

COMMUNITY IDENTITY IN “*THE GRANADA PIONEER*”

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by

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ABSTRACT

My research examines how the writers of the *Granada Pioneer*, a newspaper published in a Japanese American internment camp during World War II, used the editorial column of that publication to shape the community identity of that camp. The newspaper was published by Japanese American internees living in that camp, but their readership was composed of Japanese American internees and also non-interned non-Japanese Americans. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I found that the internee writers were using the editorial column to shape a community *habitus* within the internment camp while at the same time attempting to reshape the imagined community of “America” within the minds of all their readers. In addition, I found that though the internee writers were subject to administrative censorship, they were able to circumvent that censorship by reprinting editorial columns from mainstream newspapers and thus express sentiments that they themselves were not permitted to publish.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: Introduction	1
Key Terms and Concepts.....	3
Chapter Two: Background.....	6
Historical Background.....	6
Amache.....	25
Chapter Three: Theory.....	36
Identity and Performance.....	36
Language.....	44
Analysis.....	52
Chapter Four: Methods	62
Materials	62
Organizations	63
Preliminary Research	64
Secondary Research.....	65
Chapter Five: Results.....	79
The Editorial Column.....	79
The <i>Granada Pioneer</i>	101
Chapter Six: Analysis	107
Amache	107
America	112
Two Readerships	117
Chapter Seven: Discussion	118
Technological Stumbling Blocks	118
Significant Results	119
Self-Censorship	120
Researcher	121
References to Previous Research	123
Avenues for Further Research	124
Chapter Eight: Conclusion.....	126
References.....	130
Primary Sources.....	130
Secondary Sources.....	131
Appendices	140

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1	Internees (<i>Pioneer</i> Staff?) playing cards.....	27
2.2	<i>Pioneer</i> Staff collating an issue of the <i>Pioneer</i>	30
3.1	Martin's Stratified Systems of Realization.....	46
3.2	Eggins and Martin's Metafunctions and Registers of Language	47
3.3	Fairclough's Three Stages of Discourse	58
5.1	Emotional Intensity of the <i>Pioneer</i> 's Editorials.....	100

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

February 19, 2015 marked the 73rd anniversary of the signing of Executive Order 9066, the document that led directly to the internment of over 120,000 people, most of them American citizens, all of them Japanese or of Japanese ancestry. The crime they shared was being the object of xenophobic paranoia. They were removed from their homes and sent to internment camps scattered throughout the United States; one of these, Amache, was in Colorado. During their time in camp some Amacheans wrote for the official camp newspaper, which was distributed both within the camp and to non-internees around the state. My research looks at how those writers manipulated and curated the contents of the editorial column to shape the camp's community identity, both for the benefit of the internee readers and the non-internee readers, all whilst evading the censorial eye of the administrators that oversaw the publication.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, high-ranking officials in the American government decided that the Japanese American population on the West Coast posed a security risk to Federal installations there. In early 1942, with the authority of Executive Order 9066 behind them, the newly formed War Relocation Authority (WRA), a United States government agency systematically removed all individuals of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast and interned them in camps built for that purpose. One of these camps was established outside of the small town of Granada, Colorado, and

though it took its official name from that town, it was colloquially known as Amache. Amache, like all of the other camps, maintained a camp newspaper; Amache's was the *Granada Pioneer*. Though the *Pioneer* was ostensibly established to disseminate local news to the internees, in reality it was closely supervised by the camp administration.

My work draws primarily from anthropological and sociological theory, including the work of Benedict Anderson, Arjun Appadurai, Pierre Bourdieu and Rogers Brubaker. Each of these theorists has a slightly different concept of how communities and community identities form, and each provided a different model of the ways in which community identity might have been fostered. Because there are a number of different ways in which community identity might manifest, and a number of different groups among whom it might have been fostered, I wanted to explore a number of theories of group identity. My methodology was drawn primarily from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a social-action-oriented approach which understands discourse and social relations as being both mutually dependent and supportive. I felt it was important to foreground the internees' actions and prioritize their agency, despite the censorship of the WRA. Engaged anthropology asks researchers to be conscious of our positionality with regard to the subject of our research, especially when we are not members of the community.

My method involved first an analysis of approximately one year's issues of the *Pioneer*, which allowed me to build a context within which to analyze and understand the editorials, then a detailed semantic and narrative analysis of all of the editorials published

in the *Pioneer*. In my analysis of the editorials I was searching for specific content, as well as the emotional intensity and origin of each editorial. In the cases of editorials that had been reprinted in the *Pioneer* from mainstream news-sources, I attempted to compare the original and the version that appeared in the *Pioneer* and compared the emotional intensity of the Amache-written editorials to those that were written by non-internees and reprinted in the *Pioneer*. I also looked for patterns within the editorials' content: which topics were mentioned in proximity to each other, what topics were avoided and by whom, how the editorials referred to internment, and the internees, and the general state of America, and so on.

Though there is a large body of research on the topic of Japanese American internment, few authors have investigated the possibility of using the camp newspapers for anything beyond date-checking. The authors who have used the newspapers have generally looked at all the newspapers from all the camps, and though their research has been both fascinating and invaluable to mine, they perforce fail to capture the details and nuance that can be achieved by focusing on a single publication. In addition, Amache has been one of the camps of lesser interest to researchers. My research has the potential not only to give a detailed look at how a group of writers in a very difficult situation tried to manipulate their environment, but also to contribute to the library of work about Amache.

Key Terms and Concepts

The terms “*Issei*” and “*Nisei*” also appear frequently in the text. These are Japanese language terms denoting, respectively, the first and second generation of

Japanese immigrants, and were used in the *Pioneer* as well as in academic texts and modern conversation. “*Kibei*” and “Sansei” appear more infrequently; these are the second generation who were sent back to Japan for their education, and the third generation of immigrants. A number of euphemisms are used throughout this text, including “evacuation,” which refers to the forcible removal of Japanese and Japanese Americans from their homes on the West Coast, “internment,” which refers to their detention in the camps, and “relocation,” which refers to the process of leaving the camps for a new home away from the West Coast. These individuals are referred to in various texts as “internees,” “detainees,” “evacuees,” “colonists” and a host of other euphemisms; likewise the internment camps are “evacuation camps,” “colonies,” and so on. Use of these terms and the history and erasure they represent continue to be contentious subjects in the Japanese American community. I have done my best to be sensitive to their concerns, especially as I am not a member of the community. The Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL) has published a handbook of terminology that they would prefer be used in place of those euphemisms, which include “incarceration” for “internment” and “concentration camp” or “illegal detention center” for “relocation camp” (National JACL Power of Words II Committee 2012). Unfortunately, use of these alternatives proved too confusing in the academic context, where mutual intelligibility is very important. I have therefore chosen to keep the historical euphemisms but to qualify their use with quotation marks throughout. Though this may make the page seem rather cluttered, I feel that this is a compromise between commonly understood terminology and following the wishes of the community. Similarly, though some academic sources use the hyphenated form “Japanese-American,” I have been informed by Dr. Bonnie Clark, who

has several years of experience with the Denver Japanese American community, that the unhyphenated form “Japanese American” is preferred, so with the exception of direct citations that is the form I have used. Academic sources are also split as to whether to refer to the camp as “Amache” or “Granada,” but as the Denver community uses “Amache,” I have deferred to their wishes.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

A great deal of paper, ink and time have been expended in exploring, explaining, and decrying the historical causes of Japanese American internment. An equal, if not greater, amount of those materials has been invested in detailing, describing, and deploring the experience of internment. This chapter is, necessarily, a much abbreviated survey of Japanese American history leading up to internment, followed by a summation of internment itself, and concluding with a summary of life at Amache.

Historical Background

Japanese Immigration in the 19th Century

Though Japanese immigrants had been landing on American shores for decades, until the early 1860s these were mostly individual cases. In 1854, however, Commodore Matthew Perry brokered the Treaty of Kanagawa and the Japanese government realized that they would have to send some of their students abroad to more actively learn about the West. Emigration was restricted, however, and applicants were carefully vetted. Most emigrants did so with the understanding that they would be returning to Japan. A student exchange program was negotiated, but between 1865 and 1885, only 446 Japanese students came to study at American universities (Hosokawa 2002:30).

Late 19th and Early 20th century

When in the late 1860s Japanese immigrants began to land on the West Coast in larger numbers, however, they were not warmly received. In the 1840s and 1850s,

Chinese immigrants had flocked to the American West, which had been desperate need of menial labor to continue the labor-intensive process of expansion. Many new immigrants found work on the railroad, often for cheaper wages than white Americans would accept. However, once cities were more established and jobs were in shorter supply, the tide of public opinion turned against “Oriental” labor, a category within which Japanese immigrants were quickly included. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act cut off all further immigration from China, and the resultant labor shortage further encouraged Japanese immigration despite their hostile welcome. This worried the Japanese government, who feared that

“the continuation of the mass migration of lower class Japanese in the future will undoubtedly create a grave situation in the relationship between Japanese and Americans in [the United States] which, sooner or later, will adversely affect the honor and reputation not only of the Japanese in [the United States] but of those in Japan.” (Hosokawa 2002:46)

A number of émigrés went no further than the Kingdom of Hawaii, which accrued a sizable Japanese population. However, in 1898, the United States annexed the Republic of Hawaii¹, which allowed the approximately 60,000 contract-labor Japanese living there to travel to the mainland United States without a foreign passport. This they did in droves. Between 1899 and 1900 the number of Japanese entering the West coast more than quintupled, jumping from 2,844 to 12,635 (Hosokawa 2002:81). This influx alarmed the white population, and prominent newspapers printed such headlines as “Japanese Invasion: the Problem of the Hour”² and “Jap Influx is Now Shut Off: Government

1 The Kingdom of Hawaii was overthrown and the Republic established in 1893.

2 “Japanese Invasion: the Problem of the Hour,” The San Francisco Chronicle, February 23, 1905: 1.

Closes Vancouver to Little Brown Men”³. To try to let the tumult die down, the Japanese government limited the number of passports issued to emigrating laborers in the next year, and in 1908 negotiated a “Gentleman's Agreement” with the American government whereby Japan would no longer issue visas to emigrating laborers.

These first-generation immigrants (*Issei*) were ineligible for naturalization under the 1790 Immigration Act, which barred non-white immigrants from becoming citizens (the Act was amended in 1870 to include people of African descent and in 1924 to include American Indian (Ng 2002:9). Their children, however, were natural-born American citizens (*Nisei*); any of these born before 1916 could also hold Japanese citizenship, which was determined by the child's father's parentage. In 1924, Japan changed its citizenship laws, making it much more difficult for foreign-born children to obtain Japanese citizenship, and many parents chose not to seek Japanese citizenship for their children. By 1940, there were 285,115 Japanese and Japanese Americans in the United States, of which more than half (157,905) lived in Hawaii and about one third (93,717) lived in California (Ng 2002:4). Only about 20 percent of *Nisei* bore dual citizenship (6).

Nevertheless, discrimination against *Issei* and their children was strong, and the next thirty years witnessed a series of laws that abridged the rights of “aliens ineligible for citizenship.” The first of these was the California Alien Land Law of 1913, which

3 “Jap Influx Now Shut Off: Government Closes Vancouver to Little Brown Men,” Los Angeles Times, September 26, 1907: 12.

