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# The role of art education in the Japanese American concentration camps

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BOSTON UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF FINE ARTS  
Research Project

**THE ROLE OF ART EDUCATION IN  
THE JAPANESE AMERICAN CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

by

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## ABSTRACT

During World War II, from 1942 until around 1945, persons of Japanese ancestry living in America's west coast region were evacuated to concentration camps located in remote, isolated interior regions of the country. Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans, young and old, were forced to live under unfamiliar and harsh conditions. The internees sought to mitigate the trauma of incarceration with a variety of activities, one of which was art. In this historical investigation, the researcher examined the role of art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps. The investigator sought to explore the methods and motivations of art instructors, some of whom were internees themselves, in a variety of pedagogical settings. The researcher examined and analyzed a variety of camp documents to discover what kinds of potential outcomes or expectations art educators intended for their students and whether their goals were technical, therapeutic, documentary or some combination of these. The researcher believes that the study has led to a more complete understanding of how art instruction may have influenced art created in the Japanese Concentration Camps.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### Background to the Study

Executive Order 9066, issued on February 19, 1942, authorized the United States military to exclude any and all persons, as deemed necessary or desirable, from prescribed military areas. This order was the culmination of a series of California and federal laws passed in the first half of the twentieth century that were motivated by hostility toward persons of Japanese Ancestry. The detention was publicly justified as a military necessity based on fears of an Imperial Japanese attack on the West Coast. In reality, the wholesale incarceration of an entire population was driven by longstanding racism, amplified by wartime hysteria, and supported by the opportunism of those who stood to gain economically. By the spring of 1942 nearly 120,000 Japanese Americans were removed from their homes, parted from nearly all their possessions and relocated to inland concentration camps for the remainder of World War II. (Hirasuna, 2005, p. 10-15). The deplorable living conditions are well known, and previous researchers have documented the internees' feelings of frustration and shame, as well as their stoicism and dignity in the face of adversity.

The researcher is Japanese American, born in Illinois and raised in California. Her grandfathers were both born in Japan but her grandmothers were born in the United States, which is why the researcher is a combination of two designations, a Sansei and a Yonsei, meaning that she is at once part of the second and third generations born in the United States.

After the United States entered the World War II, the researcher's father's family was initially evacuated to Santa Anita Racetrack in California and later to Heart Mountain, Wyoming. Her father thinks less about his own life in camp than about the lives of his parents, who would have been around forty years old at the time. His parents, the researcher's grandparents, had to give up everything they had and take their family to live in a prison camp. Their inability to change their living conditions must have felt hopeless and demoralizing.

When the researcher regarded her father's family and other families who lived in the camps during World War II, she found it distressing to imagine the hardships, the indignity, the frustration and loss that they must have experienced. A possible outlet for escape from these disheartening feelings was the making of arts and crafts. As an artist and art teacher, the researcher has often wondered whether art could have played a part in alleviating those feelings in the camps.

Chiura Obata was one of many art instructors who presented their creative experience and skills to other Japanese Americans in the camps. Obata, while organizing the Tanforan Art School in the spring of 1942, stated his beliefs about art's power to transform people in a speech on the school's behalf. He explained that through art making, considered "the most constructive forms of education," one could achieve an inner peace that would lead to better decision-making and, further, would enhance healthy cooperation among people. (Higa, 1994, p. 21).

With the establishment of government-run schools in the camps the children would experience a curriculum that included the arts. However, for the adults the path towards a creative outlet was not always clear. Initially adult internees began to make

their surroundings bearable with curtains and furniture, but later some internees began to see the arts and crafts as a way to find purpose and relieve the monotony of camp life. Art education in the Japanese American Concentration camps served the needs of this temporary community by providing a normal public school curriculum for young internees, an outlet for creativity for professional artists and amateurs, and an escape from boredom and depression for the adult population. (Hirasuna, 2005, pp. 10-29).

### **Research Question**

The focus of this research study was to examine art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps during World War II. The primary question of the research was: What roles might art education have played in the lives of internees while in the Japanese American Concentration Camps from 1942 through 1945? A number of subsidiary questions were investigated:

Who were the art students in the camps and what led them to study art? What kinds of potential outcomes or expectations did art educators intend for their students? Were the goals of the art instructors technical, therapeutic, documentary or some combination of these interests? What teaching methods were used by the art educators in the camps?

### **Research Goals**

Understanding the contribution that art education made to the lives of camp residents could offer insight into the artwork that was created in the camps. The idea that camp artwork could have been made under the guidance of an art educator could change the way one looks at art from that historic period. Furthermore, increased knowledge

about the intent of art instructors in the camps could demonstrate the impact that curriculum design had upon camp students at the time, and, by extension, upon art students today.

### **Conceptual Framework**

Areas of research included an historical investigation into art education in the camps. Specifically, the study examined art educators from the camps and methods of instruction. Information was gathered about the student population, including school-age groups and adults who may have attended these art classes. The study also examined whether art was used to express internees' feelings towards incarceration and camp life.

Methods for research primarily involved examining historical and scholarly literature, reading and reviewing oral histories and viewing artwork from the camps. The strategy for meeting the research goals consisted of gathering and evaluating data, checking against researcher bias, and analyzing and reporting findings. (see Figure 2.1).

### **Significance of the Study**

Studying art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps will enhance knowledge about this time in our nation's history. Understanding the contribution that art education made to the lives of residents in the camps might bring deeper insight to the meaning of camp art. The thought that an art educator might have guided the creation of camp artwork would be meaningful. Furthermore, an increased knowledge about the intent of art instructors in the camps would make one consider the possible impact curriculum design has upon students in art and therefore upon one's teaching practice.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The constraints that limited this study involved time, access to resources, interpretational difficulties and researcher bias. As there were many assembly centers and incarceration camps scattered throughout the United States it would not be possible to visit the many museums and libraries that are available to the public under the time constraint of this study. Also, there are numerous collections of artifacts, documents and oral histories at many university and public libraries that would not be utilized due to time constraints. As this is a historical study, some primary source materials were in poor condition and too old, fragile or illegible to analyze.

### **Summary**

The arts and crafts that were created in the camps varied in media and scope of imagination. The internees that made these works of art had a variety of motivations. This study attempted to uncover the possible education behind the internees' art. Higa (1995) through her investigation of art from the camps maintains the need for further research into the art of the concentration camps. She equates the art of Japanese Americans to outsider art because they are both relatively unknown and unrecognized. She further states, "Investigation of the voices, personal histories, and intention of the artist is therefore all the more essential to an understanding of their lives and works" (p. 17). This historical investigation into the role that art education played in the lives of Japanese Americans incarcerated in the camps during World War II attempted to examine one small part of their legacy.

## Definition of Terms

**Assembly centers:** Temporary incarceration camps that imprisoned Japanese Americans who had been forcibly removed from the West Coast in the early months of World War II. By mid-1942, Japanese Americans were transferred to more permanent "relocation centers," also known as concentration camps.

**Camps or Concentration camps:** Euphemistically called "relocation centers" by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), the concentration camps housed Japanese Americans who had been forcibly removed from the West Coast during World War II. This term was also used to refer to the Justice Department internment camps where enemy aliens were detained.

**Executive Order 9066:** This order, signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, authorized the War Department to define military areas from which "any and all persons may be excluded." This provided the basis for the exclusion and mass incarceration (or "internment") of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast.

**Gaman:** "To accept what is with patience and dignity" in Japanese.

**Internee:** A resident or former resident of an incarceration camp.

**Internment camps:** Camps administered by the Justice Department for the detention of enemy aliens (not U.S. citizens) deemed dangerous during World War II.

"Internment camp" is used by some to describe the "incarceration camps."

**Issei:** The first generation of immigrant Japanese Americans, most of whom came to the United States between 1885 and 1924. The Issei were ineligible for U.S. citizenship and considered "enemy aliens" during World War II.

**Japanese American:** Two-thirds of those imprisoned during World War II were Nisei born in the United States and thus U.S. citizens. The proper term for them is "Japanese American," rather than "Japanese."

**Nisei:** American-born children of Japanese immigrants; second generation Japanese Americans. Most mainland Nisei were born between 1915 and 1935; in Hawaii, large numbers were born about a decade earlier.

