. Eds. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf: 1-52.
- Green, B.L., J.D. Lindy, M.C. Grace et. al. 1990. "Buffalo Creek Survivors in the Second Decade: Stability of Stress Symptoms." *American Journal Orthopsychiatry*, 60: 43-54.
- Grosz, Elizabeth. 1994. *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporal Feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Gupta, Akhil and James Ferguson. 1997. "Discipline and Practice: 'The Field' as Site. Method, and Location in Anthropology." In *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Eds. Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson. Berkeley: University of California Press: 1-46.
- Haig-Brown, Celia. *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*. Vancouver: Tillacum Library.

- Hall, Stuart. 1992. "New Ethnicities", *"Race", Culture and Difference*. Eds. Ali Rattansi and James Donald. Newbury Park: Sage: 252-259.
- Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 1987. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Hartog, Diana, Ed. 1994. "Biography." In *Seasons in New Denver: Haiku by Kamegaya Chie*. Chie Kamegaya. Silverton: Laughing Raven Press: 3-4.
- Herman, Judith Lewis. 1992. *Trauma and Recovery: the Aftermath of Violence -- from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hewitt, Martin. 1991. "Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare." In *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*. Eds. Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth and Bryan Turner, London: Sage: 225-255.
- Hirabayashi, Gordon. 1997. "Children of Inter-marriage." *The Bulletin*, 34, 6: 15.
- Ibuki, Norm. 1993. "Langham Display of Wartime Japanese Canadians Opens." *The Bulletin*, 35, 5: 16-17.
- Inwood, Bob. 1992. *Nikkei Evacuation Memorial Centre Proposal*. New Denver: 1-26.
- Irigaray, Luce. 1985. *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 1985.
- Isajiw, Wsevolod. 1990. "Ethnic Identity Retention." In *Ethnic Identity and Equality: Varieties of Experience in a Canadian City*. Eds. Raymond Breton, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, Warren E. Kalbach and Jeffery G. Reitz. Toronto: University of Toronto: 34-91.
- Jackson, F. W., W.R. Bone, Mary Sutherland and George F. Davidson. 1944. "Report of the Royal Commission to Enquire into the Provisions made for the Welfare and maintenance of Persons of the Japanese Race Resident in Settlements in the Province of British Columbia." January 12. National Archives of Canada. Records of the Department of the British Columbia Securities Commission, RG 36/27, 22.2.
- Jordan, Winthrop. 1968. *White Over Black: American Attitudes Towards the Negro 1550-1812*. Baltimore: Penguin.
- Kamiya, Frank. 1997. "Status Report on the JCNMAS." *The Bulletin*, 39, 9: 18-19.

- Karp, Ivan. 1992. "Introduction." In *Museums and Communities*. Eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institute: 1-18
- Kirmayer, Laurence. 1996. "Landscapes of Memory: Trauma, Narrative, and Dissociation." In *Past Tense: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. Eds. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek. Routledge: New York: 173-198.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 1991. "Objects of Ethnography." In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Eds. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institute: 386-443.
- Kitano, Harry, H.L. 1986. "The Effects of Evacuation on Japanese Americans." In *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress*. Eds. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor and Harry H.L. Kitano. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press: 151-158.
- Klein-Parker, Fran. 1988. "Dominant Attitudes of Adult Children of Holocaust Survivors towards their Parents." In *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From the Holocaust to Vietnam*. Eds. John P. Wilson, Zev Harel and Boaz Kahana, New York: Plenum Press: 193-218.
- Knight, Rolf and Maya Koizumi. 1976. *A Man of Our Times: The Life-history of a Japanese-Canadian Fisherman*. Vancouver: New Star Books.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1994(a). "For the Sake of the Children: Japanese/Canadian Workers/Mothers." In *Women Work and Place*. Ed. Audrey Kobayashi. Montreal: McGill/Queens' Press: 45-72.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1994(b). "Colouring the Field: Gender, 'Race,' and the Politics of Fieldwork." *Professional Geographer*, 46, 1: 73-80.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1992(a). *Memories of Our Past: a Brief History and Walking Tour of Powell Street*. Vancouver: NRC Publishing.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1992(b). "The Japanese-Canadian Redress Settlement and its Implications for 'Race Relations.'" *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 24, 9, 1-19.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1989. *A Demographic Profile of Japanese Canadians and Social Implications for the Future*. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, Canada.
- Kobayashi, Audrey. 1987. "The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians After 1941." *Tribune*, 5, 1, 28-35.