“prevent[ed] aliens who are ineligible to citizenship from owning land in California.” A number of other states, including Arizona, Washington, Louisiana, New Mexico, Montana, Kansas, Oregon, and Idaho followed suit (Ng 2002:9). These state laws were followed by the 1922 Supreme Court case *Takao Ozawa v. U.S.* which restricted American citizenship to “free white persons and aliens of African ancestry,” thus barring *Issei* from becoming naturalized citizens. The Cable Act, under which a woman who marrying an alien ineligible for naturalization forfeited her American citizenship, was passed in the same year: a strong deterrent to American women not already deterred by anti-miscegenation laws. The Immigration Act was passed in 1924, curbing immigration of “all aliens ineligible for citizenship” and putting an end to further immigration from Japan.

Pre-World War II

In Anticipation of War

When war broke out in Europe in 1939, the American government grew more intense in its supervision of “suspicious enemy aliens.” In June of 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, also known as the Smith Act, which required the registration of all adult non-citizens. In early 1941, the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), FBI, and Army combined their lists of “suspect” aliens, resulting in the “ABC list”; individuals who were “immediately dangerous” were classed as grade A (mostly aliens leading cultural organizations), “potentially dangerous” as grade B (less suspicious aliens), and “possible [Japanese/German/Italian] sympathizer” as C (members of an “enemy” ethnic

group or who had donated money to an enemy alien group or organization; this group mostly consisted of Japanese language teachers and Buddhist priests [Ng 2002:14]). In March of 1941, Gongoro Nakamura, president of the Central California Japanese Association, wrote to the Department of Justice asking if *Issei* would be sent to concentration camps in the event of war with Japan. The special assistant to the Attorney General wrote back to say that in the event of war law-abiding Japanese citizens would be treated as residents and not enemy aliens, and that arbitrary confinement would be illegal under the Fourteenth Amendment. This position was re-confirmed by the Attorney General himself in October. The question of the treatment and/or confinement of *Nisei* was never brought up, as the *Nisei* assumed that as American citizens their rights were never in doubt. Despite these reassurances, in October 1941 the Army announced that a “concentration camp” for the “safeguarding of such aliens as the war department may deem it necessary to hold” had been completed at Camp Upton, New York (Robinson 2009:48). The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which had been transferred to the control of the Department of Justice in 1940 as part of the increased security procedures, had already built “detention centers” at Fort Lincoln, North Dakota, and Fort Stanton, New Mexico. In November, the Attorney General confirmed that the Department of Justice was holding over two thousand German and Italian nationals and was tripling the number of beds in American concentration camps. He also acknowledged that the government had plans to intern “dangerous” Japanese citizens, and that camps to hold an estimated 150,000 people had already been built⁴.

4 It is unclear whether the Justice Department or the Los Angeles Reporter covering the story made the mistake of conflating the Japanese-born *Issei* and the American-born *Nisei*, though both populations

Reports of Japanese American Loyalty

There were, however, a number of reports that were in support of Japanese Americans. In March 1941, Kenneth Ringle, an intelligence officer with ONI, led a raid on the Japanese consulate in Los Angeles and uncovered a number of Japanese spy networks. He later reported that based on the information he found and his close familiarity with Japanese espionage in general, the Japanese American community was loyal to the United States and posed no threat to national security. Indeed, he noted that Japanese Americans were distrusted by Japanese nationals, who regarded them as “cultural traitors” (Robinson 2009:55). In the fall of 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt commissioned reporter John Franklin Carter to prepare a study of the “Japanese situation” on the West Coast and Hawaii. Carter dispatched Curtis B. Munson, who interviewed a large number of Japanese Americans living on the West Coast and Hawaii and received reports on their activities from the ONI and FBI. In mid-October, Munson reported back that there was no “Japanese Problem,” and that “the almost unanimous verdict is that in the case of war [the Japanese Americans] will be quiet, very quiet.” (Robinson 2001:66). Munson's final report, submitted to Carter November 7, reported much the same thing, with the amplification that:

The *Issei* or first generation is considerably weakened in their loyalty to Japan by the fact that they have chosen to make this their home and have brought up children here. [...] They are quite fearful of being put in a concentration camp. Many would take out American citizenship if allowed to do so. The weakest from the Japanese standpoint are the *Nisei*. They are universally estimated from 90 to 98 percent loyal the the United States if the Japanese educated element of the *Kibei* is excluded. They are pathetically eager to show this loyalty [Robinson 2001:67]

together still fell short of 150,000 by a fair margin (Robinson 2009:49).

Unfortunately, the report was summarized by Carter before being passed to Roosevelt. The summary minimized Munson's account of the American nationalism of Japanese Americans, and entirely elided his assertion that any sabotage would be carried out by paid Japanese agents rather than by Japanese Americans (Robinson 2001:66-72).

World War II

Pearl Harbor

At 7:55 am local time on December 7, 1941, several hundred aircraft belonging to the Japanese Navy attacked the U.S. Pacific fleet, then moored at the naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. The attack was meant to debilitate American naval forces and leave the way clear for the Japanese Navy to control the Pacific and take possession of American, British and Dutch territories in Southeast Asia. Though the US Navy was temporarily crippled, the United States nevertheless declared war on Japan on December 8, and on Germany and Italy on December 11.

The Aftermath of Pearl Harbor

News of the attack quickly reached Washington DC. The FBI arrested anyone on the "ABC list." Japanese language schools were closed. *Nisei* soldiers were discharged from their units, and the induction of *Nisei* into the armed services stopped (Moore2003:4). The Department of the Treasury froze all assets of Japanese nationals and suspended their licenses to sell produce under suspicion that they might poison their

wares. Though the Treasury reversed their decision fairly quickly, many *Issei* and *Nisei* incurred heavy losses and many of their contacts refused to resume business with them.

On December 22, just two weeks after the attack, Munson communicated with Roosevelt to the effect that Pearl Harbor was the “proof in the pudding” that confirmed his previous reports: the Japanese American community was loyal and his original conclusions were “still good *after the attack*” (emphasis original; Robinson 2001:78). Nevertheless, by the end of the year, the Department of Justice had issued a detailed list of “contraband” items which the FBI used to enter households without warrants and confiscate guns, cameras, radios, dynamite, and other items. Anxious to allay suspicion, many households destroyed or buried Japanese clothes, books, and other objects of cultural patrimony.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, many *Nisei* were worried that their fellow Americans would believe the Japanese American community was complicit in the attack. The national President of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), Saburo Kido, hastened to send a telegram to President Roosevelt pledging the members' fullest cooperation, saying “we are ready and prepared to expend every effort to repel this invasion together with our fellow Americans” (Hosokawa 2002:225). The message was reported on newscasts nationwide and the JACL soon received assurances of understanding and support from a number of prominent and political sources, including the director of the Selective Service System and the governors of California, Wyoming,

Colorado, Utah, Montana and Oregon. All but the governor of Colorado, Ralph Carr, were silent or openly backed "evacuation" when the matter was proposed some time later. Anti-Japanese feeling was mounting, however, and a flood of letters, petitions, and editorials were sent, circulated, and printed advocating the removal, ejection, or "internment" of Japanese citizens and Japanese Americans. On January 24, the Lieutenant General said that the absence, thus far, of any Japanese sabotage was proof that a campaign of sabotage was planned (Robinson 2001:87). In very early February, the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF, later made part of the Office of War Information) released a survey that said that a majority of West Coast inhabitants trusted that the government had control of the Japanese American community well in hand, but that a significant minority, between 23 percent and 43 percent, believed that further action was necessary to contain them. At the same time, a meeting of 150 California sheriffs and law enforcement officers demanded that Japanese Americans be removed from California and warned of large-scale violence against them if they stayed. A series of Californian officials came forward, variously claiming that Japanese Americans were communicating with Japanese ships, that they were planning acts of sabotage, or that they were planning a second Pearl Harbor.

"Evacuation"

Executive Order 9066

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the Secretary of War to establish military areas from which "any

or all persons” could be excluded. The zone thus defined encompassed all of the state of California and portions of Washington, Oregon and Arizona (see Appendix A). Though the language of the Order was non-specific, its execution was not: the vast majority of people singled out for such exclusion were Japanese or of Japanese ancestry. In the implementation of Executive Order 9066, all Japanese Americans living in the Exclusion Zone were removed from their homes and transferred to to “assembly centers,” most of which were former horse racing tracks or fairgrounds located fairly close to their homes. From the assembly centers, internees were sent to “relocation camps:” the ten "internment" camps where most of them stayed until after the end of the war. These were Gila River and Poston in Arizona, Rohwer and Jerome in Arkansas, Heart Mountain in Wyoming, Minidoka in Idaho, Topaz in Utah, Tule Lake and Manzanar in California, and Granada (also known as “Amache”) in Colorado (see Appendix A). In all, more than than 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry were removed to those ten camps.

"Internment"

Life in Camp

Though many Japanese Americans spent several months in the assembly centers before being sent to the camps, political opposition and a lack of planning delayed the start of construction on the camps. As a result, the first waves of internees arrived at the camps to find them still unfinished. New arrivals were made to assist in the construction of their new accommodations, which were hastily built using cheap materials that were often wildly inadequate to local weather conditions. At Amache, wood and tar paper

roofs and badly fitting Celotex or gypsum board walls provided little resistance to drastically low temperatures, winter winds or summer dust storms. The apartments, which measured between 320 feet square and 480 feet square, were each allotted a single coal-burning stove and a bare lightbulb, neither of which was equal to their intended tasks. The apartments did not have running water and internees were banned from cooking in their homes, though archaeological evidence suggests that illicit cooking and saké brewing took place despite the ban (Skiles 2008, Slaughter 2006). The camps were built along military lines; there were six apartments in a barrack, and twelve barracks in a block, which were arranged in a grid along numbered and alphabetized streets. Each block also held a mess hall, a laundry room/restroom building, and a recreation hall. The recreation halls were intended as a relief from the cramped apartments, but many of them were converted for other uses, including a Red Cross station, churches, offices, youth organizations and the silk screen shop.

None of the internees were required to work, as their basic needs were provided for by the WRA. However, if anything beyond the very barest of necessities was wanted or required, the internees had to use their savings, often badly depleted by the rigors of evacuation, or find work. Some chose not to work, as a form of protest. Those who did received little recompense for their work; skilled internee workers received \$19 per month, unskilled received \$12. For comparison, Caucasians working in camp received between \$134 and \$125 per month.

Camp life also forced drastic changes in family dynamics. In a traditional Japanese household, as many had maintained to some degree before the war, the male head of household controls the family finances. In camp, however, all needs were provided for, and that authority was no longer his. The women of the family, who had been responsible for the running of the household, likewise found that their work had been taken by the WRA. Children spent most of their time with their age-mates, rather than their families, and their presence was especially missed at mealtimes, which had previously been a major family event. Older generations particularly resented no longer seeing their grandchildren, seeing their absence at family meals as a sign of the deterioration of family control and the family unit.

Though there was a wide range of reactions to internment within the community, one of the prevailing feelings was “shikata ga nai”⁵: “it can't be helped” (Ng 2002: 185). Many internees preferred not to discuss or dwell on their situation, powerless as they felt themselves to change it. Others, younger Nisei especially, were very frustrated by this attitude, expressed their feelings by, variously, vociferously voicing their loyalty to the United States, vehemently denying any link to America, and many other reactions in many directions. More recently, former internees have become more vocal about the indignities of internment and the bitterness they felt or continue to feel over their treatment by the American government and the American people.