**Sansei:** American-born grandchildren of Japanese immigrants; third generation Japanese Americans.

**Shikataganai:** "It cannot be helped" in Japanese.

**Yonsei:** American-born great-grandchildren of Japanese immigrants; fourth generation Japanese American.

*(Terminology and Glossary, n.d., Densho website)*

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Introduction

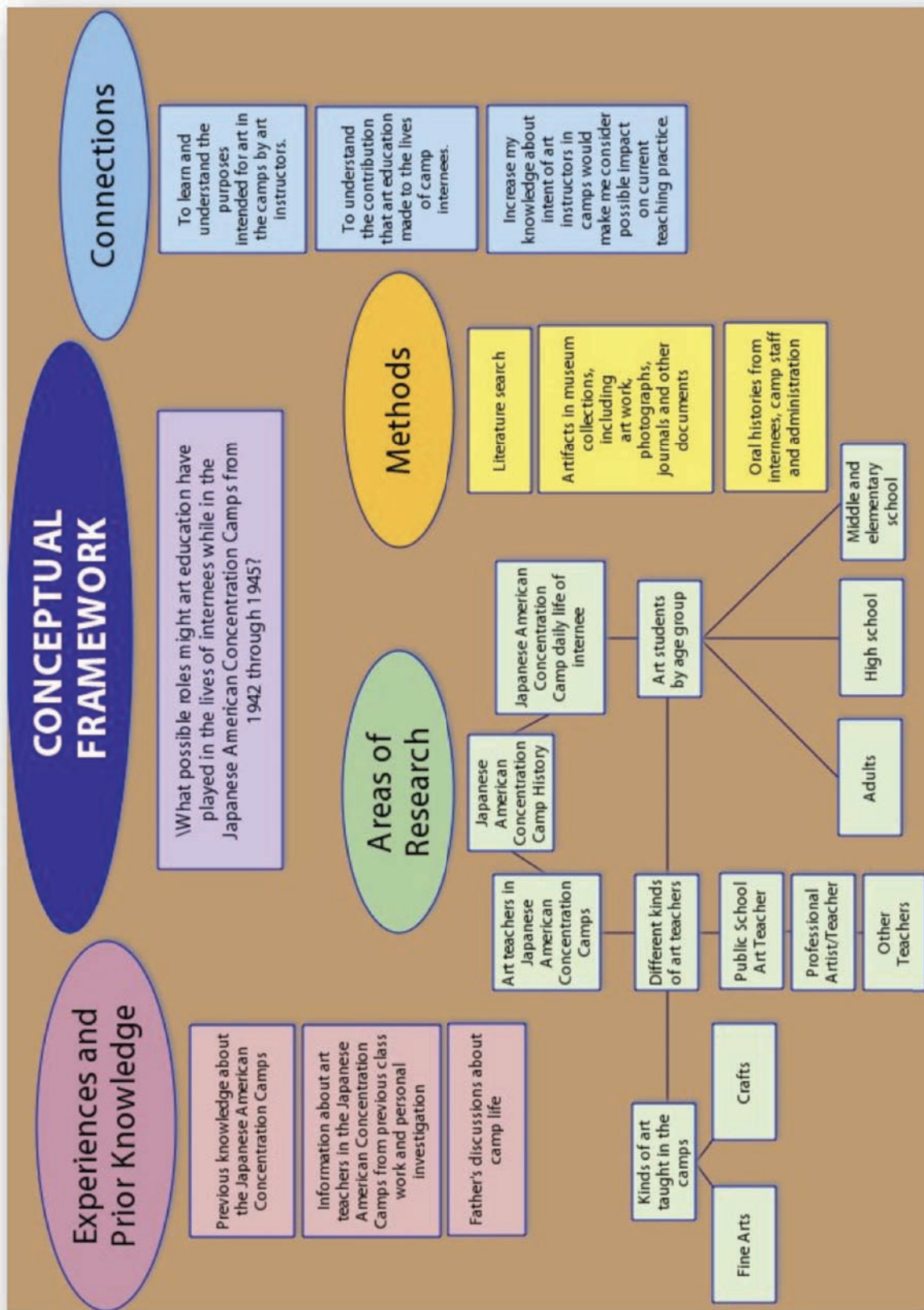
This historical investigation examined art educators and art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps. The researcher developed a conceptual framework from which to guide and focus her investigation (see Figure 2.1). Areas of research included different kinds of teachers and art schools, methods of instruction, and information about the student population, including school-age groups and adults. The study also examined whether art was used to express internees' feelings towards incarceration and camp life.

Methods for research primarily involved examining historical and scholarly literature, reviewing oral histories and viewing artwork from the camps. The strategy for meeting the research goals consisted of gathering and evaluating data, checking against researcher bias, and analyzing and reporting findings.

In this chapter the researcher discusses her review of the basis for topic selection with personal connections and relevant ties to existing literature in the field. The relevant literature informed the researcher's thinking on the qualifications and backgrounds of the various kinds of camp art teachers, and gave some insight into the motivations of some students.



Figure 2.1. Conceptual Framework



## **Review of the Literature**

### **The Japanese American Concentration Camps**

The bombing of Pearl Harbor by the Japanese on December 7, 1941 provoked the entry of the United States into World War II. Bowing to public pressures based on fear and prejudice, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066 in 1942. The Order compelled the evacuation of persons of Japanese Ancestry from their homes to “assembly centers,” where they awaited their move to “relocation centers” a euphemism for concentration camps, situated in central locations away from the coast. There were Assembly Centers at fifteen West Coast locations, Puyallup, WA, Tanforan, CA and Santa Anita, CA being the most well known. Tanforan and Santa Anita were racetracks and internees lived under unpleasant conditions in former horses’ stalls. The internees were later moved to the Concentration Camps as they completed or almost completed construction. There were ten Concentration Camps (see Appendix, Figure A): Manzanar, CA; Tule Lake, CA; Poston, AZ; Gila, AZ; Minidoka, ID; Heart Mountain, WY; Granada, CO; Topaz, UT; Rowher, AK; Jerome, AK. All were located in remote and isolated regions of the United States.

### **Camp Life**

Living conditions in the camps were harsh, unlike the West Coast of the United States there were weather extremes, cramped living conditions, no privacy, long lines for food and for restrooms (Leblond, 1999, p. 2). Physical life was difficult, but the internees would bear it. They had to leave their homes, most possessions, even family heirlooms behind. Children left their friends and family pets; adults left careers. Communities and

neighborhoods were shattered. Most of all, the evacuees felt shame, anger and above all prejudice and racism. Their reactions were polarized though they all felt anger and frustration, though some chose to demonstrate their feelings in vocal protest or legal action, most chose to show loyalty by being completely compliant and not complaining (Kuramitsu, 1995, p.622). A family could have a member so angry they would not sign a loyalty oath and would plan to return to Japan and in that same family might have a son go to war in Europe (Kuramitsu, 1995, p.620). Traditional daily family life was disrupted, such as regularly eating dinner together, and control of family life fell apart (Dusselier, 2005b, p.195). The Issei and some Nisei felt such shame and embarrassment that Sansei youth were not aware of the concentration camps for much of their lives because the older generation did not speak of it (Kuramitsu, 1995, p.621).

The WRA (War Relocation Authority) administration and camp internees agreed to create inside camp life to mimic outside life as much as possible “to maintain a sense of normalcy behind the barbed wire” (Kuramitsu, 1995, p.622). The WRA Administration encouraged the development of institutions like a self-regulating government, schools, libraries, churches, commissaries, hospitals and recreational activities to foster community in the camps (Hirasuna, 2005, p.18). Jobs were necessary too for the general upkeep of camp life. The researcher’s grandfather worked as a cook at the camp at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, though he had worked as a gardener and farmer before relocation.

## **Camp Schools**

Schools in the camps had a mission to provide education to prepare for life outside of camp (Ziegler, 2005, p. 59). Teachers came from outside and inside of camp as they were in short supply due to the war (Riley, 2002, p. 135). The teachers from outside the camps were offered higher than usual salaries; the teachers from within the camps were paid the same below minimum wage as other camp jobs. Some superintendents worked hard to obtain accreditation for their schools. Standard curriculum in the high schools offered few choices but provided basics and some electives. The high schools also provided camp teens with clubs, sports and other traditional “normal” activities like yearbook, school newspapers, student council, and dances and proms (Hamamoto, 2003, p. xix). Younger children, used to schooling in diverse settings, marveled at a place where everyone was Japanese, and therefore did not suffer from being singled out for being “different” (Riley, 2002, pp. 4-5, p. 140). The school physical environment was often similar to the barrack conditions, where students faced the distractions of extremes of weather and a lack of supplies and furniture. Teachers became resourceful and adept with improvised materials. (Bearden, 1989, p. 185).

## **Art Education in the Camps**

Art was taught in the camps’ public schools. In some high schools, in addition to art class, there were opportunities to apply artistic talent in art electives, yearbook and drama productions. At Denson High School in the Jerome Relocation Center, its 1944 Yearbook page on the Art Department shows a photo of students drawing in class and states that “The main purpose of the art department is to teach the appreciation of art”

(Denson High School 1944 Yearbook, 2012, p. 1). The description also mentions that in addition to drawing classes, students also learn watercolor, human anatomy, lettering and costume design.

Professional artist/teachers set up art schools at the assembly centers and then inside the permanent camps (Kuramitsu, 1995, p. 631). Artist/teachers Chiura Obata and George Hibi founded an art school at the Topaz Relocation Center that “offered almost one hundred classes a week to young and old alike” (p. 631). These art educators considered art making an opportunity for others to “...foster infinite, inspirations, emotions and peaceful thoughts” (p. 635).

Skilled internees began to teach what they knew to others. A variety of arts and crafts were taught in all the camps, including ikebana (flower arranging), wood carving, furniture making, doll making, artificial flower making and embroidery to name but a few. (Dusselier, 2005b, p. 175). Sewing instructors helped other internees create practical items like drapery and clothing (p. 188). These amateur art teachers came from many backgrounds. One internee was surprised to find her friend teaching flower making, “All I knew was that she was a strawberry grower’s wife, and I knew she could pick strawberries. Here she was a teacher of this crepe paper flower making class” (p. 190). Arts and crafts exhibits brought goals to the artists and visual entertainment for the rest of the camp, and also provided increased feelings of connected-ness and community. (Dusselier, 2005a, pp. 109-120).

### **Art as Diversion and Comfort**

Depression was common among internees and thoughts of suicide and other assaults on mental health arose for those dealing with internment (Dusselier, 2005a, pp. 130-132 thesis). Internees needed “escape” from their harsh environs in the form of diversions, to help deal with their feelings and as an outlet for self-expression. Dusselier (2005a) asserts that “Art created by imprisoned Japanese Americans articulate a wide range of internment losses that were impossible to resolve” (p. 135). For example, transformation of the internees’ surroundings, gardens and parks brought visual and mental comfort to many (pp. 186-187). Art in the camps provided not only diversion for those who created the art but also visual and mental relief to those living under brutal camp surroundings. However, once released from the camps, many non-professional artists no longer created art as it reminded them of a painful time in their lives (Kuramitsu, 1995, p. 638).