- Kobayashi, Cassandra and Roy Miki, Eds. 1989. *The Spirit of Redress: Japanese Canadians in Conference*. Vancouver: JC Publications.
- Kogawa, Joy. 1992. *Itsuka*. Toronto: Viking.
- Kogawa, Joy. 1983. *Ohasan*. New York: Penguin.
- Kreamer, Christine Mullen. 1992. "Defining Communities Through Exhibiting and Collecting." In *Museums and Communities*. Eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institute: 367-381.
- Kugelmass, Jack. 1996. "Landscapes of Memory: Trauma, Narrative, and Dissociation." In *Past Tense: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. Eds. Paul Antze and Michael Lambek. Routledge: New York: 199-214.
- Kuhn, Annette. 1995. *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination*. London: Verso.
- La Violette, Forrest. 1948. *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. 1992. *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.
- Laing, R.D. 1975. *The Divided Self*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. 1979. *The Broken Connection: On Death and the Continuity of Life*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lifton, Robert Jay. 1973. *Home From War: Vietnam Veterans: Neither Victims nor Executioners*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Lifton, Robert, Jay. 1967. *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*. New York: Random House.
- Lutz, Nancy Melissa. 1987. "Images of Docility: Asian Women and the World-Economy", *Racism, Sexism and the World-System*. Eds. Joan Smith, Jane Collins, Terence K. Hopkins and Adbar Muhammad. New York: Greenwood Press: 57-74.
- Lyon, Don. n.d. "The Nikkei Centre Museum." *Postcard*, Burnaby, British Columbia: Galena Publishing.

- MacCannell, Dean. 1989. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- MacDonald, George F. 1992. "Change and Challenge: Museums in the Information Society." In *Museums and Communities*. Eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institution: 158-181.
- Macdonald, Sharon. 1997. "A People's Story: Heritage, Identity and Authenticity." In *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry. New York: Routledge: 155-175.
- MacFarlane, Alexander C. 1995. "The Severity of Trauma: Issues about Its Role in Posttraumatic Stress Disorder." In *Beyond Trauma: Cultural and Societal Dynamics*. Eds. Rolf J. Kleber, Charles R. Figley and Berthold P.R. Gersons. New York: Plenum Press: 31-54.
- MacFarlane, Scott and Kirsten McAllister. 1992. "Documentary Perpetuates Myth of the Passive Japanese Canadian." *The Bulletin: a Journal for and about the Nikkei Community*, 34, 12: 25.
- Makabe, Tomoko. 1998. *The Canadian Sansei*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Makabe, Tomoko. 1995. *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*. Trans. Katheleen Chisato Merken. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Manganyi, Noel Chabani. 1977. *Alienation and the Body in Racist Society: A Study of the Society that Invented Soweto*. New York: NOK Publishers.
- Marchetti, Gina. 1993. *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marcus, George, E. and Michael Fischer. 1986. *Anthropology as Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Marlatt, Daphne, Ed. 1975. *Steveston Recollected: A Japanese-Canadian History*. Victoria: Aural History, Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
- Mass, Amy Iwasaki. 1986. "Psychological Effects of the Camps on Japanese Americans." In *Japanese Americans: from Relocation to Redress*. Eds. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor and Harry H.L. Kitano. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press: 159-162.