5 This phrase is also romanized as “shikatanagai” (Murray 1998:196)

The Military Intelligence Service Language School

Though *Nisei* in the Armed Forces were discharged in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor, the military realized quickly that it had an urgent need for translators and interrogators on the Pacific Front. A small first class was quickly selected and drafted into the Military Intelligence Service Language School (simply referred to as “the Language School” or “Camp Savage” in the *Pioneer*) in May 1942, at Fort Snelling, outside Minneapolis, MN. The school was later relocated to nearby Camp Savage; the site was chosen in part because the state counted an incredibly low number of Japanese Americans: just fifty-one persons of Japanese Ancestry were enumerated in the 1940 census (McNaughton 2006: 94). Later in 1942 and early 1943, volunteers began to be accepted into the program, though they had to undergo a rigorous testing and interview process. As the ban on *Nisei* in the military was not lifted until February 1943, for some time enrollment in the Language School was one of the few ways *Nisei* could actively participate in the war effort. Most of the Amacheans enlisted in the program were sent to Camp Savage. Though the *Pioneer* is unfailingly positive about the Language School and the Amacheans there, volunteerism was not always well received within the the Japanese American community; some volunteers were disowned by their families, or threatened, or beaten, and rumors that the War Department was using Japanese-speaking *Nisei* as spies inside the camps abounded (106). Between November 1941 and August 1944, about 1,300 *Nisei* enlisted men and 200 white officers graduated from Camp Savage, with more than 550 still in training and 630 expected in the next set of classes; I was unable to learn how many hailed from Amache. Though *Nisei* women were also interested in serving, the

administration at Camp Savage was reluctant to accept them, and the first *Nisei* women did not begin training there until May 1945 (144).

The Loyalty Questionnaire

From the beginning, the WRA intended that as many Japanese Americans as possible leave the "internment" camps. Officials were concerned that long-term incarceration would make the Japanese Americans dependent on federal aid, and moreover they were in need of additional labor in more populated areas and more bodies on the front. To these ends, the War Department drew up an Application for Leave Clearance, meant to determine if an individual would be a risk to American security if released. The questionnaire covered such topics as family background, education, and employment, but also contained two questions meant to determine where the respondent's loyalties lay. These questions, numbers 27 and 28 respectively, asked if the respondent would "willing serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered," and if they would "swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any and all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor or any other foreign government, power, or organization." In February 1943, the questionnaire was administered to all internees over the age of seventeen. It caused great consternation, not only among the *Nisei*, some of whom were insulted that their loyalty to the United States was being questioned, others insulted that it was being questioned after their civil liberties had been so profoundly disrespected, but among the *Issei*, who were forced to

choose between disloyalty to the United States and renouncing the land of their birth: the former meant possible deportation, the latter meant becoming a stateless citizen. Because of these questions, many *Issei* were unable to complete the questionnaire (Ng 2002:57). Respondents who answered 'no' to both questions were designated as particular troublemakers and many were transferred to Tule Lake, which was then designated the higher-security camp.

Segregation and the “Riots” at Tule Lake

Due in part to administrative mishandling, the internment camp at Tule Lake had the highest percentage of respondents who did not answer in the affirmative and were, therefore, labeled “disloyal” (Weglyn 1996:146). As a result, Tule Lake was re-designated as a “segregation center” in July 1943; “disloyals” from the other nine camps were transferred in and many of the “loyals” transferred out to other camps. Security was increased and self-government was discontinued. After a farm truck accident killed one internee and injured five, internee workers declared a work stoppage that quickly escalated to a strike. When the director of the WRA visited to meet with a negotiating committee, more than 5,000 internees gathered outside administrative buildings in a peaceful show of support of the committee, but the camp director refused to negotiate. When there was some confusion over the food supply, the camp director, in growing panic, called in the army, which mounted a show of force and used tear gas on internees assembling for the day's work. This in turn alarmed the administrators, who demanded to

be protected from the internees, and martial law was declared. The story was quickly picked up by mainstream media as “riots at Tule Lake.”

Nisei in the War

On January 28, 1943, the Secretary of War announced the creation of an all-*Nisei* army unit. Internees were initially reluctant to volunteer, frustrated by being asked to fight for a nation that had grievously disrespected their civil liberties; only 1,700 *Nisei* volunteered in the first few months, despite threats from army officials that a draft would be instituted if not enough *Nisei* stepped forward. (Robinson 2009:206-7). There were sufficient volunteers from Hawaii, however, that the units were able to be formed. These were deployed in the European theater, as military command worried that their loyalty might be overtaxed were they to fight in the Pacific theater and possibly come into contact with the Japanese military. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team (with which the 100th Infantry Battalion was later combined) remains the most heavily decorated unit for its size and service (Ng 2002:65). Though the all-*Nisei* units were lauded in mainstream media, they remained a contentious subject in the camps. This situation did not improve with the introduction of conscription of *Nisei* in January 1944, and draft resistance movements formed in many camps. A number of draft resisters were brought to trial, and these joined a number of legal challenges to "internment".

Though the *Pioneer* and all other contemporary sources I read refer to the *Nisei* in the war as “men” and “Joe *Nisei*,” there were *Nisei* women serving as well, in the

Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) which later became the Women's Auxiliary Corps (WAC) and in the WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Services) through the Navy Japanese Language School at the University of Colorado at Boulder (McNaughton 2006:151). Indeed, the first *Nisei* woman to become a member of the WAC was a former internee at Amache (she left to take a job in Chicago before she was notified that she had been accepted) (Moore 2003:95), and one of the later Amache inductees had actually worked at the *Pioneer* (99). Though volunteers and inductees were not initially well-regarded in Amache, Amachean public opinion turned as the war continued. By the end of the war, *Nisei* in the Armed Forces were well thought of, and there was a higher percentage of Amacheans involved in the war effort as volunteers, draftees, nurses, and WACS than internees from any other camp (Harvey 2004:179).

Relocation

Early in 1942, the director of the WRA decided that “relocation” (i.e. resettlement) of Japanese Americans was unrealistic. When a new director was installed in June 1942, however, the agency decided to pursue a policy of relocation. The general American public, however, was hostile to the idea of Japanese Americans resettling in their midst. Public opinion was that the government, in removing and confining Japanese Americans, had shown that the community could not be trusted. Eventually, a system of “furloughs” was instituted, whereby individual internees could obtain leave. A number of systems were instituted, of varying degrees of efficacy and bureaucracy. One relatively successful program relocated *Nisei* students to colleges and universities to pursue their

education; some 3,700 Nisei students were relocated through the program. Eventually a system of flexible leave was instituted; all Japanese Americans were eligible for release, which was a “matter of right”. In order to obtain leave clearance the individual had to pose no identifiable danger to security, have not attracted any negative attention from the camp community, and have a job awaiting them (Robinson 2009:180-185). However, despite urging from the WRA and the *Pioneer*, many internees chose not to relocate, and instead stayed in camp as long as possible. There were a number of sound reasons to stay in camp: relocation was difficult, the WRA took care of their needs, and the world outside the camps had already proven to be hostile towards Japanese Americans. Some feared that another evacuation would be declared, and saw no reason to leave when they might be sent back at any time. Others, especially those who had significant investments on the West Coast such as farms or businesses, did not want to leave until they could go back home and reclaim those investments. Still others, younger, without investments to tie them to the West Coast and with more confidence in the American people, applied for leave as soon as possible.

Challenges to "Internment"

A number of legal cases were filed in opposition to exclusion and internment. Two of these, *Ex parte Endo* and *Korematsu v. United States*, were ultimately decided by the Supreme Court. The plaintiff in *Ex parte Endo* was Mitsuye Endo, a *Nisei* clerk who was interned, first at Tule Lake, then Topaz. She filed a writ of *habeus corpus* that was eventually sent to the Supreme Court, who unanimously ruled in her favor, finding that

the United States could not continue to detain a “concededly loyal” citizen. On the same day, December 18, 1944, the Supreme Court also handed down a decision on *Korematsu v. United States*. Korematsu, a Californian *Nisei*, intentionally violated Executive Order 9066, arguing that it violated his Fifth Amendment rights. In this case, the court decided 6-3 in the government's favor, citing military necessity.

The End of Exclusion

The day before the rulings on *Endo* and *Korematsu* were handed down, the Department of War announced that it was rescinding Executive Order 9066, thus ending Exclusion. As of January 2, 1945, Japanese and Japanese Americans who had not been found to have a “pro-Japanese attitude” were permitted to return to the West Coast. As the ruling on *Endo* would have found the WRA in violation of the law, Robinson advanced the possibility that the government was given prior notice of the rulings (2001:230). Though this meant the end of internment, not all internees were eager to leave the camps, and some did not do so until the camps closed in 1945 and 1946.

The End of World War II

Japan officially surrendered on September 2, 1945, and two days later Public Proclamation 24 revoked many of the military restrictions against American citizens of Japanese ancestry. Between October and December, all the “internment” camps except Tule Lake were closed. Tule Lake finally shut its doors in March 1946. The struggles and triumphs of the Japanese American community did not end with the closing of the last

"internment" camp. My analysis, by necessity, will end when the newspapers shut down, just before the Amache closed.

Amache

Background

Population

Amache opened officially on August 27, 1942, and was initially populated from Merced and Santa Anita assembly centers; the vast majority of residents originally hailed from the counties of Los Angeles, San Diego, Santa Clara, Merced and Sonoma. The population was almost evenly split between city-dwellers and those accustomed to more rural living; at first this caused some tension, but this soon faded as life at Amache became more familiar (Harvey 2004:137). Amache was the only camp in Colorado, and the smallest of the ten camps with a maximum population of around 7,500 people, though this was enough to make it the 10th largest city in then-sparsely-populated Colorado (117). Though the camp was officially named “Granada,” the U.S. Postal Service found that had need of a means by which to easily distinguish the camp from the neighboring town of the same name. Accordingly, the camp's post office station was renamed “Amache”, which then became a popular name for the camp.

Life at Amache

Though life in Amache was not easy, the facilities there were generally better than at the other camps. Their hospital had better equipment, including a dental clinic, surgery

unit, X-ray unit, pharmacy, optometry, and sanitation facilities. The Amache farm was very successful: not only was the camp self-sufficient, but it produced excess food to be sent to the other camps and the U.S. Armed Forces. Though most of the camps supported war-related industries, Amache was the only one with a successful silkscreen shop; they contracted with the Navy to produce over 250,000 color posters and also produced materials for the camp (Harvey 2004:124). Amache supported other publications, as well, including a church bulletin (“Granada Christian Church News”), a high school paper (“Amache Hi It”), a grade school paper (the “Junior *Pioneer*”), and a publication from the Boy Scouts⁶. In 1943, there was an attempt to start a monthly magazine, but a lack of contributions ended the project after only one publication (125). Amache also had the lowest percentage of internees who answered “no” on the loyalty questionnaire and the highest percentage of volunteers for military service. Possibly as a result, Amache was the “show camp”: when the WRA wanted to show visitors that the internees were being treated well, they brought those visitors to Amache. The *Pioneer* chronicles the frequent visitors, and in my short exhaustive sample, nearly every issue noted that visitors of some variety were arriving to see the camp. Though conditions at Amache and the other camps were by no means ideal there were widespread reports that the internees were being “coddled,” frequently coupled with assertions that as “Prisoners of War” they were not entitled to fair treatment, especially while “our boys are fighting and dieing [*sic*] in the Pacific against these very same people” (146; note that the *Nisei* fighting in the American Armed Forces were excluded from “our boys”).