### **Summary**

Japanese Americans suffered from racism and prejudice before the outbreak of the war in the Pacific. Their strength to overcome adverse conditions is a testament to their resilience and resourcefulness as an American community. As an artist, art educator and Japanese American, the researcher wondered if the art educators in the camps played a small part in keeping the spirits of internees uplifted in their time of need. Art teachers provided their students with instruction but was there more? Did art educators prepare their students for the future world outside of camp as intended by the public schools? Did they encourage all art students to create art to serve as a vehicle for self-expression, to

“escape” camp life, to document their time in camp or a combination of these? This story is communicated in the next few chapters of this research.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Design of the Study**

The format for researching the roles that art education might have played in the lives of internees in the Japanese American Concentration Camps was that of an historical investigation. Stankiewicz (1997) referred to the data collection process in art education historical research as “detective work” (p. 64) with regard to the uncovering of primary and secondary source materials, due to its investigative nature. She condensed the historical art education research process into simple steps that seem advisory at the same time. The researcher chose a topic that was “personally meaningful” and, consequently, read passages from primary and secondary sources, listened to oral histories and looked at “pictures, ephemera, objects and artifacts” in an effort to interpret the facts and establish an historical narrative (p. 59).

The research question necessitates an historical study, so its design focused on a compilation of information from multiple sources from the past or reporting about the past. The research process involved developing of a list of keywords and phrases; investigating the locations of research sources such as special collections in libraries and museums; and then examining documents, literature, oral histories and other forms of recollection by internees about the experience of art education in the camps.

#### **Data Collection**

The researcher obtained source materials, primary and secondary, from a variety of physical and online locations (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).



Table 3.1.

*Types of Sources and Locations*

<b>Type of Primary Source</b>	<b>Location (see Table 2)</b>
Oral Histories: Interviews with former camp internees, administrators and staff involved with the workings of the camps.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections.
Camp Newsletters: All camps produced newsletters for internees. Each reported news and information for and about daily camp life.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections.
Camp Art: All artwork produced in the camps. Including art created for class work in school. Photography.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections. Museums. Exhibitions.
Photographs: Photographs taken in the camps by internees.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections. Museums. Exhibitions.
Documents: Letters, diaries, reports, speeches written by camp internees, administrators and other staff.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections.
Published first-hand accounts or stories: Books, autobiographies, collected stories and accounts by camp internees, administrators and other staff.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections. Publications.
<b>Type of Secondary Source</b>	<b>Location</b>
Journal Articles: Articles written about camp life, art, art education, education.	Online Libraries. Onsite Libraries.
Government Reports (not first-hand): Reports on the concentration camps.	Online libraries, onsite libraries and special collections.
Biographies: Information about the lives of camp internees, administrators and other staff.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections. Publications.
Published Stories (not first-hand): Books, stories about camp life.	Online libraries. Onsite libraries. Special collections. Publications.

Table 3.2.

*Specific Locations*

Location	Specific
Online Libraries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Online Archive of California (oac)</li> <li>• Densho Digital Archive</li> <li>• Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives (JARDA) at U.C. Berkeley</li> <li>• Japanese American National Museum (JANM)</li> <li>• National Archives and Records Administration (NARA)</li> <li>• Smithsonian Institution Library</li> <li>• Library of Congress</li> </ul>
Onsite Libraries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.C. Berkeley, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA.</li> <li>• Charles Young Special Collection, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.</li> <li>• The Hirasaki Resource Center, JANM Los Angeles, CA.</li> <li>• The Japanese American Archival Collection (JAAC) ImageBase at Special Collections and University Archives of California State University, Sacramento, CA.</li> <li>• National Japanese American Historical Society, San Francisco, CA.</li> <li>• Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe, NM.</li> </ul>
Special Collections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charles Young Special Collection, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA.</li> <li>• The Hirasaki Resource Center, JANM Los Angeles, CA.</li> <li>• The Japanese American Archival Collection (JAAC) ImageBase at Special Collections and University Archives of California State University, Sacramento, CA.</li> </ul>
Exhibitions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Topaz: Artists in Internment, Their Visual Work and Words”. February 18- March 31, 2012. San Leandro History Museum, San Leandro, CA.</li> </ul>
Museums	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles, CA</li> <li>• Japanese American History Museum, San Jose, CA.</li> </ul>
Publications	See References

Throughout the data collection process the researcher organized information by Japanese American Concentration Camp location. Data was also categorized in a searchable database format indexed by keywords, links and tags. (see Appendix, Table B).

## **Data Analysis**

The researcher examined and compared the content of collected data and analyze with regard to research question criteria, looking for similarities or differences in the intentions of art instructors in their approach to teaching art to Japanese American Concentration Camp internees. The methods of analysis will include the constant comparative method and content analysis of historical document. Maxwell (2005) discusses creating categories to “fracture” data to facilitate comparisons (pp. 96-97). Further, he suggests using a “connecting analysis” strategy to attempt to find relationships that exist between statements and events (p. 98). The combination of these strategies allowed constant comparison and categorization of the data.

## **Summary**

The design of the historical investigation guided the researcher to compile and collect information from primary and secondary sources about art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps. The aggregation of data from sources such as oral histories, camp newsletters, art work, photographs, speeches and reports, to name a few, provided information specific to the researcher’s question. In Chapter Four, the researcher examined and processed the collected data, analyzed the collection and explained the findings of the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESULTS OF THE STUDY**

#### **Introduction**

This historical exploration into art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps examined the roles that art education might have played in the lives of internees while in the Japanese American Concentration Camps from 1942 through 1945. To better understand the different ways art instruction might have impacted camp internees, the researcher had to consider the following questions: Who were the art students in the camps and what led them to study art? What kinds of potential outcomes or expectations did art educators intend for their students? Were the goals of the art instructors technical, therapeutic, documentary or some combination of these interests? What teaching methods were used by the art educators in the camps? In order to answer these questions, it was necessary to distinguish between the motivations behind art curriculum design and types of art instruction available in the camps.

Maxwell (2005) states the advantages of creating categories to “fracture” data to facilitate comparisons (pp. 96-97). He also suggests a “connecting analysis” strategy to find relationships that exist between statements and events (p. 98). Using these strategies in combination allowed for constant comparison and categorization of text-based data and photographs.

Although the content of all materials examined throughout this study provided data to form a historical narrative, it was also important to seek connections between data points in an effort to identify possible underlying patterns and relationships. Awareness of possible associations would help in discovering what art educators taught their

students and why. In this chapter the researcher reviews the potential implications for the investigation. The procedure for data analysis of text and photographs is explained as well as a discussion of the results of the analysis follows.

### **Significance of the Study**

Investigation into the roles art teachers may have played during this tumultuous period in American history could lead to greater understanding of the art that was created at this time. The study sought greater understanding of art educators' intentions for their students by inquiring whether the core beliefs of teachers came into play; what art students would have learned; and how the intent of art educators may have directed the outcome of the art of their students. Understanding choice of curriculum, and the teaching methods the instructors used to convey their curriculum could hold the potential to enhance present day teaching practices. For instance, there is a possibility for current art educators to understand student art work creation under stressful conditions.

### **Procedure and Analysis of the Data**

The initial undertaking for this part of the study was the collection of data. Text-based data was gathered using the sources indicated in Chapter III. Only a small portion of the data sources read and examined proved to hold relevant information. Art education was not the primary focus of the many documents, books, oral histories and photographs viewed by the researcher. Though admittedly not a complete examination of all available data, relevant information was gathered and made ready for analysis.

## Text-based Data

After reading each document, the researcher isolated pertinent sections from the document that discussed art teaching and education, art teachers and art classes. These sections were then entered into an online research database that supported excerpting and coding using a tagging method. The researcher entered the pertinent text, ranging in length from a single paragraph to entire reports, into the media resource section of the database.

*Dedoose* is a web-based application designed for qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research. The ability to indicate excerpts in documents and attach codes to them allowed for a variety of data visualization displays, and therefore made *Dedoose* an attractive choice to use in this study (*Dedoose*, 2012).

Each document was assigned a descriptor indicating the text as a primary or secondary source. Occasionally when a document was a collection of studies or interviews, the document could be marked as both types of sources.

Another descriptor set, assigned the excerpts to one of ten Japanese American Concentration Camps (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1  
*Japanese Concentration Camps*

Japanese Concentration Camps									
Amache/ Granada, CO	Gila River/ Rivers, AZ	Heart Mountain, WY	Jerome, AK	Manzanar, CA	Minidoka, ID	Poston, AZ	Rohwer, AZ	Topaz, UT	Tule Lake, CA

Next, the researcher coded each excerpt based on the criteria indicating the intentions that an art program or art instructor would have towards teaching art (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2  
*Motives Behind How Art was Taught*

<b>Motives Behind How Art was Taught</b> Art was taught to camp internees for different reasons and intentions.		
<b>1. Art taught as Basic Knowledge and Expression</b>	<b>2. Art taught for Diversion</b>	<b>3. Art taught as Expression or Documentation of Camp Life</b>
Art is something that everyone should know and experience. Form of basic human expression. Includes art taught as vocational training.	Art as a means to occupy idle time or to divert attention or merely for fun and entertainment. Also, art taught as a means for self-expression but not for the sole purpose of documenting camp life experiences.	Art as a form of expressing feelings about life in the camps. And/or art as a form of documenting what happened in the camps.

A second set of codes, indicating the type of art teacher or art program was also assigned to excerpted text (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3  
*Type of Art Teaching*

<b>Type of Art Teaching</b> Art was taught in the camp by different kinds of teachers through a variety of organizations. An individual teacher could have multiple, overlapping roles.		
<b>4. Public School – Art Teacher</b>	<b>5. Art School – Instructor</b>	<b>6. Adult Education/ Recreation Center – Art Teacher</b>
Teaches art to children in elementary, middle and high school. Also includes teaching vocational art classes in high school.	Art school run by professional artists and teacher-artists.	Arts and crafts classes taught by non-professional teachers. Also, includes vocational art classes.

## Photographs

Internees were initially not allowed to have cameras when they arrived at camp. Many secretly brought cameras and hid them. Photographs were often taken by the government in a propaganda effort to show the rest of the country that the internees were treated humanely and fairly. However, after a while camp authorities relented, letting cameras first be used by citizens only, and later by everyone in the camps. (Wenger, 2007, p. 36).

*Figure 4.1.* Art time in the nursery school at this relocation center. Tule Lake, California.