- McAllister, Kirsten. 1999. "Narrating Japanese Canadians In and Out of the Canadian Nation: A Critique of Realist Forms of Representation." *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 24: 79-103.
- McAllister, Kirsten. 1996. *Fieldnotes*. New Denver, British Columbia, July-September.
- McAllister, Kirsten. 1993. *Cultural Production and Alternative Political Practices: Dialogic Cultural Forms and the Public Sphere in the Japanese Canadian Community*. M.A. Thesis. Burnaby, British Columbia: Simon Fraser University.
- McAllister, Kirsten. 1992. "Asians in Hollywood," *CineAction*, 30: 8-13.
- Mealing, F. M. 1977. "Preface and Chronology." *Toil and Peaceful Life: Portrait of Doukhobors*. Sound Heritage, 6, 4: 1-11.
- Memmi, Albert. 1965. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Orion Press: New York.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1994. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. London: Routledge.
- Miki, Roy. 1998. *Broken Entries: Race, Subjectivity, Writing*. Toronto: Mercury Press.
- Miki, Roy and Cassandra Kobayashi. 1991. *Justice in Our Time: the Japanese Canadian Redress Settlement*. Vancouver: Talon Books.
- Miller, Alice. 1983. *For Your Own Good: Hidden Cruelty in Child Rearing and the Roots of Violence*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Mohanty, C. 1991. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses", *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Eds. C. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres. Bloomington: Indiana University Press: 51-80.
- Mulvey, Laura. 1988. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" In *Feminism and Film Theory*. Ed. Constance Penley. New York: Routledge: 57-68.
- Nagata, Donna K. 1993. *Legacy of Justice: Exploring the Cross-generational Impact of the Japanese American Internment*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Nairne, Doug. 1999. "Manitoba Natives Close Dark Chapter in History: 1950s Resettlement Proved Disastrous for Dene." *The Globe and Mail*, October 5: A8.
- National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC). 1988. *Justice in Our Time: Redress for Japanese Canadians*. Vancouver: NAJC.

- NAJC. 1985 *Democracy Betrayed: The Case for Redress*. Winnipeg: NAJC.
- NAJC. 1984. *Redress for Japanese Canadians: Community Forum Proceedings*. Vancouver: NAJC.
- New Denver and Silverton Chamber of Commerce. n.d. *Welcome to Slocan Lake: Map of New Denver, Silverton and Sandon*. New Denver, British Columbia.
- Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre (NIMC). 1996. Signage.
- NIMC. 1992. "Agreement with the Langham Cultural Centre." NIMC Files.
- NIMC. n.d. *Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre: Interpretative Plan*.
- Nikkei Voice Staff. 1997. "Mixed Blessings: Intermarriage in the Japanese Canadian Community," *Nikkei Voice*, 11, 3: 1,11.
- Ochberg, Frank. 1988. "Post-traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence." *Post-Traumatic Therapy and Victims of Violence*. Ed. Frank M. Ochberg, New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1988: 3-20.
- Oikawa, Mona. 1986. "'Driven to Scatter Far and Wide': The Forced Resettlement of Japanese Canadians to Southern Ontario, 1944-1949." M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto: 1-146.
- Oiwa, Keibo. 1986. "The Structure of Dispersal: the Japanese Canadian Community of Montreal, 1942-1952." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 18, 2: 20-37.
- Oxford Modern English Dictionary*. 1996. Della Thompson, ed. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Parker, Andrew, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, Eds. 1992. *Nationalisms and Sexualities*. New York: Routledge.
- Penguin English Dictionary*. 1979. New York: Penguin Books.
- Pickersgill, T.B. 1945 (a). "Correspondance to Mr. A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, Canada." National Archives of Canada, Records of the British Columbia Securities Commission, RG 36 Volume16, file 622, part 2.
- Pickersgill, T.B. 1945 (b). "Re: Carrying Out Segregation." June 12. National Archives of Canada, Records of the British Columbia Securities Commission. RG36, V16, file 622, part 1.