6 Examples of the *Granada Christian Church News*, *Amache Hi It*, the *Junior Pioneer* and the only issue of the *Pulse* can be found in the Densho Digital Collection, under the *Granada Pioneer* Collection.

Relationship with the Administration

It's possible that some of this better treatment can be attributed to the governor of Colorado at the time, Ralph Carr, who was the only state governor to follow through on his pre-war promises of support and sympathy to the Japanese American community. He did not resist the emplacement of a camp in his state and urged Coloradans to welcome internees. This general cordiality was reflected on a more local level in James G. Lindley, the WRA administrator of the camp, who was known as a fair and able administrator (Harvey 2004:207). Joe McClelland, the Amache “Reports Officer”, also seems to have been friendly with many of the internees. In addition to his duties within the administration, which included oversight of the *Pioneer*, he was an amateur photographer, and many of his pictures show apparently unguarded moments at Amache.



Fig. 2.1 Internees (*Pioneer* staff?) playing cards.
Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Joseph McClelland Collection

Censorship in Amache

It's difficult to know exactly how much censorship there was at Amache. Certainly all the incoming mail was censored, and the administration made no attempt to hide that fact ("Censorship Delays Mail," page 7, December 12, 1942). Beginning in the spring of 1943, the radios and cameras that had been confiscated before evacuation were returned to their owners, but these were still subject to limitations (only cameras and radios belonging to *Nisei* were returned, and their use by a non-citizen was grounds for their removal) and temporary bans ("To Permit Return of Cameras, Radio Sets," page 1, May 1, 1943; "Short-Wave Sets Banned by WRA," page 1, June 16, 1943).

Relationship with Granada

Relations between Amache and the local town of Granada were initially rather hostile: with the exception of one willing landowner, all the land the camp was built on had been in private hands and was seized under eminent domain. However, when the sugar beet harvest was threatened by war-time labor shortages and unusual weather, a number of Amacheans helped bring in the harvest, both as paid laborers and as unpaid volunteers, which went a considerable distance toward helping matters ("Evacuees Aid Farmers: Volunteers Harvest Beets," page 1, November 14, 1942). Thereafter, relations between the camp and the town were generally good, and it was not unusual for internees to make the one-mile trip into town for a shopping trip or to go to the soda fountain, and a number of internees were hired by local families and businesses. Though some animosity

remained, most locals appreciated the increased business. Indeed, one local businessman brought in stock specifically to appeal to the internees, including large amounts of saké (Harvey 2004:68).

There were points of friction, however. When the WRA attempted to build a high school for the internees, locals complained. Before the construction of the camp, the area had been heavily depressed, and inhabitants were upset that now that the area was finally getting government money, it was going to help “these slant-eyed back stabbers” (“The American Way?” January 19, 1943). The issue went to the state and national level, and while the high school was constructed, the planned middle and primary schools were not. The internees were also convenient scapegoats for problems in the local community; one Granadan recalled that when a railroad trestle near Granada caught fire and burned for two days, the internees at Amache were immediately suspected and the FBI was dispatched to interview them, though they ultimately found no evidence of foul play (Harvey 2004:145-146).

The *Granada Pioneer*

Staff

The *Granada Pioneer* started as the *Bulletin*, the first mimeographed copies of which were first distributed on October 14, 1942. The name of the new paper was decided by contest, and the first copies of the renamed *Pioneer* were distributed on October 28. The paper was printed twice weekly until the camp was closed; the last issue

was published September 15, 1945. The *Pioneer* had four editors throughout the course of its run: Bob Hirano from the beginning of the *Pioneer* until the beginning of February 1943, Joseph Ide in September 1943 (there were a number of interim acting editors between February and September), Sueo Sake from October 1943 to August 1944, and Roy Yoshida from August 1944 until the last issue in the middle of September 1945. They, and all the other staff of the *Pioneer*, which at various times included a number of writers, illustrators (two of which had formerly worked at Disney), were paid \$19 per month (Harvey 2004:199), making them some of the more highly paid internees in camp (Ng 2002:43). Over the course of its nearly three year run the *Pioneer's* circulation swelled to 3,500. Throughout that time, the *Pioneer* was always distributed free of charge.

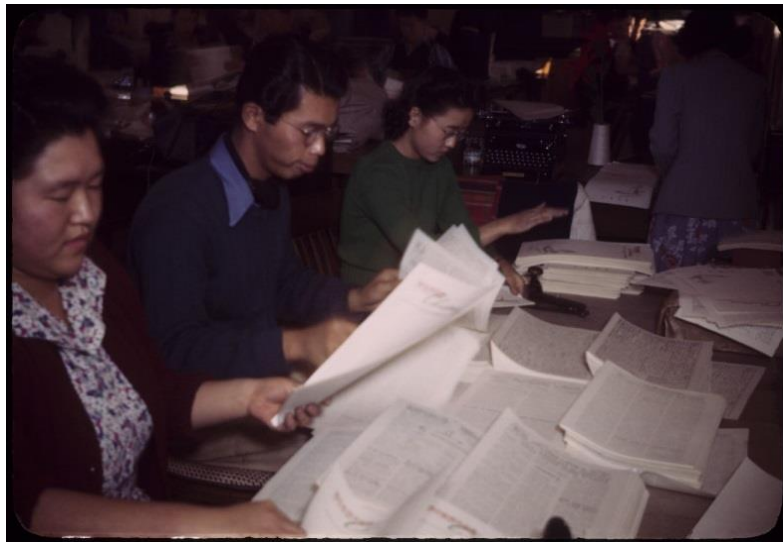


Fig. 2.2 The *Pioneer* staff collating an issue of the *Pioneer*.
Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society, Joseph McClelland Collection.

Relationship with the Administration

Though the WRA professed that the paper was impartial and uncensored, in reality it was closely observed by WRA staff, the nearest member of whom was the “reports officer” who was listed in the *Pioneer's* staff. This officer was empowered to hand-pick individuals for the staff, and often did so with an eye towards those who would be favorable towards the administration; the reports officer at Manzanar reported hiring staff who demonstrated “proof of Americanization” (Minzuno 2011:127). Though the reports officer at Amache was considered to be “the project's outstanding champion of the evacuees' rights of free speech” (quoted in Mizuno 2011:124), he nevertheless watched staffers closely, a task facilitated by the fact that the *Pioneer's* offices were actually inside the administration building, and held weekly staff meetings, at which the project director was sometimes in attendance to emphasize the importance of highlighting WRA policies (Mizuno 2011:128). It must therefore be noted that though the presence of an editorial on a given topic may be held as proof that the specific topic was of interest, an absence of discussion of any topic cannot be taken as proof of its lack of interest. Nor was the *Pioneer's* opinion necessarily that held by the majority of the camp, and indeed the fact that there were some disagreements can be gleaned from certain pieces. An editorial from October 27, 1944, for instance, writes that “this is not the time to argue whether the farm is essential or just a desirable function of the project” (“Let's Beat Jack Frost”); the pages of the *Pioneer* did not make mention of such an argument before this editorial but the topic was evidently current in Amache.

Japanese-Language Section

The Japanese-language section was also a point of contention: though it was a good way to ensure that all the internees were receiving vital information as not all the *Issei* could read English, the administration struggled with the fact that they often had to trust the internees with regard to the contents of the page. When, in June 1944, the Japanese-language section staff refused the administration's request of an article's translation, the project director wrote to the Washington office, who wrote back suggesting a change in staff should those at present employed continue with their “non-cooperative attitude” (Mizuno 2011:128). It is also important to remember that speaking a language is not the same as reading a language. Heritage speakers are a good example of a group who often speak the language better than they read it; people who have taken formal language classes but have not had the opportunity to practice often retain the ability to read the language longer than their ability to speak it. Though there is little means of knowing how much of the internee population was truly bilingual, or to what degree they were proficient in either English or Japanese as a second language, it is useful to keep in mind that the linguistic make-up of the population was likely considerably more complicated than merely monolingual English, monolingual Japanese, and Japanese-English bilinguals.

Censorship in the *Pioneer*

A number of authors and researchers have looked at the question of WRA censorship and come to a number of conclusions. Some articles, particularly ones

published before more public recognition of Japanese American internment, had a more positive opinion of WRA censorship than later authors would have. Bearden, in his overview of the two Arkansas camps, noted that the staff of the *Rohwer Outpost*⁷ enjoyed “complete autonomy” in return for fair and unbiased reporting, though he also notes, somewhat contradictorily, that when a *Kibei* editor expressed views that were anti-relocation and hostile toward whites, the administration threatened to terminate his position unless he backed down (Bearden 1982). Similarly, in his analysis of the *Denson Tribune*⁸, Friedlander found that the internee editors were accorded a great deal of latitude in their writing and especially their editorials. Friedlander gathered this from interviews with one of the editors, one of two editorialists, both of whom wrote “without consulting each other or the Center reports officer about the content” (Friedlander 1985:245). Takeya Mizuno, on the other hand, in his numerous studies of the censorship of the camp newspapers, found that the newspapers were heavily monitored by the administration under a “free under supervision” policy: the camp newspapers could print what they wanted, provided that it endorsed, or at least did not contradict, the WRA's official stance. Mizuno further suggests that the WRA always intended that the newspapers circulate to the non-internee population to assuage the consciences of the rest of the nation, who feared that the internees were being mistreated. It is his opinion that though some of the newspapers were censored by the WRA, much of the censoring originated with the internee writing staff; in addition to the possibility of self-censorship, there is also the fact that many internees who were selected to write for the papers were

7 The newspaper published in Rohwer, the internment camp in Rohwer, Arkansas.

8 The newspaper published in Jerome, the internment camp in Jerome, Arkansas.

approved because their opinions were in line with those the WRA wanted to propagate (Kessler 1988:72).

Newspapers and Identity

Though little research has been performed on the *Pioneer* specifically, there has been some interesting research on the camp newspapers as a whole. Catherine Luther's research on the internees' expression of identity is quite similar to my own, both in method and materials. In her work, Luther used discourse analysis to examine the ways in which the staff of the camp newspapers expressed their American and Japanese heritage. She examined the beginning, middle, and end portions of the runs of seven of the camp newspapers and the entire run of the other three, searching for markers of ethnic, cultural and national identity. These included the names and phrases by which the internees referred to themselves (she found that the term “Japanese American” appeared only infrequently and the term “colonist” was preferred), how they referred to non-internees (“Caucasian,” which avoided the use of “American” as a marker of opposition to the internees), and so on. As a result of her research, she found that the writers of the newspapers initially avoided or veiled mentions of Japanese heritage and culture, but as the run of the newspapers continued, mentions of Japanese heritage and culture became more prominent. She concluded that throughout the course of internment the need to demonstrate a solely American identity became less urgent and the Japanese identity was able to be more openly expressed alongside the continuing American identity. Thus, she concludes, the Japanese American internees were able to combine their American and

Japanese identities, which had previously been at odds, into a Japanese American identity that saw worth in both. Luther's work provides an example of one of the ways research might be performed on the camp newspapers, and a model for what kind of data might or might not be collected from them. In addition, her research contributed evidence that dovetailed well with mine, which bolstered both my confidence and my conclusions.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORY

The inhabitants of Amache certainly constituted a group, insofar as they were a defined ensemble of people who shared a characteristic, even one so basic as geographic proximity. However, it does not necessarily follow that they constituted a community, nor that that community manifested an identity of its own, distinct from the shared characteristic that defined the group. There are a number of ways in which community identity might manifest, though I will focus on *habitus* and *imagined community*, with some additions on groups and performance.