Densho Digital Archive, 2008

There are many of photographs of the camps. In the Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives (JARDA) collection alone, there are over 10,000 digital images. Although JARDA maintains a searchable database, not all photograph (and



document) collections have searchable files. (JARDA, 2012). It would be difficult for the researcher to examine and catalog the many photographs of camp life.

However, to answer the questions posed by the study, a limited number of pertinent photographs would be useful to examine. The content found in photographs could possibly answer what kind of art was being taught, who were the students taking art, who was the teacher and at which camp the art teaching took place.

*Figure 4.2.* Page from the 1944 Denson High School Yearbook at the Jerome Relocation Center highlighting Henry Sugimoto and the art department.



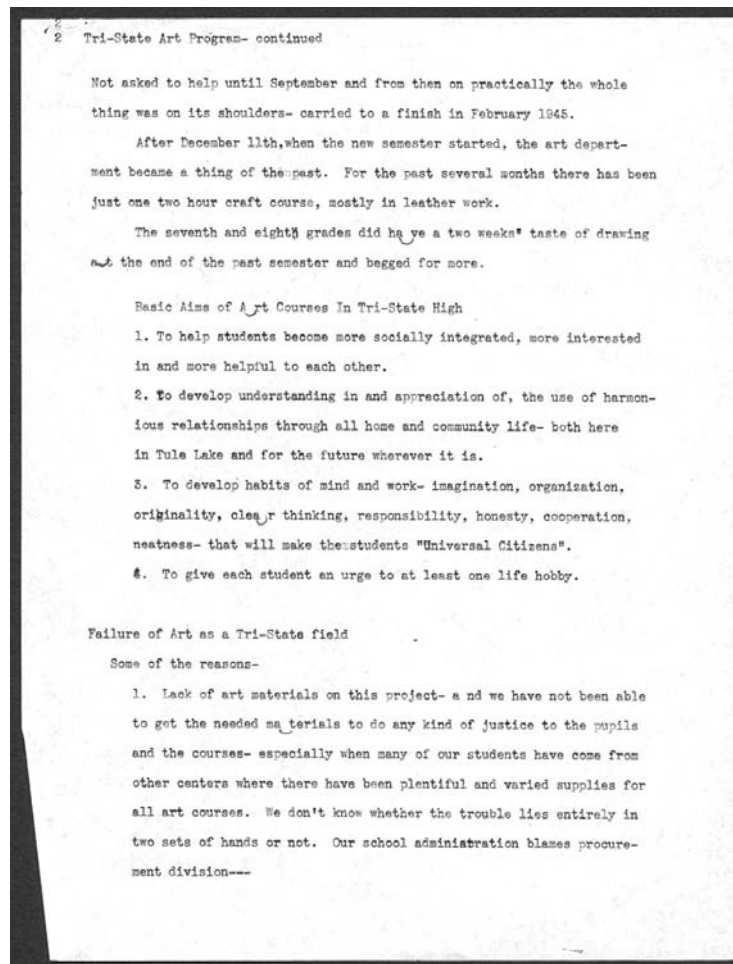
Therefore, the researcher collected a sampling of art education-related camp photographs. They were selected for their direct visual relation to art education in the camps. The photographs were examined and placed in a table that noted the description or caption if there was one, its source, what type of art teacher or organization is shown in the photograph and at which camp the photograph was taken. (see Appendix, Table C).

## **Results of the Study**

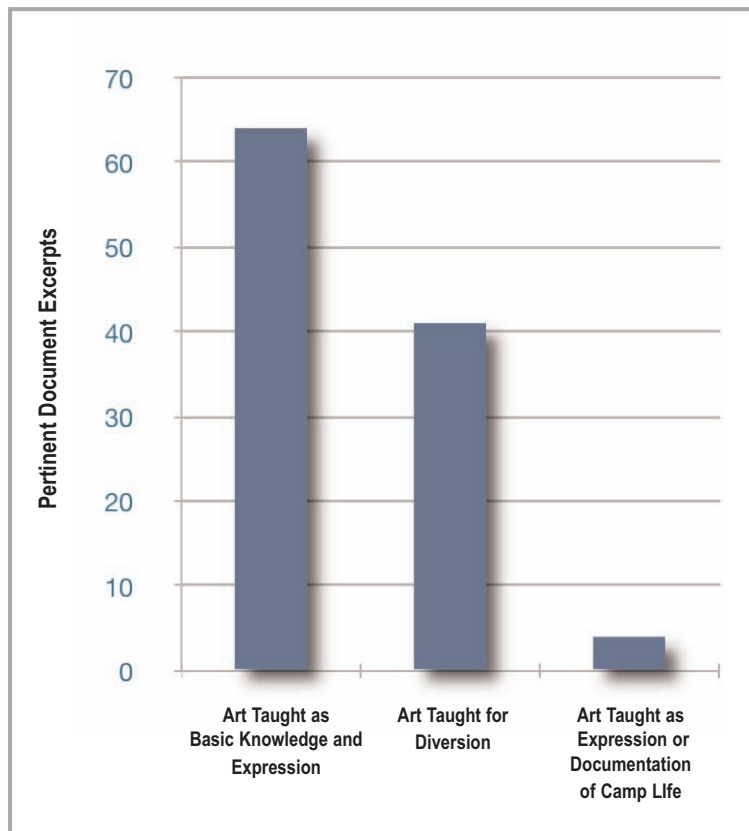
### **Text Analysis**

In the first comparison, pertinent excerpts were compared to how often the statement indicated a specific disposition towards teaching art. A majority of 61 of the excerpts were linked to the idea that art should be taught as basic knowledge and form of expression. Art taught for diversion garnered 41 excerpts. Art taught as a way to either to convey feelings towards or to document camp life had 13 (see Figure 4.4). A detailed table is available. (see Appendix, Table D).

Figure 4.3. Page two from *The Tri-State Art Program September 1942 to May 1945*.

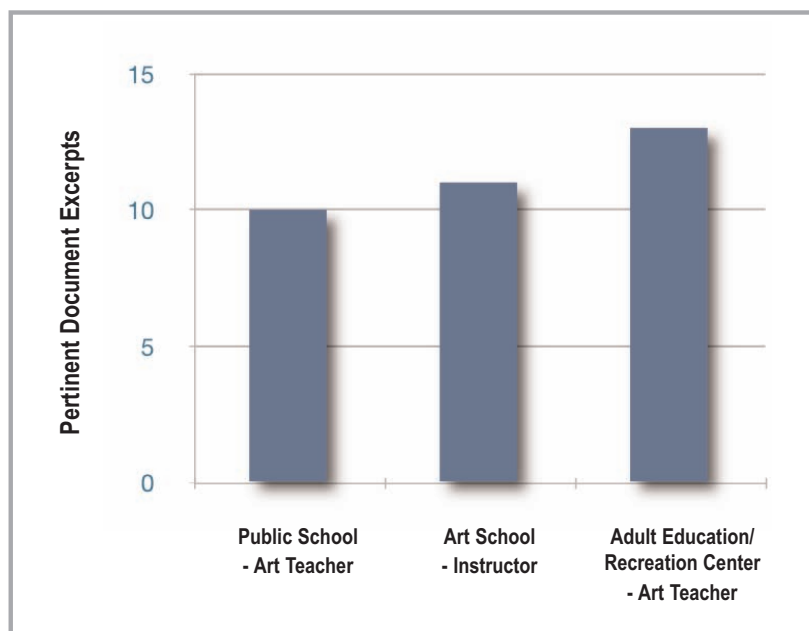


*Figure 4.4*  
Pertinent Document Excerpts vs. Types of Art Taught



Next, excerpts pertaining to the type of art teacher or art program were compared. The category of Adult Education/Recreation Center Art Teacher was noted the most at 13 with Instructors at Art Schools were next most popular at 11 and Public Art School teachers the least noted with 10 (see Figure 4.5). A detailed table is available. (see Appendix, Table E).

*Figure 4.5*  
Pertinent Document Excerpts vs. Type of Art Teacher



The next comparison examined the relationship between excerpts about the motivations for art instruction and the type of art teacher. Art taught as basic knowledge occurred most often when taught by a public school teacher. However, public art teachers did not teach art as a diversion for their students or intend for them to express their

feelings towards camp life through their art. At the adult education center art teachers taught art for diversionary purposes for their students, not for expressing or documenting camp life. Learning the basics about art would sometimes be the intention of the art teachers at the recreation center. The professional artist or artist-teacher at the camp art school had a variety of teaching goals in mind for his or her students (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4  
*Motives Behind How Art was Taught vs. Type of Art Teaching*

	Type of Art Teaching	4. Public School - Art Teacher	5. Art School - Instructor	6. Adult Ed./Rec. Center - Art Teacher	Totals
<b>Motives Behind How Art was Taught</b>					
1. Art Taught for Basic Knowledge and Expression		8	3	3	14
2. Art Taught for Diversion			2	10	12
3. Art Taught as Expression or Documentation of Camp Life			1		1
Totals		8	6	13	27

Lastly, a comparison between excerpts and camp origin was also made. The majority of responses can be linked to the camp at Topaz. An absence of data from the camps at Minidoka and Manzanar should not be taken to mean that there were no art programs taught at these locations, but that there was insubstantial mention of them in the collection of data for this study (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5  
*Pertinent Document Excerpts vs. Japanese Concentration Camps*

Japanese Concentration Camps									
Amache/ Granada, CO	Gila River/ Rivers, AZ	Heart Mountain, WY	Jerome, AK	Manzanar, CA	Minidoka, ID	Poston, AZ	Rohwer, AZ	Topaz, UT	Tule Lake, CA
1	1	1	1			1	1	5	1

### Photograph Analysis

A comparison between the type of art taught and where it was taught would help to flesh out the picture of art education in the camps. Some camps and art activities were of greater interest to photographers than others so it is not an accurate comparison. However, it was hoped that the comparison would provide some insight into what kind of art was being taught and who was teaching it (see Table 4.6). For example, the table indicates that many of the photographs of art education that were examined were from the camp at Topaz. The art school at Topaz had many professional artists/teachers, some who were well known and therefore the school may have caught the attention of WRA photographers over other camps' art programs. However, the greatest number of photographs were taken at the Amache/Granada camp where there was an extremely popular adult education program with many arts and crafts classes.