- Pocket English Dictionary of Current English Language*. 1976. Johnstone and Grahame. Oxford: Oxford University.
- Potter, Jonathan. 1996. *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction*. London: Sage.
- Quirk, Eleanor. 1991. "Japanese Canadian Garden." *The Bulletin*, 33, 8: 12.
- Ram, Uri. 1995. "Zionist Historiography and the Invention of Modern Jewish Nationhood: The Case of Ben Zion Dinur." *History and Memory*, 7, 1: 91-124.
- Raven Creations. 1995. *Vacation Guide Map of the West Kootenay*. Raven Creations: Crescent Valley, BC
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police, New Denver Division. 1944. "Conditions Among Japanese, Lemon Creek, B.C." National Archives of Canada, Records of the British Columbia Securities Commission, RG 36/27, 213.
- Rojek, Chris and John Urry. 1997. "Transformations of Travel and Theory. In *Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory*. Eds. Chris Rojek and John Urry. New York: Routledge: 1-22.
- Said, Edward. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books
- Sakamoto, Kerri. 1998. *The Electric Field*. Toronto: Alfred A. Knopf Canada.
- Scarry, Elaine. 1985. *The Body in Pain: the Making and the Unmaking of the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Scopick, Ken. 1991. *New Denver Japanese Internment Camp Restoration Assessment*. Kamloops: Mainstreet Designers, October 1: 1-29.
- Shields, Rob. 1992. *Places on the Margins: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. New York: Routledge.
- Shimizu, Kay. 1996. "Schreiber Plaque Dedication." *The Bulletin*, 38, 10: 22-24.
- Shoyama, Tom. 1984. "Redress and the War-time Years." In *Redress for Japanese Canadians: Community Forum Proceedings*. Vancouver: NAJC: 32-37.
- Shozawa, Katherine. 1996(a). *NIMC Calendar of Events*.
- Shozawa, Katherine. 1996(b). *Administrator's Report*.

- Smith, Dorothy. 1990. *The Conceptual Practices of Power*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Eds. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press: 271-316.
- Stacey, Jackie. 1997. *Teratologies: A Cultural Study of Cancer*. London: Routledge.
- Stoler, Ann Laura. 1995. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Sunahara, Ann Gomer. 1981. *The Politics of Racism: the Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War*. Toronto: James Lorimer.
- Sunahara, Ann Gomer. 1979. "Historical Leadership Trends Among Japanese Canadians: 1940-1950." *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 11, 1: 1-16.
- Suzuki, Nancy. 1992. "Commemorative Garden planned for the PNE." *The Bulletin*, 34, 9: 17-19.
- Takashima, Shizuye. 1991. *A Child in Prison Camp*. Montreal: Tundra Books.
- Takata, Toyo. 1998. "Life Partner for 60 Years." *The Nikkei Voice*, 12, 8: 7.
- Takata, Toyo. 1983. *Nikkei Legacy: the Story of Japanese Canadians for Settlement to Today*. Toronto: NC Press.
- Tamayose, Tony. 1998. *Japanese Canadian Community Development Program, Prepared for Participants attending the 10th annual Celebration of the Redress Settlement of September 22nd, 1988*. Winnipeg: Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation.
- Tanaka, George. 1979 "To What Lies Buried Deep," *The New Canadian*, December 28, Section 3: 1.
- Tchen, John Kuo Wei. 1992. "Creating a Dialogic Museum: The Chinatown History Museum Experiment." In *Museums and Communities*. Eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institute: 285-326.
- The Valley Voice* (a). "First Nations People Gather for Picnic in New Denver." 5, 17, September 5: 7.

- The Valley Voice* (b). 1996. "McCory Warns Denver Flats Logging Will be 'Sure Devastation'." 5, 17, September 5: 1, 14.
- Todorov, Tzvetan. 1987. *The Conquest of America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Trinh T. Minh-ha T. 1989. *Woman, Native, Other*. Bloomington: Indianapolis Press.
- Truly, Ruby. 1998. *Written Correspondence*. New Denver, British Columbia. August 12.
- Truly, Ruby. 1996(b). "Appendix." In *Kyowakai Society Japanese Canadian History Preservation Committee Project Proposal: Application to the NAJC Redress Foundation Special Projects Fund*. March 1996: 1-5.
- Turner, Bryan. 1992. *Regulating Bodies: Essays in Medical Sociology*. New York: Routledge.
- Uno, Kathleen S. 1991. "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labour." In *Recreating Japanese Woman: 1600-1945*. Ed. Gail Lee Bernstein. Berkeley: University of California Press: 17-41.
- Urry, John. 1997. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.
- Urry, John. 1996. "Tourism, Culture and Social Inequality." In *The Sociology of Tourism: Theoretical and Empirical Investigations*. Eds. Yiorgos Apostolopoulos, Stella Leivadi and Andrew Yiannakis. London: Routledge: 115-133.
- Van Maanen, John. 1988. *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ward, Peter W. 1990. *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Towards Orientals in British Columbia*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Watada, Terry. 1997. *Daruma Days: A Collection of Fictionalized Biography*. Toronto: Ronsdale.
- Watson, Julia and Sidonie Smith, Eds. 1992. *De Colonizing the Subject: the Politics of Gender in Women's Autobiography*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Wilson, John P., Zev Harel and Boaz Kahana, Eds. 1988. *Human Adaptation to Extreme Stress: From the Holocaust to Vietnam*. New York: Plenum Press.