Identity and Performance

Habitus

An important element of identity is *habitus*, a concept originated by Pierre Bourdieu which refers to an understanding of social relations in which an individual's (or a group's) lifestyle, habits, social values and general disposition are formed by their experiences and their interactions with other individuals and groups. As the individual changes, moves about in the world and has new experiences, so their *habitus* is changed by these new experiences, places, and people. Bourdieu's *habitus* was primarily shaped and embodied by class, but later theorists have expanded the concept to include *habitus*⁹ shaped by ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation and other markers that come to

9 The plural of "*habitus*" is also "*habitus*" ("*habitus*" 2012)

define an individual. The *habitus* is not simply how an individual defines themselves, but how that individual interacts with the rest of the world. The media can be a particularly potent source of *habitus*: most forms of mass media are targeted towards specific groups, and in order to reinforce the loyalty of their audience, the media tailors their content and structure to the preferences and expectations of that audience. As Hodge comments of newspapers, “each individual copy confirms a version of the world, or demonstrates a capacity to assimilate events which could challenge that version” (1979:157).

The basis for the community identity aspect of my work is the understanding that community identity is fundamentally different than individual identity. In this I borrow substantially from Bourdieu's concept of the collective *habitus*, which is similar to the *habitus* of the individual in formation and composition, though not in scale. This collective *habitus* is not congruent with the *habitus* of any one individual, nor can either be inferred from the other. Rather, a collective *habitus* is the average amalgamation of the *habitus* of the individuals that make it up and both forms and is formed by individuals' *habitus* but is yet a distinct entity and is not congruent with the *habitus* of a single individual or group of individuals within that community (Bourdieu 2012:496). The *habitus* of any one individual would not be fully confined within the collective *habitus*, at least in theory: all individuals are individual in some way, non-conformist in some way, and thus non-compliant with the collective *habitus*. In my research, part of my question is whether the newspapers are attempting to form such a collective *habitus* for the internees, and possibly also for the non-internees readers of the *Pioneer*.

Criticism of the *Habitus*

Within the last ten or fifteen years a number of authors have begun to critique what they see as academia's tendency to overuse the concept of *habitus* and push it beyond its intended meaning (Atkinson 2011, 2013; Farnell 2000; Reay 2004). Though a number have simply reiterated the manner in which they believe Bourdieu intended the term be used, some have provided alternatives. Such alternatives have included Bourdieu's *doxa* (most easily defined as the aspect of shared identity that is so obvious and fundamental as to go unremarked) (Atkinson 2011), reflexivity (perhaps most readily defined as a state of awareness of the way in which one interacts in and with the world), a hybridization of *habitus* and reflexivity (Adams, 2006; Sweetman 2003) and “agency which is located in the causal powers and capacities of embodied persons to engage in dialogic, signifying acts” (Farnell 2000:397). While this caution at the potential misuse of the term is well-taken, so is Brubaker's reminder that

“Bourdieu was not in fact defining but rather was characterizing the concept of *habitus* in a variety of ways in order to communicate a certain theoretical stance or posture, to designate – and inculcate – a certain sociological disposition, a certain way of looking at the world” (1993:217).

Therefore, though the specific application of the term might have drifted from that pioneered by Bourdieu, the method by which the *habitus* is identified has not.

Imagined Communities

In the 2006 edition of his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson defined an “imagined community” as a group of individuals who have never met in person but nevertheless share a strong socio-cultural, political or emotional tie and on the basis of that tie consider themselves to be part of a bounded group. These groups are therefore primarily defined by inclusion rather than exclusion, though exclusion can certainly be a component of the community identity. Though Anderson primarily applied his theories to the rise of nationalism, they are more generally applicable to other “types” of groups, and I use both “types” in my analysis. I use Anderson's “imagined community” as an example of the ways in which a group such as the internees at Amache might imagine their community into existence or understand the actions of other communities. Anderson also introduces the possibility of groups, both inside and outside the domain of the collective identity, which might have their own impact on the definition of the community. (164-170).

Nationalism

Though Anderson's theories can be applied to many kinds of groups, he applied them primarily within the realm of nationalism, which he defines as an imagined political community that is “imagined as both limited and sovereign” (2006:6). That is, a nation is an imagined community that acknowledges the existence of communities outside themselves, considers itself to be an autonomous and absolute power within its own borders, and perceives its members to be part of a “deep, horizontal comradeship” (7).

For Anderson, the appeal of “dying for one's country” comes from the purity of that platonic ideal: one does not choose one's nation, and in that lack of choice comes a “disinterested” love and solidarity imbued with “moral grandeur” (141-145). This “disinterest” and accompanying “moral grandeur” are what distinguish nationalism from more generic imagined communities. There are a number of points of convergence in Anderson's concept of nationalism, including the national census (which crystallizes and quantifies identities), the map (which helps define both the limits and the sovereignty of the nation), and the museum (which displays national, often foundational, myths and helps create a national tradition) (163-185).

The concept of the Imagined Community, especially with regard to nationalism, has perhaps been applied most widely in the context of colonialism and post-colonialism; Partha Chatterjee's *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1933) and Ania Loomba's *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (2005) particularly come to mind. More recently, Anderson's newspaper has been supplanted by the internet and the Imagined Community applied to online communities, including those of Twitter (Gruzd et. al 2011), “The Facebook¹⁰” (Acquisti 2006) and other online-based communities (Muller 2014; Merlyna 2012; Norman 2014), though these suffer somewhat from the contrast between the fast pace of the internet and the slow pace of academic publishing. Perhaps most relevant to my research, however, have been discussions in which the concept of the Imagined Community has been applied to diasporic emigrant or immigrant groups, though with

10 The article refers to the social media site currently known only as Facebook. “The Facebook” was the name under which the site first operated, but the article was dropped in 2005, before the article was published.

varying results. Some authors see these groups, especially if they are undocumented, as occupying a liminal space, belonging to neither group (Chavez 1991). Others see these groups as belonging to both their original communities and that to which they emigrated (Schiller 1995), and others add the possibility that neither group fully accepts them because of their dual identity (Parreñas 2001). One article, interestingly, found that second-generation American immigrants were much less likely to identify with the imagined community of their parents' birth: rather, they were much more likely to identify as American and with the imagined community of America (Rumbaut 2006).

Imagined Worlds and the Official Mind

In his analysis of Anderson, Appadurai expands on the concept of an “imagined community” to develop the concept of the “imagined worlds,” which are “constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the world” (Appadurai 1990). Appadurai envisions the global cultural economy as defined by the interactions between various “-scapes” (“ethnoscape,” “mediascape,” “technoscape,” etc.) which are mostly controlled by the “official mind and the entrepreneurial mentality that surround [the -scapes]”: the overarching cultural and economic values that keep the system in operation (Appadurai, 1990). However, as the individual navigates these -scapes and the social and economic spaces the -scapes create, the individual can manipulate the -scapes and their interactions to the individual's benefit. Thus, though the individual operates within an “imagined world,” they are not powerless there: they can choose, individually or as a group, to contest the “official mind.” Though at the outset of

my research I thought that the “official mind” in this situation would be the WRA, it became clear to me that while the internee writers were contesting an “official mind,” that mind was not that of the WRA. Rather, it was the “official mind” of American society.

Ethnicity Without Groups

In his 2004 work *Ethnicity Without Groups*, Brubaker notes that motivations, interests and agency cannot be assigned to groups as if they were homogenous and internally defined. This was assuredly true of the internees at Amache, of the internees in general, and is most likely also true of the staff of the *Pioneer*. Here I use Brubaker's definition of “group”: “a mutually interacting, mutually recognizing, mutually oriented, effectively communicating, bounded collectivity with a sense of solidarity, corporate identity, and capacity for concerted action” (12). However, the internees had by definition already been defined by the US Government as belonging to this category, and so the groups of both “internee” and “camp-specific internee” had already been externally bounded. That having been said, individuals did have a certain amount of choice: they could apply for transfer to another camp, or for an outside job and relocation; though either application might be denied, the WRA's stated policy was to reunite family groups and to facilitate relocation. The internees did have some limited control within their externally bounded collectivity.

Brubaker's work also introduced distinctions between different “modes” of identity (41) and different ways in which identity might be defined. He used “relational identity” for connections built on inter-personal ties of kinship, friendship, patronage and so on, and “categorical identity” for connections based on a shared attribute such as gender, race, ethnicity, nationality and so on. In the case of the internees, though they were clearly initially defined based on a single specific category (namely, that they were of Japanese ancestry and living within a defined geographic area), I argue that the *Pioneer*, in trying to define what it meant to be an Amachean, an internee, and a Japanese American, was trying to shift that categorization.

The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life

Erving Goffman's 1959 book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* provides an example of the ways in which the writers of the *Pioneer* might have balanced the many “faces” they were presenting to various audiences. Goffman uses the metaphor of the stage to examine the ways in which individuals present and represent themselves. Within his metaphor, individuals engaged in a social interaction are performers, each presenting the appearance, mannerisms, and content that they judge the other to desire. Though his analysis applies to all forms of interaction, he primarily looked at interactions that were more structured, such as those between the guests and concierge staff of a hotel, or diners and waitstaff of a restaurant. In such interactions, as in theatrical performances, a “backstage” is necessary for the performer to relax and stop their performance. In many cases, however, though the “backstage” may be less ritualized than the “stage,” rather

than ending the performance, the performer is merely exchanging one performance for another, albeit perhaps one that is less onerous to play. In the example of the waitstaff, the “backstage” allows the staff to interact with each other on a less formal and subservient basis than they do with the diners. Crucially, however, the “backstage” is still a performance: the performer is still choosing what parts of themselves to reveal, what language and props to use. Nevertheless, performers often give the impression that the performance they are giving in that moment is the “most important” and as close to “real” as the artifice of performance allows. In such cases, it becomes necessary for the performers to carefully segregate their audiences. Though the *Pioneer* is a written discourse rather than a spoken one, certainly the elements of performance are present, and the problems of performing for multiple audiences, all of which expect to see the “truth,” are relevant.

Language

My work subscribes to the theory of linguistic relativity, also known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis¹¹. This refers to the linguistic paradigm that postulates a link between language and worldview. Within this paradigm, the way one's language works, its grammar, fundamentally changes the way one understands the world, though the degree, manifestation, and possible means of quantification of that change are matters of great debate. Though most of the research involving the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis and linguistic

¹¹ This is a misnomer; Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf never co-authored a work using that term. Rather, each made a number of assertions about language and the way it might influence the worldview of the speaker and later authors later codified those assertions into a single “hypothesis” (Kay and Kempton 1984).

relativity has been in the realm of cognitive linguistics, there is also a tradition of applying both theories in anthropological contexts to analyze the effects of certain cultural concepts on language; a version of community identification by way of language, where the language both creates and is created by the community, rather akin to its *habitus*.