Table 4.6  
*Photographs - Comparison between Camp and Type of School*

Photographs – Comparison between Camp and Type of School				
Camps	Public School	Art School	Adult Ed.	Totals
Amache/Granada	4		4	8
Gila River/Rivers				
Heart Mountain	1		1	2
Jerome	1		1	2
Manzanar		1		1
Minidoka	1			1
Poston	4		1	5
Rohwer			1	1
Topaz		5		5
Tule Lake	2			2
Totals	13	6	8	27

*Figure 4.6.* An art school has been established at this Assembly Center with a well trained, experienced evacuee staff under the leadership of Prof. Chiura Obata, who before evacuation was associate professor of art at the University of California. This photograph shows part of the morning class learning free hand brush strokes.





### **Summary**

In this chapter, the significance of the study and issues that limited the study were discussed. Text-based data was examined for key criteria about art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps and compared to information about the camps. Photographs were reviewed and selected for content from the standpoint of art education in the camps. Further photograph analysis made comparisons between what art was taught and where it was made. The resulting data analysis and subsequent findings with regard to what Stankiewicz (1997) referred to as “pictures, ephemera, objects and artifacts” of research into the past were reviewed. A final historical narrative concludes the research in Chapter Five.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### STORIES TOLD....

#### Introduction

The intent of this historical investigation was to examine art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps during World War II. The primary question of the research was: What roles might art education have played in the lives of internees while in the Japanese American Concentration Camps from 1942 through 1945? Other questions arose from the initial core question, for instance, what kinds of potential outcomes or expectations did art educators intend for their students? Were the goals of the art instructors technical, therapeutic, documentary or some combination of these interests? What teaching methods were used by the art educators in the camps? To answer these questions both text and photographic information was gathered, sorted for relevance, and analyzed for underlying connections.

Internees of the Japanese American Concentration Camps sought information, distraction and solace from their world through many outlets, one of which was art. Students came from all walks of life. By investigating how art educators anticipated the needs of their students, the researcher discovered that the type of instruction provided by art teachers varied by the type of school attended.

During the preliminary part of this investigation, the researcher observed that the data fell into two divisions. First, different types of organizations taught art, such as public schools, art schools and adult education/recreation schools. Second, the art instructors had different types of intentions towards teaching art in the camps. Art was taught as basic knowledge and expression; as a diversion; and as a means to represent or

document camp life. The intentions of art teachers/organizations can be directly linked to the type of school in which the art was taught. (see Table 4.4).

### **Art Education in the Camps' Public Schools**

The public schools in the camps almost always taught basic art curriculum, much like the lessons that would be taught in elementary, middle and high schools across the rest of the country. The administrators and teachers intended to provide as normal a school experience as possible, to provide skills and techniques that would support their students after graduation, and to teach general appreciation for art and art making. (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Indeed, the students wanted, more than ever, to return to their schools back home, and resented being in the camp schools. Although they were unable to replicate the students' home schools physically or materially, most administrators and instructors endeavored to create curriculum that would be expected of the students' schools back home (Slate, 1945).

Many of the public school administrators and teachers were not familiar with their student population. Though many were strongly committed to providing the best education for these students under extremely trying circumstances they were unfamiliar with their students' background, or with Japanese and Japanese American culture. The schoolchildren were generally unhappy because they expected the same conditions they had at home, physically traditional schools taught exclusively by Caucasian teachers. With substandard buildings, outdated or nonexistent teaching materials, and assistant internee teachers, students did not take their schooling as nearly as seriously as they would have back at home. (Ziegler, 2005).

Education administrators and others that determined school curriculum came from outside the camp community. Under the circumstances it was logical for them to accept nationwide educational practices for their students. Therefore it was the goal of public schools in the camps to provide art instruction as basic knowledge and techniques and to replicate lessons and experiences taught in elsewhere in the country. To take chances with teaching art, for instance, to use this rare opportunity to record daily life in the camps as a form of self-expression, would detract from this goal. An exception to the general public school practice of teaching art as basic knowledge was the high school art teacher at Rohwer, Mabel Rose Jamison, who made an effort to understand her students. She chose to live among the families in the barracks voluntarily rather than in more comfortable housing arrangements for teachers. As noted in Ziegler (2005), she participated in their lives and so had access to information and could make observations that other instructors could not:

All of us are consumers of art, the production of it is left to the skilled few. School art should be a flexible thing, to suit the needs that arise. Children have imagination to enjoy art and create it. Those who enjoy life most are those who DO rather than look on. (p. 233).

She was an art teacher who helped them to express themselves and document their experiences. With her encouragement and support, a group of her most talented art students painted murals depicting their experiences in camp

A good painting is a thing of lasting beauty. Long after the poster paint has peeled off the beaver boards, these murals, painted by these eight high school students will be remembered. For the story and history of the evacuation are not likely to be forgotten too soon. (p. 74).

Mabel Rose Jamison was an outstanding example from a time when being exclusionary was the rule, who tried to empathize with her Japanese American students.

Figure 5.1. Art Appreciation 1942 Course Objectives. Slate (1945).

61

Subject: ART APPRECIATION  
1942

Objectives:

- to increase the understanding and appreciation of Man's Creative Expression.
- to trace the evolution of the Arts and to place that evolution in its proper place in Man's social and political development.
- to gain a sympathetic understanding of different peoples and regions.
- to add to our enjoyment of life.

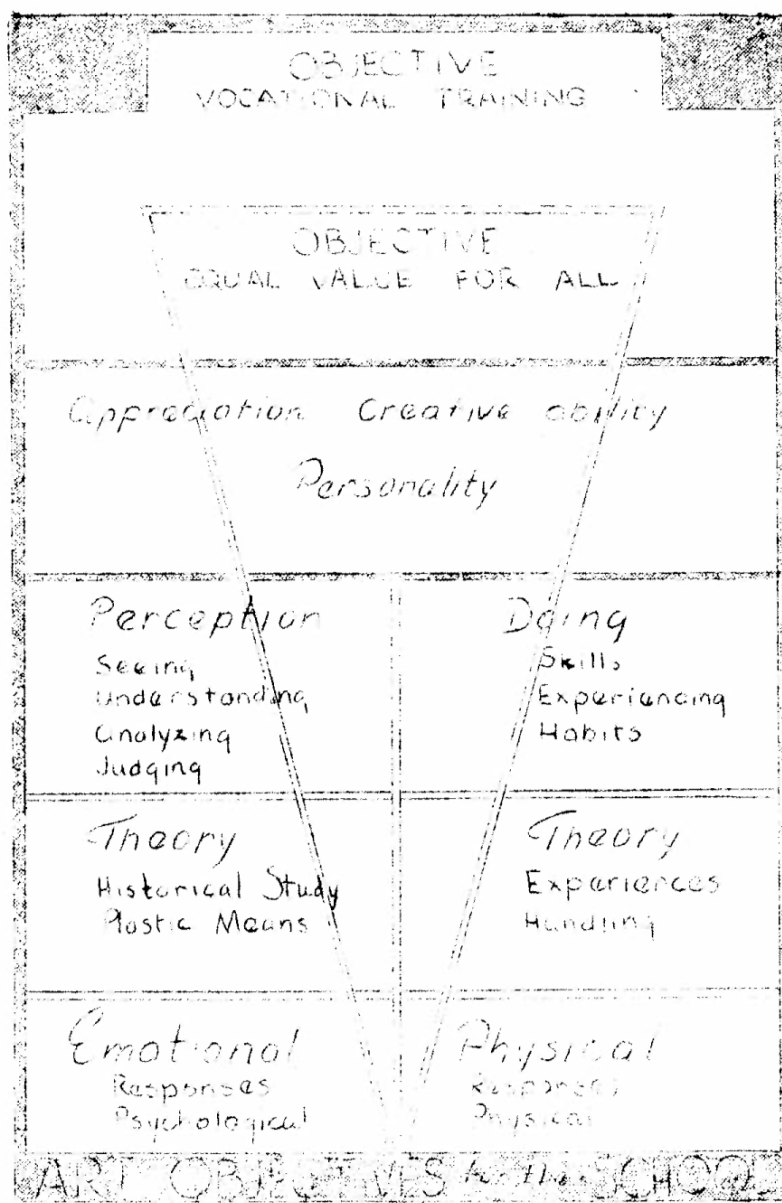
Methods:

- visual Education, discussion of reproductions of examples of the Fine Arts, Architecture, Sculpture and the Craft Arts.
- make models and copies of paintings and architecture.
- write stories based upon deductions made from paintings, etc.
- increase Reproduction Collections by searching for material in magazines, old books, etc, cut-out and mount.
- start School Museum.
- write own "text-book" note book.
- integrate course with "World History", "World Literature" and Music Appreciation.

Outline:

- I. Civilization Starts in the East
- II. Civilization Moves Westward
- III. The Dark Ages
- IV. The Re-Birth
- V. The Age of Experiment
- VI. Modern Men of Art

Figure 5.2. Art Objectives of the School - Vocational Course Objectives. Slate (1945)



*Figure 5.3.* Art class at Poston.



*Figure 5.4.* Amache High School class in commercial arts, using a student as a model for sketching fashion figures.



### **Independent Art Schools**

Unlike the public schools, independent art schools, such as the one at Topaz, though also founded to provide diversion for the internees, focused on self-expression and art appreciation, celebrating the beauty of art and to have students learn art for art's sake. Hill (2000) at length, discusses the ideals held by Chiura Obata, Professor of Art at U. C. Berkeley and founder of the art schools at Tanforan Assembly Center and Topaz Relocation Center and notes:

As the director, Obata wrote the philosophies of the Tanforan Art School and its "determination to maintain one spot of normalcy." He firmly believed that the power of creativity would raise the spirit of his people. (p. 37).