Winter, Jay. 1996. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yamamoto, Grayce. 1974. "Reminiscences of Slocan: Then and Now," *The New Canadian*, December 27, Section III: 1-6.

Young, James E. 1993. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Young, James E. 1990. *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narratives and the Consequences of Interpretation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Films and Videos

Canada. Department of Labour, Canadian Government. 1945. *Of Japanese Descent*. Ottawa: Film Board of Canada.

de Valk, Mark. 1992. *The Pool: Reflections on Japanese Internment*. Vancouver: Falcon Films.

Fukushima, Michael. 1992. *Minoru: Memories of Exile*. Montreal: National Film Board of Canada.

Lehrman, Jeanette. 1975. *Enemy Alien*. Ottawa: National Film Board of Canada.

Nishiguichi, Gabrielle. 1995. *Fifth Estate: Throwaway Citizens*. Prod. Margaret Slaght. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Ohama, Linda. 1992. *The Last Harvest*. Vancouver: Harvest Productions.

Onedera, Midi. 1988. *Displaced View*. Toronto: Full Frame Film and Video Distribution.

Truly, Ruby. 1995. *Nikkei Internment Memorial Centre*. Nelson: Datazoo Productions;

Truly, Ruby. 1992 (a). *Homecoming Conference: the Intermarriage Workshop*. Winnipeg: NAJC.

Truly, Ruby. 1992(b). *HomeComing Conference: Before the Uprooting: The Community Remembered*. Winnipeg: NAJC.

Truly, Ruby. 1991. *With Our Own Eyes. A Trip to Lemon Creek*. Video-Documentary. Vancouver.

Wheeler, Anne. 1996. *The War Between Us*. Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Interviews and Personal Correspondence

Butler, Ken. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, September 19.

Hashimoto, Sakaye. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, August 23.

Hoshino, Hisako. 1996. *Personal Correspondence* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia. September 9, 1996.

Inose, Pauli. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, August 16.

Kayahara, Gordon. 1989-1990. *Conversations* with Kirsten McAllister. Vancouver, British Columbia, December-September.

Matsushita, Shoichi. 1996. *Slide Show Commentary*, New Denver, British Columbia, August 21.

Matsushita, Shoichi. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister. New Denver, British Columbia, August 15.

Matsushita, Shoichi. 1996. *Personal Correspondence* with Kirsten McAllister, July 21.

Matsushita, Sumie. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister. New Denver, British Columbia, August 15.

Miki, Roy. 1993. *Personal Correspondence* with Kirsten McAllister. Vancouver, British Columbia, June 12.

Mori, Senya. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, September 5.

Mori, Tad. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister. New Denver, British Columbia, August 23.

- Pamesko, Dan. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, September 6.
- Shikaze, Ken. 1989-1990. *Conversations* with Kirsten McAllister. Vancouver, British Columbia, December-September.
- Takahara, Kiyokoi. 1996. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister, New Denver, British Columbia, August 23.
- Takasaki, Mayu. 1990. *Interview* with Kirsten McAllister. Vancouver: Japanese Canadian National Museum and Archives Society, July 15.
- Truly, Ruby. 1996(a). *Discussion during History Preservation Committee Meeting*. August 18.