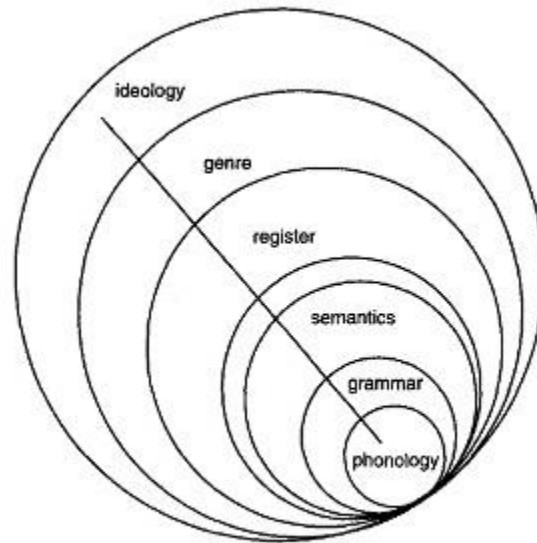
Systemic Functional Linguistics

My overarching linguistic theory derives primarily from Systemic Functional Linguistics, or SFL, a model of grammar that was first developed by Michael Halliday in the 1960s. SFL conceptualizes language as a network of grammatical and structural systems (hence “systemic”), each of which allows the speaker to make choices about the realization of the sought-for concept, and each of which has been optimized for the purpose it serves.

The production of language, as SFL conceptualizes it, is a series of stratified networks or systems (hence “systemic”), each of which is an opportunity for the speaker or writer¹² to tailor their language to the anticipated needs of the listener or reader. These systems are described as “stratified” because the output of each stratum dictates the possibilities available at the next stratum. The diagram in Fig. 3.1 displays this graphically: the concept starts its realization at the phonetic level, then the product of that realization proceeds to the grammatical level, then that product continues to the semantic

¹² Though there are important differences between the ways in which written and spoken language are produced and processed, they are not germane here.

level, and so on. The unlabeled space between the semantic and register levels indicates the change from linguistic to meta-linguistic realizations.



source: Martin 1992:496.

Fig 3.1. Martin's Stratified Systems of Realization

In addition, the theory postulates three unstratified “metafunctions” that govern the realization of the concept in context: the ideational/experiential¹³ function governs how language is used to express the experience of the world (which information is being conveyed), the interpersonal function governs how language establishes and maintains social relations and identities (which identities are being constructed/reflected, what relationships are being established/assumed/disrupted), and both are mediated through the textual function, which governs language in text (which linguistic devices were used to

13 Both “ideational” and “experiential” have been used to describe this metafunction.

express the information/identities/relationships) (Halliday 2002b:174-175). Halliday proposes a similar schema to organize linguistic contexts: field (the nature of the social action taking place), tenor (roles and relationships of participants within the social action), and mode (the role/use/status of language within the social action) (Halliday 2002a:201) (see Fig. 3.2). This understanding of the relationship between multiple layers and varieties of contexts and the text is meant to provide a means whereby ideology can be understood through language.

Metafunction (organization of language)	Register (organization of context)
Ideational/experiential meaning (resources for building content)	Field (social action)
Interpersonal meaning (resources for interacting)	Tenor (role structure)
Textual meaning (resources for organizing texts)	Mode (symbolic organization)

source: Eggins and Martin 1997:239.

Fig 3.2 Eggins and Martin's Metafunctions and Registers of Language

Semiotics and Deixis

Semiotics is a field of inquiry that seeks to understand the relationship between sign and meaning. It uses language or other means of communication to point to certain things or conjure up the mental image of certain things. Deixis, or deictic items, is the understanding that a single word is capable of many meanings, semiotics operates under

the assumption that not all of those meanings are intended. Multiple meanings may be intended, but for the most part only a single meaning is intended; the question comes in divining which of those meanings was intended. Semiotics is the larger category that encompasses semantics, syntactics, and pragmatics. Semantics addresses the relationships between signs and their referents; in my research “relocation camp,” “internment camp,” and “concentration camp” are all signs that share the same referent, though they have different semantic meanings. Pragmatics help the speaker or writer to choose from amongst those alternatives, selecting whichever best conveys the desired implications, and syntactics helps to put the choice in the optimal grammatical format and context for the desired effect. Though syntactics are a valuable tool in the realms of language acquisition and spoken English, within the context of written language that adheres to standard written forms, syntactics is only minimally applicable, so I will be concentrating on the fields of semantics and pragmatics.

Deixis is, broadly, the understanding that certain words or phrases depend on contextual knowledge, without which they are meaningless. The obvious corollary of deixis is that, depending on the context, the same lexical unit can exhibit multiple semantic properties. The phrases “before,” “over there,” and “we” are examples of deixis because they require context to be meaningful: all parties must agree on what constitutes “now,” “here,” and “us” for them to be coherent. In the context of multiple readerships and community building, deixis becomes a means of establishing community and connection. Silverstein (1976) adds what he calls “multifunctionality,,” which allows

speakers “the possibility for strategic uses of language” (47), so that a word can index more than one meaning, depending on the context brought by the speaker/writer or listener/reader; this is an especially useful concept in the context of the internment camps, where surveillance and censorship were very valid concerns.

At the same time, depending on the context in which a given word (rather than an equivalent word or phrase) is used, additional meanings can be embedded, meant for the right ears (or eyes) to see additional meaning. Stuart Hall (1980) makes a useful distinction between encoders and decoders, where encoders are dependent upon certain conventions, norms, and procedures, while decoders rely on cultural and political predispositions and are affected by their own relationship to other mass-media. Concurrently, Franzosi points out that “there is never a single message uniquely encoded in a text” (1998:545). Together, these open the possibility that different groups of encoders and decoders might understand a single text to have a number of different meanings, a very real possibility for the *Pioneer*, which had several groups of both encoders (the staff and the WRA administration) and decoders (Amacheans, internees in other camps, non-internees, and WRA censors).

Emotional Intensity in Language

Ungerer, in his research on Emotions and Emotional Language in English and German News Stories (1997), identified a number of means by which newspapers attempt to elicit emotional responses from their readers. His research builds upon a

considerable body of work on news values (including that of Galtung and Ruge [1973], Bell [1991], and Fowler [1991]) and emotion psychology (applied to linguistic items by Caffi and Janney [1994]). Ungerer condensed this research into six principles, which he uses to explain the emotional quotient and content of news items. The first of these is the principle of proximity, which seeks to make the reader more sympathetic to the subject of the news item by emphasizing the similarities between them, often through use of deictic items (see “Semiotics and Deixis”), personal pronouns, determiners, locative adverbs, and the use of the present tense. The second principle is that of animacy, which Ungerer also calls the homocentric principle, which holds that news items that emphasize the impact an event will have on animate beings, and above all human beings, will be more emotionally affecting than those that do not. The third principle, that of rank and number, says that readers are more affected by larger numbers, of people or money or other quantities, than by smaller ones, though Ungerer and other analysts note that there appears to be an upper limit beyond which larger numbers cease to be more affecting. Similarly, events that affect a highly ranked individual or institution are more affecting than those affecting a lesser known individual or institution. Ungerer's fourth principle is that of emotional evaluation, which he divides into two stages: a primary assessment of either positive or negative affect, then a further specification of the desired emotion. The first stage is assessed with the help of either lexical items that offer a judgment, such as good/bad, great/poor, “loaded words” such as freedom fighter/terrorist or evacuee/internee, or by items that suggest the need for an evaluation, such as “new”, “regrettably”, or interjections that are intrinsically emotional such as “aha”, “oops”, or

“whoa” (see Appendix C4). The second stage, of explicit emotional assignment, is common in “some rather primitive dictatorial regime[s]” (317), though rare in Western press (317), is rather common in the *Pioneer*. The fifth principle Ungerer names is that of intensity of presentation, which includes the use of “drastic detail” (318) and of similes and metaphors that invoke comparisons of widely accepted “exceptional emotional potential” (318). The sixth and final principle is that of emotional content, by which emotional aspects of events are explicitly conveyed in the hope of invoking a related or opposite emotion. Mentions of the emotions of Japanese Americans when encountering virulent racism, for instance, might invoke sympathy or pity, while mentions of the emotions of the perpetrators of the racist acts might invoke disgust or fury.

Negativity Bias

Also of note is the phenomenon of 'negativity bias', which holds that, given two otherwise similar items, one of a negative emotional affect and one of a positive emotional affect, the negative item will be perceived as being more emotional intense. Further, the degree of negativity of that item will grow more rapidly than the degree of positivity of the other, a combined negative and positive item will be regarded as negative, and a negative item will illicit more varied, complex and wider responses than a positive item. Thus editorials that evoke primarily or exclusively negative emotions will be regarded as being more emotionally intense than other, more positive editorials (Rozin and Royzman 2001). However, though this phenomenon presents a problem for other researchers, it does not present a problem for my research. This is because I can assume

that when negative editorials evoke a stronger emotional response in me as the researcher, I can assume that they likewise evoked a stronger emotional response in the intended readers, and indeed that that effect was intended by the original writers.

Analysis

Intertextuality

Intertextuality, a concept originally articulated by Julia Kristeva in the 1960s, is the understanding that all texts, spoken or written, are “demarcated by a change of speaker (or writer), and are oriented retrospectively to the utterances of previous speakers [...] and prospectively to the anticipated utterances of next speakers” (Fairclough 1992:270). Thus each text contains elements of the texts that preceded it and uses those elements for its own purposes, though these may not be in accord with the intent of the original authors of those texts. However, the new text is also dependent on future texts for its own interpretation, as future scholars may re-purpose elements of that text within a new social-cultural idiom. The string of texts is then the discourse, in Critical Discourse Analysis terminology (more discussion of CDA can be found on page 50). Julia Kristeva coined the term “intertextuality” as part of her accounts of the work of Bakhtin, who heavily influenced her thinking, and from whom she borrowed the understanding that language encodes multiple meanings. She synthesized this with Saussure's theory of the sign, which separates a concept (the sign) into the thing signified and the signifier. When the signifiers are unmoored from that which gives them meaning, they are free to be reinterpreted as the writer and reader see fit; thus “any text is constructed as a mosaic of

quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*.” (emphasis original; Irwin 2004:228). Kristeva saw no separation between social and literary texts, each of which contextualizes, refers to, and incorporates the other so as to be indistinguishable. This mixing and melding of texts becomes very important when the writers of the *Pioneer* quote outside sources or reprint entire editorials.

Genre

Mikhail Bakhtin, in his essay *The Problem of Speech Genres*, extends the use of “genre” as a categorizing factor into the realm of spoken language. He argued that the concept of literary genres (e.g. “scientific articles,” “novel,” “business letter”) could be extended into spoken language and that the speaker actively manipulates their use of genre during their speech for rhetorical effect. This manipulation must be done with the help of an active listener who, by the act of listening and responding to the speaker, helps to shape the understanding of the genre in use. Such genres might include, for example, “conversation between close friends,” “academic lecture,” “storytelling,” and “retail transaction.” Discrepancies or deviations from the understood genre are performed with the help of the listener, who in listening and anticipating the genre, is the agent by which the deviation from the expected genre is understood. Bakhtin's influence comes in the articulation of genre, where “genre” is a set of conventions that define the means of producing, distributing, and processing a given social activity. Genres constitute another dimension of intertextuality, as speakers can create, combine, and defy the various

conventions that make up a genre. Further, the cues that mark a change in genre or in source text can be marked or accentuated or entirely hidden, depending on the motivations of the new speaker. Speakers may experience pressure to follow conventional genres as well as pressure to innovate by combining genres (Fairclough and Wodak 1997:262).