Nearly the only location that encouraged art as a means to express feelings and document experience of daily life in the camps were the art schools. (see Table 4.4). Gesensway & Roseman (1987) describe Professor Obata as an inspirational figure, someone with high ideals and hopes predicated on the power of art to transform:

He organized those of his former Berkeley students who were interned with him into a highly skilled corps of art teachers and encouraged them to continue their own art work. He believed that everyone should record his or her unique experiences and then hold on to those creations as a record for future generations. (p. 163).



*Figure 5.5.* Chiura Obata teaching a children's art class. Tanforan Detention Center, California, August 1942.



### **Adult Education and Recreation**

The Departments of Adult Education and Recreation in the camps were much like the art schools in their intent, but their aim was primarily art making for the sake of diversion and therefore focused more on crafts than fine arts, craft making being more open to varying interests and abilities. The emphasis on diversion and crafts was not intended to record the experiences of camp life but rather to provide an escape from them. McGovern (1945) states in his report on education at Amache:

In the relocation center, recreational and avocational activities have been absolutely necessary. The entirely new way of life gave both men and women many hours in which time dragged heavily allowing opportunities for gossip, rumor, and discontent. For the first time in their lives many adults have found time to follow their interests. (p. 3).

The classes at the adult recreation centers were very popular. Internees at all camps would sign up for new classes in droves:

The eagerness of the Japanese to learn will never be forgotten by those who taught and observed them at Tule Lake. When a notice would appear on a bulletin board that a new class—in almost any subject—was to be formed and that registration would begin, for instance, at nine on Monday morning, a lineup would begin forming Sunday at midnight, and by day-break the quota would be filled. (Eaton, 1952, p. 136).

*Figure 5.4.* Flower making class at Poston.



*Figure 5.7.* In an adult crafts class, these students unravel used onion sacks and wrap the ravelings around glass bottles to make flower pots. At Amache, Colorado.



As only used as a form of diversion, however, many of the internees who took an interest in art at the time found that once they were allowed to leave the camps beginning in 1945 that they no longer wished to practice what they had learned. Some considered their art a reminder of time in their lives that that they would prefer to forget. Hirasuna (2005) mentions that the Issei, threw away many of the art objects they had made because “they seemed too trivial to ship” and that “the extreme difficulty of reestablishing their lives on the outside left no time to pursue any artistic endeavors. That chapter ended with the camps” (p. 29).

Art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps met students' needs and provided the residents with knowledge and techniques, as well as diversion and inspiration.

The researcher's family may have benefitted from the arts in the camps, though its direct influence, by taking art in public school or through classes in the adult education department at Heart Mountain is information that is now lost. However, pieces from that time, a small chest of drawers built from discarded fruit crates and a copy of Buddhist sutra done entirely in brush painted calligraphy by the researcher's great grandfather still remain. The arts and arts education touched the researcher's family as well perhaps brightening what was then a very bleak and dreary existence.

*Figure 5.8.* Researcher's father, grandparents and aunt at Heart Mountain.



## **Recommendations**

### **Implications for Further Research**

The existing study could be amplified with further, extensive research. For example, the researcher felt that a more thorough search for data could be made. Visiting the ten sites of former Japanese American Concentration Camps and local universities with connections to the history of the related areas would be valuable. Interviews with remaining former camp internees could also have proved insightful. Discussion with the few academics with in-depth knowledge of art in the Japanese American Concentration Camps would also expand the research on the same topic.

Additionally, the researcher also suggests that further study about specific groups, for instance, looking only at the public school art in the camps or perhaps narrowing in on children's art. To focus an investigation on a notable individual whose contributions to art education in the Japanese Concentration Camps might also be of interest to art teachers today. Further research could also address the long-term impact of camp art education. For instance, a study could investigate whether artists and art students in camp were successful in obtaining art-related jobs after resettlement.

Finally, this study did not take into consideration the experiences of those internees who were self taught and began to create art in camp on their own. For example, once cameras were allowed into the camps many began to take art photography without formal training.

### **Advice to Art Teachers**

The independent art schools and the art classes in the adult education programs were run and taught by the internees themselves. Their focus was primarily on distraction, providing inspiration and hoping to teach their students to look for beauty even in harsh environs. Perhaps they shared those goals themselves. Learning about art education in the Japanese American Concentration Camps taught the researcher to take to heart a basic tenet of good teaching practice: Know your students. To fully prepare to meet the needs of students one must first know who they are. What are their cultural backgrounds, family values, interests and passions? What are their learning expectations? What is their past and where do they think are they headed? As educators, we cannot be reminded enough to know who we are serving.

There are direct lessons that art teachers could use to help their students understand the Japanese American Concentration Camp experience. For example, consider teaching about the arts in the camps as a cross-disciplinary unit with a history core teacher. Indirectly, art projects employing recycled and reused materials can use examples of beautiful art made in the camps by people who had little or no materials at all.

Better still, teach lessons that ensure that the experience of the incarcerated Japanese Americans does not happen again. Design lessons around the art of different cultures and religious backgrounds; provide time for students to discuss their similarities and differences under the guise of art. Give students the opportunity to express themselves so that they may understand each other better.

Teach children about the camps – art, history, culture, empathy and compassion for others. Teach yourself the same lessons, know your students, be empathetic, and be compassionate.

### **Conclusion**

This historical study examined art education in the Japanese Concentration Camps. Though the researcher does not expect a similar recurrence of these events lessons can be learned as result of this investigation's findings. In times of crisis and stress, art can provide a release and escape to those in need. There are students in our midst that are experiencing such difficulties. Some students are vocal about their distress and others are under the radar. Art education can help to alleviate their stress, if only temporarily, by providing an outlet for self-expression. Elimination of art programs or reductions in their budgets only serves to sever this important work.

Unlike the public schools of the 1940s, present day schools emphasize inclusivity by knowing their students, relating to what is important to them and understanding their academic and social needs. Art education has a unique role to play in the lives of students, allowing them the opportunity to express themselves and to document the experiences in their daily lives so that they may share themselves with others. Through art students can describe their personal interests and family values. Art can introduce cultural backgrounds and explain and express religious beliefs. Art can help those students in trouble and in crisis to express their frustrations and their hopes. Therefore, beyond self-expression, art education has an opportunity to teach students about acceptance. A lesson our country sorely needed in 1942.

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## APPENDIX

Figure A. Japanese American Detention Facilities

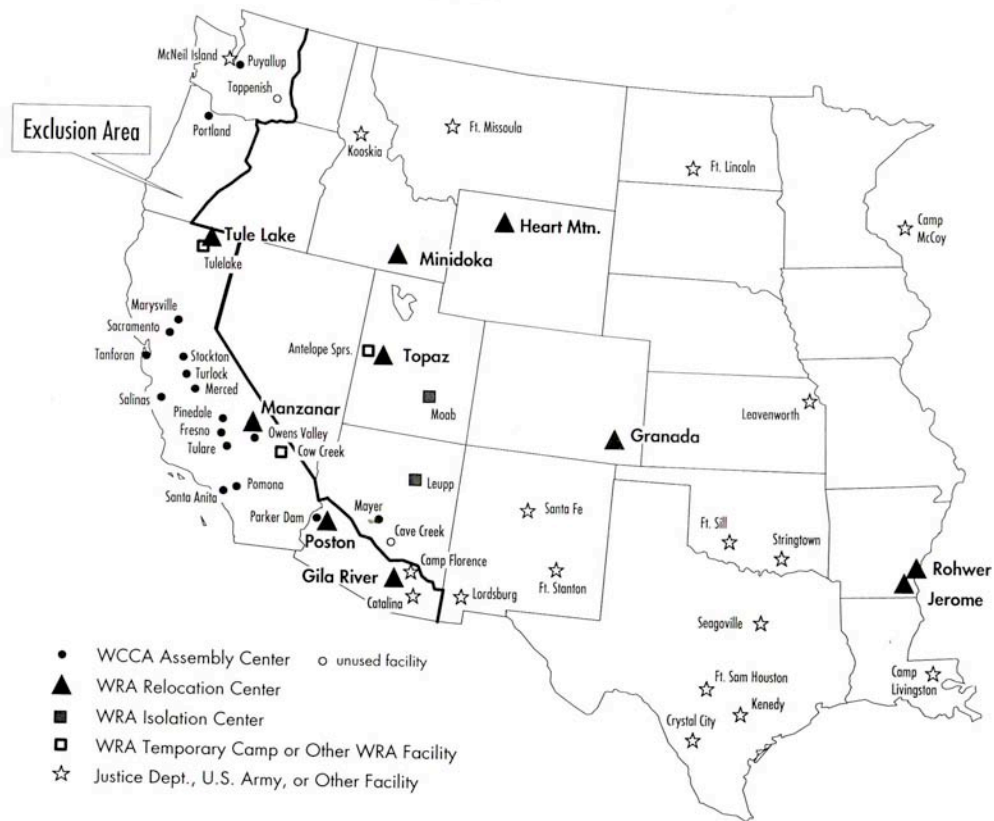


Figure A. Sites in the western U.S. associated with the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II. Adapted from by J. F. Burton, M. M. Farrell, F. B. Lord and R.W. Lord, 2002, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of Japanese American Relocation Sites*, p. 2.

Table B. *Data Collection –Text-based Documents*

Type of Data	Title	Author	Date	Source	Primary/Secondary Source	Camp	URL
Book	Born free and equal: The story of loyal Japanese Americans	Adams, A. & Benti, W. (ed).	1944/2001	Bishop, CA: Spotted Dog Press, Inc.	S/P	Manzanar	
Book	Japanese American Artists	Books LLC	2010	Memphis, TN: LLC Books	S/P	All	
Book	The inspiring story of Takahashi bird pins.	Carroll, J. & Takahashi, C.	2011	Paducah, KY: Collector Books.	S/P	Poston	
Book	Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress	Daniels, R., Taylor, S. & Kitano, H.H.L.	2001	Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press	S	All	
Book	<i>From our side of the fence: Growing up in America's concentration camps.</i>	Dempster, B.K. (ed)	2001	San Francisco, CA: Kearney Street Workshop	P	All	
Book	<i>Artifacts of loss: Crafting survival in Japanese American concentration camps .</i>	Dusellier, J.	2008	Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press	S	All	
Book	<i>Beauty behind barbed wire: The arts of the Japanese in our war relocation camps</i>	Eaton, A.	1952	New York, NY: Harper	S/P	All	
Book	Beyond words: Images from America's concentration camps.	Gesensway, D. & Roseman, M.	1987	Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.	S/P	All	
Book	Dorothea Lange and the censored images of Japanese American Internment	Gordon, L. & Okihiro, G. (eds)	2006	NewYork, NY: W.W. Norton & Company	S	All	
Book	Looking like the enemy: My story of imprisonment in Japanese-American internment camps	Gruenewald, M.M.	2010	Troutdale, OR: NewSage Press	P	Tule Lake	
Book	Blossoms in the desert: Topaz high school class of 1945.	Hamamoto, D.Y. (ed)	2003	San Francisco, CA: Topaz High School Class of 1945	P	Topaz	
Book	The view from within: Japanese American art from the internment camps 1942-1945.	Higa, K.	1994	Los Angeles, CA: Japanese American National Museum	S/P	All	
Book	Chiura Obata's Topaz moon: Art of the internment.	Hill, K.	2000	Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.	P	Topaz	
Book	The art of gaman: The arts and crafts from the Japanese American Internment camps 1942-1946.	Hirasuna, D.	2005	Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press	S	All	
Book	Only what we could carry: The Japanese American internment experience	Inada, L.F. (ed)	2000	Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.	S/P	All	
Book	Twice orphaned: Voices from the Children's Village of Manzanar	Irwin, C.	2008	Fullerton, CA: California State Univeristy at Fullerton	S/P	Manzanar	
Book	Exile within: The schooling of Japanese Americans 1942-1945	James, T.	1987	Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press	S	All	
Book	Henry Sugimoto: Painting an American experience	Kim, K.	2000	Los Angeles, CA: Japanese American National Museum	P	Jerome	
Book	Peaceful painter Hisako Hibi: Memoirs of an Issei women artist.	Lee, I.H.	2004	Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.	P	Topaz	
Book	Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American internment in Wyoming	Mackey, M.	1998	Powell, WY: Western Historical Publications	S	Heart Mountain	
Book	Japanese American internment during World War II: A history and reference guide	Ng, W.	2002	Westport, CT: Greenwood Press	S	All	

Table B. *Data Collection –Text-based Documents (continued)*





Type of Data	Title	Author	Date	Source	Primary/Secondary Source	Camp	URL
Book	Citizen 13660	Okubo, M.	1983	Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press	P	Topaz	
Book	Dear Miss Breed: True stories of the Japanese American incarceration during World War II and a librarian who made a difference.	Oppenheim, J.	2006	New York, NY: Scholastic Inc.	S	Poston	
Book	Stanley Hayami, Nisei son: His diary, letters & story from an American concentration camp to battlefield, 1942-1945.	Oppenheim, J.	2008	New York, NY: Brick Tower Press	P	Heart Mountain	
Book	Wherever I go, I will always be a loyal American: Schooling Seattle's Japanese Americans during World War II.	Pak, Y.K.	2002	New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer	S	NA	
Book	Schools behind barbed wire: The untold story of wartime internment and the children arrested as enemy aliens.	Riley, K.	2002	Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.	S	All	
Book	Through innocent eyes: Writings and art from the Japanese American Internment by Poston I schoolchildren.	Tajiri, V. (ed)	1990	Los Angeles, CA: Keiro Services Press	P	Poston	
Book	Jewel of the desert: Japanese American internment at Topaz.	Taylor, S.	1993	Berkeley, CA: University of California Press	S	Topaz	
Book	The children of Topaz: The story of a Japanese-American Internment Camp.	Tunnell, M.O. & Chilcoat, G. M.	1996	New York, NY: Holiday House.	S	Topaz	
Book	Desert exile: The uprooting of a Japanese-American family.	Uchida, Y.	1982	Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press	P	Topaz	
Book	Years of Infamy: The untold story of America's Concentration Camps	Weglyn, M.N.	1976	Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press	S	All	
Book	Children in the relocation camps.	Welch, L.	2000	Minneapolis, MN: Carolhoda Books	S	All	
Book	The Schooling of Japanese American children at relocation centers during World War II: Miss Mabel Jamison and her teaching of art at Rohwer, Arkansas.	Ziegler, J.F.	2005	Lewiston, NY: The Mellen Press	S/P	Rohwer	
Journal Article	<i>Life inside Arkansas's Japanese-American Relocation Centers</i>	Bearden, R	1989	<i>The Arkansas Historical Quarterly</i> , 48(2) , pp. 169-196	S	Jerome, Rohwer	
Journal Article	A historical relationship between art therapy and art education and the possibilities for future integration.	Drachnik, C.	1976	Art Education, 29(7), 16-19.	S	NA	
Journal Article	<i>Artful identifications: Crafting survival in Japanese American concentration camps</i>	Dusellier, J.	2005a	Doctoral dissertation, University of Maryland	S	All	
Journal Article	Gendering Resistance and Remaking Place: Art in Japanese American Concentration Camps	Dusellier, J.	2005b	<i>Peace &amp; Change</i> , 30 (2), 171-204	S	All	
Journal Article	Women on the Pacific Rim: Some Thoughts on Border Crossings.	Jensen, J.M.	1998	<i>Pacific Historical Review</i> , 67(1), 3-38.	S	NA	









Table B. *Data Collection –Text-based Documents (continued)*



Type of Data	Title	Author	Date	Source	Primary/Secondary Source	Camp	URL
Journal Article	Internment and Identity in Japanese American Art.	Kuramitsu, K.C.	1995	American Quarterly, 47(4), 619-658.	S	All	
Journal Article	The Sacralization of the American Deserts in the War Relocation Authority Camps for Japanese Americans.	Leblond, D.	1999	American Studies in Scandinavia, 31(22), 1-12.	S	All	
Journal Article	Documentary photography: Three photographers' standpoints on the Japanese -American internment.	Wenger, G.L.	2007	Art Education, 60:5, 33-38. Reston, VA: National Art Education Association	S	Manzanar	
Oral History	And justice for all: An oral history of the Japanese American Detention Camps	Tateishi, J.	1984	Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press	P	All	
Oral History & Photographs	Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project		n.d.		P	All	<a href="http://www.densho.org/">http://www.densho.org/</a>
Oral History & Photographs	The Japanese American Archival Collection	California State University Sacramento	n.d.	Sacramento, CA: California State University Sacramento. Special Collections and University Archives	P	All	<a href="http://digital.lib.csus.edu/jaac/">http://digital.lib.csus.edu/jaac/</a>
Oral History & Photographs	Japanese-American Internment Collections	University of the Pacific	n.d.	Stockton, CA: University of the Pacific library, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, Guy & Marguerite Cook Nisei Collection.	P	All	<a href="http://www.pacific.edu/Library/Find/Holt-Atherton-Special-Collections/Japanese-American-Internment-Collections.html">http://www.pacific.edu/Library/Find/Holt-Atherton-Special-Collections/Japanese-American-Internment-Collections.html</a>
Oral History & Photographs	Japanese American Relocation Digital Archives. (JARDA)	University of California, Berkeley	n.d.	Berkeley, CA: University of California. Calisphere	P	All	<a href="http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/">http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/</a>
Oral History & Photographs	Heart Mountain Digital Preservation Project.	Northwest College, Wyoming	n.d.	Powell, WY: Northwest College, John Taggart Hinckley Library, Ethel Ryan Collection.	P	Heart Mountain	<a href="http://www.nwc.cc.wy.us/library/special/hmdpp/">http://www.nwc.cc.wy.us/library/special/hmdpp/</a>
Report	Teacher narratives of the Tule Lake experience: The Tri-State art Program Septmenber 1942 to May 1945.	Phillips, D.	1945	Stockton, CA: University of the Pacific library, Holt-Atherton Department of Special Collections, Guy & Marguerite Cook Nisei Collection.	P	Tule Lake	
Report	Art takes a hand in education.	Slate, R.	1945	Rivers, AZ: Canal High School and the War Relocation Authority	P	Gila River	
Review	Captivating Memories: Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History. American Concentration Camps: Remembering the Japanese American Experience by Karen Ishizuka.	Yoo, D.	1996	American Quarterly, 48(4), 680-699.	S	All	
Web site	The Art of Living: Japanese American Creative Experience at Rohwer.	Butler Center for Arkansas Studies	n.d.			Rohwer	<a href="http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=31">http://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=31</a>
Web site	DU Amache research project	University of Denver, Department of Anthropology	n.d.			Amache	<a href="https://portfolio.du.edu/port?port=amache">https://portfolio.du.edu/port?port=amache</a>
Web site	Online Center for the Study of Japanese American Concentration Camp Art	Iowa State University	n.d.	Ames, IA: University Library	S/P	All	<a href="http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786">http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786</a>




Table C. Data Collection – Camp Photographs





	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
1		Children doing art work in kindergarten.	Heart Mountain Digital Preservation Project Ethel Ryan Collection Photo 82.01.59.P John Taggart Hinckley Library	Public	Heart Mountain
2		Original WRA caption: Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California. Art time in the nursery school at this relocation center. Photographer Francis Stewart September 7, 1942	Densho Digital Archive Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration (Ctrl.#: NWDNS-210-G-D155; NARA ARC#: 538346; WRA; Photographer Francis Stewart)	Public	Tule Lake
3		Original caption: Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. Class is being held in the Art School at this War Relocation Authority center for evacuees of Japanese ancestry. Instruction is given in oil and water-color, life-drawing and sketching, lettering, poster-making and fashion drawing. WRA; Photographer Dorothea Lange, June 30, 1942	Densho Digital Archive Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration (Ctrl.#: NWDNS-210-G-C897; NARA ARC#: 538179)	Art School	Manzanar
4		An adult art class under the direction of Tokio Ueyama, working in pencil sketch charcoals and oils. Adult art classes are extremely popular at the Amache Center. Photographer_ Parker, Tom Amache, Colorado.	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult ed	Amache