The editorials I am analyzing constitute a very specific genre with very specific expectations: not only are they editorials, a textual genre that is understood to be biased, based within a text that is meant to be impartial, but the camp newspapers were under rather more scrutiny than that endured by more mainstream publications. In this context, we might imagine that the editorials would be under more supervision from the WRA, as likely vehicles for voicing subversive content, but by the same token we might also imagine that the column was also under supervision from non-internees who were sympathetic to the Amacheans (unsympathetic non-internees being unlikely to read the *Pioneer*), the rest of the publication being irrelevant to them. As the newspapers were established to reassure the rest of America that the internees were being treated well, had the editorials been filled with praise for the WRA during such a difficult time, it would have attracted negative attention. Thus, even had the administration been disposed to suppress critical editorials, it would not have been in their best interests.

Ideology

One of the more prominent ways in which semiotics are used is in the promotion of ideology, which is most simply defined as the beliefs, assumptions and values with which an individual or society makes sense of the world. This concept and that of the *habitus* are closely linked: one of the ways in which Bourdieu envisioned and defined *habitus* was as “embodied ideology” (Scollon 2003:178-180). CDA operates from the understanding that language, whether written, spoken, or otherwise transmitted, both reflects and builds on the ideology of the speaker/writer. In this, the theory borrows from Gramsci's description of “common sense,” of which Gramsci argued ideology was in part constructed (Fairclough 2001:70). Because “common sense” is unquestioned and therefore invisible, applications of “common sense” to unequal power relations become ideological. That ideology is present in numerous ways within the prevailing discourse, but is invisible to those in that society precisely because it is so prevalent and unquestioned. One of the aims of CDA is to make those ideologies visible by “demystifying” the worldview and culture that builds them (Wodak 2001a:10).

One of the places in which ideology can be most readily made visible is in the media, and especially in opinion pieces such as editorials. Because editorials are meant to argue a position, they often embed ideology, both openly, as in the argumentation used, and covertly, as in the assumptions made and “common sense” employed (Henry and Tator 2002:216). In my study of editorials and their content I draw upon a tradition of such studies, within which a strain of the particular study of racism in editorials was

particularly helpful. In one example, Maria José González Rodríguez found that “comment articles”¹⁴ exhibited clear manifestations of ideology in their field, tenor, and mode (2008). In another example, Teun van Dijk, looking at British tabloid editorials (both he and Rodríguez used *The Sun* as one of their sources) found that urban 'riots' involving young black people were described using rhetoric of marginalization and assimilation with an underlying threat if the youth did not assimilate to British laws and custom (1992). According to Fowler and Kress (1979:185), “ideology is linguistically mediated,” and the imposition of ideology is a very present concern at Amache, where the WRA is clearly the nearest incarnation of the ruling class. However, one of the issues my research addresses is whether the *Pioneer* is also addressing other portions of the ruling class, and if so, who might they be and how is the *Pioneer* addressing them.

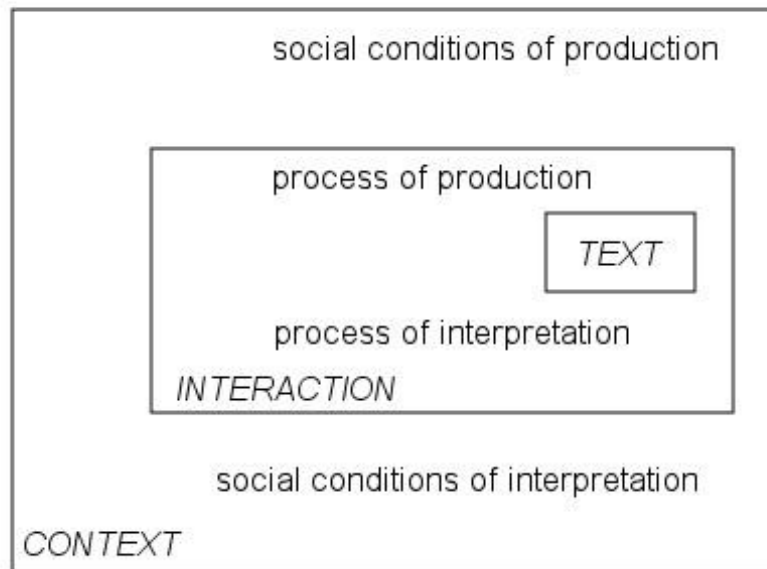
Critical Discourse Analysis

One of the over-arching principles guiding my work is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the relationship between discourse and power relations. CDA began as an outgrowth of Critical Linguistics, itself a theoretical approach developed by a group of linguists and literary theorists at the University of East Anglia in the 1970s. The “critical” portion of CDA is meant to suggest that the researcher is able to take a certain amount of distance from the data and the context from which the data is inextricable, and form a political stance in relationship to the data, while also being aware of that distance and stance (Wodak 2001:9). “Discourse

14 These are not exactly synonymous with “editorials” in the American usage, but as both are clear statements of the opinion of the writer and both are published in newspaper formats, they are comparable.

analysis” is a more widely used phrase that describes the analysis, by any number of means, of “discourse.” “Discourse” is an “essentially fuzzy” term (van Dijk 1997:1) that can accurately be said to have sustained the careers of several scholars, but for the purposes of my research it might be defined as the body of conversation, both metaphorical and literal, around a text. Norman Fairclough saw this conversation as having three dimensions or stages: description, “the formal properties of the text”; interpretation, “the relationship between text and interaction”; explanation, “the relationship between interaction and social context.” As seen in Fig. 3.3, the processes of both production and interpretation are encompassed within this definition. According to Fairclough and Wodak, CDA is based on the following principles: (1) CDA addresses social problems; (2) power relations are discursive; (3) discourse constitutes society and culture; (4) discourse does ideological works; (5) discourse is historical; (6) the link between text and society is mediated; (7) discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory; and (8) discourse is a form of social action (1997:271-280). CDA is thus an approach, rather than a method, which incorporates the positionality of the researcher and understands societal power relations as being mediated through discourse, which itself is contextualized by both present-day and historical relationships and discourses. Discourse is seen as both reproducing and reinforcing existing power relations, and as such can be manipulated by various parties to achieve their political ends. In my research, this means that the “discourse” that is the subject of my analysis is not only the text, but also the social conditions within which the *Pioneer* was produced (i.e. Japanese American internment during WWII and all the history that led to it), the social interactions that

prompted a given piece in the *Pioneer* (e.g. interactions between the writers and the WRA, between the writers and the rest of the community, etc), the social interactions that emerge because of the *Pioneer* (e.g. the formation of community identity in Amache, reprimands from the administration, discussion of internment outside Amache between non-internees), and the social conditions within which the readers of the *Pioneer* understand what they have read (e.g. as internees, as administrators, as non-internees, etc.).



Source: Fairclough 2001:21

Fig. 3.3 Fairclough's Three Stages of Discourse

Theories of CDA

As Critical Discourse Analysis has gained prominence as a model, a number of variations in its interpretation and use have emerged, of which the work of Fairclough,

van Dijk, and Wodak may be the most prominent. Norman Fairclough, perhaps the figure most frequently associated with CDA, has focused on the ways in which socio-cultural change can be seen in discursive change. He argues that every social practice has a semiotic element and describes his paradigm as problem-based rather than theory-based. Teun van Dijk approaches CDA from a background in social cognition and focuses on discourse in the media, and especially on the production of media and the ways in which ideology is encoded in the media. He sees three forms of social representation in the media: knowledge (personal, group, and cultural), attitudes, and ideologies, and he argues that any interaction between discourse and social structures is mediated through personal and social cognition. Ruth Wodak has developed the “discourse-historical approach” (also known as the Vienna School), which focuses on contextualizing discourse within the socio-historical frame within which its producers meant for it to be understood. Wodak also introduced the term “disorders of discourse” as a reference to Fairclough's “orders of discourse,” which in turn refers to Foucault's use of the term in a series of lectures later compiled and published as “L'Ordre du Discours.” Where “orders of discourse” denote the “sets of conventions associated with social institutions” (Fairclough 2001:14), “disorders of discourse” are systematic manipulations of the media that exacerbate the cognitive gulf and conflicts of worldview between groups. As Anthonissen notes in her CDA-based analysis of a church newsletter published under Apartheid, in such circumstances “those who possess linguistic as well as well as institutional power invariably prevail” (2001:21).

Criticism of CDA

The flexibility and multitude of approaches enabled by CDA have also led to a certain amount of criticism being leveled towards Critical Discourse Analysis, however. It remains ambiguous whether CDA is a theory, a method, or some combination of the two. Nor, is there agreement, among those who adopt it at least in part as a method, on how that method should be implemented (Meyer 2001), and Ruth Breeze finds that method somewhat “impressionistic” (2011:520). Its very versatility also means that not all possible avenues of research have been equally researched, leading to an uneven field of research (Chilton 2005). Because CDA is fundamentally defined and guided by social action, it is vital that researchers be open about the political aims of their work. Michael Billig also notes that one of the drawbacks of calling one's work “critical” is that that use embeds both an implicit criticism of all other work (which appears “uncritical”) and an aura of self-congratulation. Both of these drawbacks can create tension and controversy within the academic sphere, which in turn diverts attention from the “critique of the present social order” that CDA professes to intend (Billig 2003:38).

My Use of CDA

My intention in using CDA as a paradigm is to keep my work oriented towards social practice and social relations. Given the origins of my corpus it was very important to me to remain aware of the problematic nature of the history I explored, and my use of CDA allowed me to foreground the social justice aspect of my work. In addition, as a multidisciplinary theoretical framework, CDA helped me to synthesize theories of

discourse analysis, including genre, intertextuality, and linguistic analysis, with theories of social relations and identity, including hegemony and ideology. However, my work did have the potential to be vulnerable to several of the criticisms of CDA, and my use of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was meant to deal with some of those issues. SFL is associated with robust methodologies including semantic and narrative analysis, which are part of my work, and the literature around the synthesis of CDA and SFL provides examples of how this may be done.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

Materials

The Granada Pioneer

Though my use of discourse analysis is logical given my materials and desired results, it can be a very time-intensive method, so it was necessary for me to restrict the scope of my research. I chose to limit my investigations to the *Granada Pioneer* for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was simply beyond the scope of my research to look at more material than that provided by the *Pioneer*. Secondly, several of my questions were better answered by archival material than by other sources of information. The *Granada Pioneer* was available to all internees at Amache, was primarily written by internees, and was explicitly framed as being the main source of information to the internees (“News Bulletin Makes Debut,” *Bulletin*, October 4, 1942). The *Pioneer* is therefore a time capsule of material relevant to my research questions, and unlike other possible resources, they have for the most part suffered little from the effects of seventy years’ time. The archives of the *Pioneer* were also easily accessible online through the University of Denver’s library. My research also has the potential to be useful to the Department of Anthropology at DU, which is heavily involved in the research about Amache. Finally, the newspapers are a rich resource that have not been researched to their full capacity, and I wanted to raise the profile of the newspapers so that more researchers know that they are available.