	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
5		High school class in commercial arts, using a student as a model for sketching fashion figures. Art classes in the Junior High School and adult sections carry a crowded quota of students. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Amache, Colorado. 12/10/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Public	Amache
6		An exhibit prepared by the Elementary School for the Arts and Crafts Festival which was sponsored by the Education Division and the Pioneer, center newspaper. -- Photographer: Coffey, Pat -- Amache, Colorado. 3/6/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Public	Amache
7		A junior high class in art. Aside from trinkets and the ordinary high school [illegible] the boys make many useful objects that contribute to the comfort of their barracks homes. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Amache, Colorado. 12/10/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Public	Amache

	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
8		In a night school art class at the Heart Mountain Relocation Center, students gather around the instructor for criticism. Classes in arts and crafts are popular at this relocation center, where persons of Japanese parentage, evacuated from west coast areas now reside. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Heart Mountain, Wyoming. 1/11/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult ed	Heart Mountain
9		Art Class at Poston Relocation Center.	From the Japanese American Archival Collection. MSS-94/01. California State University, Sacramento. Library. Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives.	Art School	Poston
10		Charcoal sketches drawn by art students in the Senior High School art class for the Arts and Crafts Festival. The center newspaper, the Pioneer, and the Education Division sponsored the center festival. -- Photographer: Coffey, Pat -- Amache, Colorado. 3/6/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Public	Amache





	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
11		Three students of an adult crafts class doing steamed crayon work in making table cloths and wall hangings. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Amache, Colorado. 12/10/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult Ed	Amache
12		A pattern making class in the adult education division of the Jerome Center schools. Housewives and mothers swelled the rolls of all adult classes that teach subjects which will contribute to the comfort of center living, for themselves and their families. These include pattern making, sewing, arts and crafts, interior decoration, etc. The women shown are learning to design their own clothing, and prepare their own patterns. Instructors are chiefly qualified center residents (former west coast persons of Japanese ancestry). -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Denson, Arkansas. 3/12/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult Ed	Jerome

	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
13		In an adult crafts class, these students unravel used onion sacks and wrap the ravelings around glass bottles to make flower pots. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- Amache, Colorado. 12/10/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult Ed	Amache
14		This demonstration of artificial flower making is being performed by three centerites at the Arts and Crafts Festival which was sponsored by the Education Division and the Pioneer, the center newspaper. -- Photographer: Coffey, Pat -- Amache, Colorado. 3/6/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult Ed	Amache
15		In the wood carving class, at the Rohwer Center, this young former Californian, begins work on a new piece of Arkansas birch. Classes teaching arts and crafts, which enable center residents (former west coast persons of Japanese ancestry), to provide art objects for their barracks, are very popular. -- Photographer: Parker, Tom -- McGehee, Arkansas. 3/7/43	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Adult Ed	Rohwer

	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
16		Art Club Hunt High School Memoirs, 1944 (Yearbook) Minidoka	UC Irvine, Special Collections	Public	Minidoka
17		Nursery school children play with a scale model of their barracks at the Tule Lake Relocation Center, Newell, California, on September 11, 1942.	Densho Digital Archive Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration	Public	Tule Lake
18		Poston Camp I Grade 4-6 Art work <i>School Safety Book</i>	<a href="http://postoninpictures.blogspot.com/search/label/Camp%20I%20Grades%204-6">http://postoninpictures.blogspot.com/search/label/Camp%20I%20Grades%204-6</a>	Public	Poston
19		Young and old evacuees participated in art classes under Chiura Obata, noted Japanese artist. Obata teaching a children's art class, Tanforan Detention Center, California, August 1942.		Art School	Tanforan/Topaz

	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
20		Original caption: Manzanar Relocation Center, Manzanar, California. In the Art School at this War Relocation Authority center for evacuees of Japanese ancestry. WRA; Photographer Dorothea Lange, June 30, 1942	Densho Digital Archive Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration (Ctrl.#: NWDNS-210-G-C898; NARA ARC#: 538180;	Art School	Manzanar
21		An art school has been established at this Assembly Center with a well trained, experienced evacuee staff under the leadership of Prof. Chiura Obata, who before evacuation was associate professor of art at the University of California. This photograph shows part of the morning class learning free hand brush strokes. -- Photographer: Lange, Dorothea -- San Bruno, California. 6/16/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Art School	Tanforan/Topaz



	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
22		An art school has been established in this Assembly Center with large enrollment and a well trained, experienced Japanese staff under the leadership of Prof. Chiura Obata of the University of California. This photograph shows student in Still Life Class painting a free water color. -- Photographer: Lange, Dorothea -- San Bruno, California. 6/16/42	War Relocation Authority Photographs of Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement JARDA Calisphere Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley	Art School	Tanforan/Topaz
23		1940s photo Japanese Internment Tanforan CA. An evacuee artists [sic] sketches from model.	Unknown. eBay seller	Art School	Tanforan
24		Henry Sugimoto Art Class at Jerome Relocation Center. Page from the 1944 Denson High School Yearbook at the Jerome Relocation Center highlighting Henry Sugimoto and the art department.	Land of (Un)Equal Opportunity: Documenting the Civil Rights Struggle in Arkansas. Special Collection. University of Arkansas Libraries	Public	Jerome
25		Flower making class	Japanese American Archival Collection. MSS-94/01. California State University, Sacramento. Library. Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives.	Adult Ed	Poston



	Photograph	Description	Source	Type of School	Camp
26		Charcoal sketch of Poston Relocation Center barracks and water tower. jc15a-06 Unknown 1943/1944. 9 x 12 in. Made in Viola Kerber's art class at Poston II High School.	Japanese American Archival Collection. MSS-94/01. California State University, Sacramento. Library. Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives.	Public	Poston
27		Watercolor painting depicting students walking down school corridor at Poston Relocation Center. Harry Yoshizumi made this watercolor in art class at Poston II. Viola Kerber, teacher circa 1943/44, High School, Harry Yoshizumi (1922-) was born in Watsonville, California and incarcerated in Poston, where he studied art. After the war he studied at the Art Students League, the California School of Fine Arts, and the California College of Arts and Crafts. In 1965 Yoshizumi gave up painting and worked at IBM for over twenty- five years.	Japanese American Archival Collection. MSS-94/01. California State University, Sacramento. Library. Dept. of Special Collections and University Archives.	Public	Poston

Table D. *Pertinent Excerpted Documents vs. Types of Art Taught*

<b>PERTINENT EXCERPTED DOCUMENTS</b>	<b>TYPES OF ART TAUGHT</b>	<b>1. Art Taught for Basic Knowledge</b>	<b>2. Art Taught for Diversion</b>	<b>3. Art Taught as Expression or Documentation</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Camp Newsletter Notes.docx		2			2
Charles Mikami-Beyond Words.docx			2		2
Chiura Obata-Beyond Words.docx				1	1
Dusselier-Dissertation (red).pdf		5	5		10
Dusselier-Gendering Resistance.pdf		2	7	2	11
Eaton-Beauty Behind Barbed Wire.docx		1	4		5
Harry Yoshizumi-Beyond Words.docx			1		1
Hibi-History an Development of the Topaz Art School.docx		1			1
Hibi-Peaceful Painter.docx		1	2		3
Hibi-Topaz Art School Speech.docx		4	2		6
Hibi-Topaz Exhibition Program.docx		2	2		4
Higa-View from Within.docx		6	2		8
Kango Takamura-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Kuramitsu-Internment and Identity.rtf		5	3		8
Lawrence Sasano-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Masao Yabuki 2-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Masao Yakubi 1-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
McGovern Papers- Education at Amache.docx		2	1		3
McGovern Papers-Objectives.docx		1			1
Mine Okubo-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Obata-Topaz Moon.docx		4	4		8
Phillips-The Tri-State High Art Program.docx		3	1		4
Slate-Art Takes a Hand in Education.docx		15	5		20
Sugimoto-Painting an American Experience.docx		1			1
Ziegler-Mabel Jamison.docx		4		1	5
<b>Totals</b>		<b>64</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>109</b>

Table E. *Pertinent Excerpted Documents vs. Type of Art Teacher*

PERTINENT EXCERPTED DOCUMENTS	TYPE OF TEACHER	4. Public School - Art Teacher	5. Art School - Instructor	6. Adult Ed./Rec. Center - Art Teacher	Totals
Camp Newsletter Notes.docx			1		1
Charles Mikami-Beyond Words.docx				1	1
Chiura Obata-Beyond Words.docx			1		1
Dusselier-Dissertation (red).pdf		2	1	4	7
Dusselier-Gendering Resistance.pdf				3	3
Eaton-Beauty Behind Barbed Wire.docx				3	3
Harry Yoshizumi-Beyond Words.docx				1	1
Hibi-History an Development of the Topaz Art School.docx					0
Hibi-Peaceful Painter.docx			1		1
Hibi-Topaz Art School Speech.docx			1		1
Hibi-Topaz Exhibition Program.docx					0
Higa-View from Within.docx			2	1	3
Kango Takamura-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Kuramitsu-Internment and Identity.rtf			1		1
Lawrence Sasano-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
Masao Yabuki 2-Beyond Words.docx			1		1
Masao Yakubi 1-Beyond Words.docx		1			1
McGovern Papers- Education at Amache.docx					0
McGovern Papers-Objectives.docx		1			1
Mine Okubo-Beyond Words.docx			1		1
Obata-Topaz Moon.docx			1		1
Phillips-The Tri-State High Art Program.docx		1			1
Slate-Art Takes a Hand in Education.docx		1			1
Sugimoto-Painting an American Experience.docx		1			1
Ziegler-Mabel Jamison.docx		1			1
Totals		10	11	13	34