Editorials

I chose to focus my analysis on the editorials because they were the best resource with which to investigate community identity. My research on the genre showed that there was a precedent, not only to understand the editorial as a genre of its own, but as a means of encapsulating the political bent of the newspapers' editors (or those that control them). Because the editorial genre purports to be the opinions of the writers, the *Pioneer's* editorials were a more likely candidate for both censorship from the WRA and resistance from the internees. Therefore the editorials were clearest and easiest way to look at questions of identity and resistance. In the situation of internment, I wanted to know if the editorials proposed to speak for all Amacheans. If so, how, and if not, how did the writers clarify that they spoke only for themselves? And was there any evidence within the editorials themselves that this identity-making was protested by other parties?

Organization

To perform these analyzes, I downloaded all the issues of the *Granada Pioneer* from the collection “Japanese-American Relocation Camp Newspapers: Perspectives on Day-to-Day Life” of the database “Archives Unbound,” a Gale product to which the University of Denver subscribes. Because of the way the Archives Unbound database operates and the bandwidth of the internet connection I was using, I was forced to download the issues in 50-page increments. Though this was a fairly efficient method, the original documents that the archivists had access to were, in a few cases, degraded to the

point of illegibility. In those cases, I downloaded the issue in question from the archive at “densho.org”, an online repository for information and materials related to Japanese American internment. That database contained all the issues of the *Pioneer*, as well as a number of associated printed materials, but issues had to be downloaded individually, which made it cumbersome to use for more than individual issues. Unfortunately, in a few cases some pages were still illegible, or nearly so.

The issues downloaded from the Archives Unbound database were then named in the format (yy – m-dd[first issue] – m-dd [last issue]). The use of n-dashes for the dates, rather than the more traditional forward-slash (“/”), was necessitated by my use of Microsoft Word, which does not allow forward-slashes in document names. Within my research, editorials are cited by title and date (e.g. “Not a Racial War,” March 13, 1943). As the editorials nearly always appear on the second page of the *Pioneer*, I chose to elide the page number except in cases where the editorial does not appear on the second page, in which case the page number was noted. If the editorial was reprinted from another news-source, the citation includes the citation information for the original source (e.g. “Nisei Heroes,” September 23, 1944; *Washington Post*, September 16, page 4).

Preliminary Research

I chose to exhaustively analyze all the articles in every issue for a number of months in each year in order to obtain a more complete understanding of the more mundane workings of the camp newspaper. As part of this analysis I created a

spreadsheet within which I listed all the articles within that span. The spreadsheet listed the volume number, issue number, date, day of the week of publication, on what page of the issue the article was to be found, the title of the article, the main contents of the article (expressed as a word or phrase; this was an open category, but provided the starting point for the later fixed categories), and the author of the article. This analysis not only allowed me to gain an appreciation for the role that the editorials played within the overall newspaper, but also helped me to see what some of the major topics and narratives in the *Pioneer* might be. Though the information obtained in this step of my research is not complete enough to be quantitatively analyzed, it adds context to my more thorough research of the editorials. This resulted in the list seen in Appendix B.

Secondary Research

Once I had completed my preliminary research, I moved on to the qualitative analysis of the editorials. I created a new spreadsheet and, using the topics I had compiled as a starting point, I went through each editorial and listed its date, its source (the name or initials of the internee, if possible; if the editorial was reproduced from another newspaper, I listed the name of that newspaper, the original date of printing if listed, and the original author, if listed; if the editorial unattributed, the column was marked with a period to show that it was intentionally left empty), its title, its topic (here I used a modified version of the topics conceived in my initial investigation), and its sub-topic (also adapted from the initial set of topics, though not all topics had sub-topics, and all

topics had the possibility to be terminal). If there was no sub-topic then I marked the cell with a period.

While I collected that data, I also took brief notes on editorials that required a follow-up. This might have been because they used vocabulary or acronyms with which I was unfamiliar, or referred to historical events with which I was not familiar, or quoted from another editorial that needed to be compared with this one. Where possible I located the original printing of the piece in question and compared it to the version in the *Pioneer*, but I was not able to locate the archives of all the news-sources. The fact that there were editorials printed in the *Pioneer* that originated from an outside newspaper was in and of itself interesting, and the question of whether the Amache editors had edited the editorials proved revealing. An understanding of the references made in the editorials, both internal and external, also contributed to my understanding of the conversations taking place and helped me gauge the intertextuality of the editorials.

Reprinted Editorials

It quickly became clear that a number of the editorials had been reprinted from outside news-sources, which necessitated more data gathering. In cases where the editorial was reprinted from another news-source, I took note of the name, location, and date of that source, then attempted to find the original editorial in the archives of that source. Where I was able to find the original version, I compared the original with the version that appeared in the *Pioneer* and took note of differences of content, attribution,

and the like. The editorials that had originally appeared in the newspapers printed at other internment camps were easily found in the “densho.org” archive that houses individual issues of the *Granada Pioneer*. The Occidental College Library Digital Archives contained all the issues of the *Resettlement Bulletin*, also published by the WRA, from which one of the editorials was printed. In the case of larger newspapers (e.g. the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Christian Science Monitor*), the archives were digital and fairly easy to access through the library at the University of Denver. Though archives of *Collier's Weekly* were difficult to locate, the website “unz.org” maintains an archive of their issues printed between 1926 and 1957. The website was rather cantankerous, however, and I was only able to download and compare one of the two editorials reprinted from *Collier's Weekly*. I found that, for the most, part smaller newspapers have not digitized their archives, and issues published prior to the 1980s are kept in microfilm that must be accessed in person. While this was feasible for the archives of the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post*, the archives of which are held at the Central Branch of the Denver Public Library, it was not feasible to visit the archives of the other newspapers. Further, though a number of databases contain archives of local, national and international newspapers through a wide range of time periods, none of them contained the newspapers I needed in the time period I needed. As a result, I was unable to compare 44 of the reprinted editorials with their originals.

Emotional Intensity

One of my secondary hypotheses was that the reprinted editorials were more emotionally intense than the Amache-written editorials. My analysis was informed by Ungerer's six principles of emotional content in news: proximity, animacy, rank and number, emotional evaluation, intensity of presentation, and emotional content (see “Emotional Intensity in Language”, page 47). In my evaluation I relied on my intuitions as a native and fluent English speaker. Though some of the internee readers of the *Pioneer* would not have been native or necessarily fluent speakers of English, their outside readership would reasonably be assumed to be native English speakers. The research of Strauss and Allen (2007) shows that multiple native English coders reliably agree upon the emotional intensity and categorization of lexical items, so I can be reasonably confident that my intuitions as a coder would be shared by those of the *Pioneer's* readers. To this end, I graded each piece on a five point scale of strength of language. This schema is adapted from that used by Craggs and Wood (2004), which used a five-point scale ranging from 0 (“no emotion or it is impossible to tell”) to 4 (“strong expression of emotion”). I shifted the scale to range from 1 to 5 because I am unwilling to imply that any of the editorials are entirely devoid of emotion.

A “1” indicated that the piece was written in a calm/dispassionate tone, for instance the Amache-written editorial “Fitness Program,” (December 16, 1942; see Appendix C1). This editorial is primarily factual, does not seek to establish emotional proximity with the reader, uses very few lexical items that offer judgment (“significant”,

“launched”) and those merely weakly positive, does not offer any particular details, and does not suggest any sense of urgency. Though the principles of rank and number and animacy are invoked (“one hundred and forty pupils”), this is tempered by the rest of the sentence, which notes that those one hundred and forty pupils have merely been examined.

A “2” indicated a slightly stronger/more invested tone, though with the language still somewhat restrained. I use here the example of another Amache-written editorial: “For the Community,” (April 10, 1942; see Appendix C2). This editorial uses some deictic items (“the community”), personal pronouns (“our”), some details (“a nice homey atmosphere”), and some emotional evaluation and intensity of presentation (“nice homey atmosphere”, “hopes”, “open door”, “personal invitation”, “welcoming and dedicating”, “worthwhile”). Further, the emotions evoked are all positive, which means that the piece does not benefit from the effect for the negativity bias, and so feels rather weak, especially in comparison with some of the later editorials.

A rating of “3” was evenly matched between emotion and dispassion; an Amache-written piece entitled “Education Comes First,” (August 16, 1944; see editorial C3) was a good example. The tone of the editorial is explicitly that of elders speaking to their juniors, which both evokes both proximity and authority, both in an emotionally positive manner. This piece also uses language that is clearly emotionally evaluative (“fallacy”,

“short-sighted”, “shallow”, all negative) and invokes metaphors of accepted emotional potential (“pot of gold”, positive in context).

A rating of “4” shows that the editorial is more emotional than otherwise, as is the case with the Amache-written editorial “Whoa---” (April 14, 1943; see Appendix C4). The title is an interjection that offers a negative judgment, and the first paragraph invokes Ungerer's principle of rank and number (“300 persons”). Proximity is invoked in the use of the present tense and the imperative mode, both of which appear throughout, though the imperative mode gains particular weight in its appearance in the last sentence. Finally, most of the piece is clearly meant to evoke emotion, in this case primarily pride in one's work.

A rating of “5” means that the editorial is very emotional; “Send These... To Me”, a Christian Science Monitor Editorial (April 15, 1944) that was reprinted in the *Pioneer* (April 22, 1944; see Appendix C5) is a good example. It opens with an invocation of a poem with great emotional potential (the phrase begins the poem positively associated with immigration; see the footnote on page 109 for details) and continues on with great emotional intensity (“The Mother of Exiles [...] must have bowed her head in shame at the repudiation of her promise-filled message”). Two quotations, the first an excerpt from that “promise-filled message”, the second an unattributed description of Japanese Americans as individuals who “only 'wanted to prove by working hard and living decently that we could be accepted by the community” provide excellent detail. Phrases

that offer strong negative judgments are rife (“forced by threatened mob action”, “condemned on the grounds of race prejudice and of fear of economic competition”). Both rank and number are invoked (“experienced farmers, thoroughly investigated by the War Relocation Authority”, “9,000 Japanese Americans serving in the United States Armed Forces”, “58 Purple Heart medals”, “Distinguished Flying Cross”, “five Air Medals), and the emotions of shame and/or anger are explicitly conveyed.

Correlating Emotional Intensity with Source

Because one of my hypotheses was that outside-written editorials used more emotional language than internee-written editorials, it was important to find out if that data bore that out. As part of my secondary research, I had noted the source of each editorial: whether it was written by an internee at Amache, anonymously written by an internee at Amache, written by an internee at another camp, reprinted from an outside news-source, and so on. For the purposes of this analysis, these categories were collapsed into two categories: internee-written (editorials written by anonymous Amacheans, attributed to Amacheans, and written by internees in other camps) and non-internee written (all reprinted editorials except those from the other camps and the editorials written at Amache by non-internees). This was to remove the arbitrary nature of the categories. These two categories were then assigned the numbers 1 (internee-written) and 8 (non-internee written; the number eight was chosen semi-arbitrarily because the original system contained eight categories). The column containing the results of this category was then placed in a spreadsheet with the column containing the emotional

intensity data, and Microsoft Excel's correlation (“CORREL”) function was used on them. This function returns a Pearson correlation, which measures the degree of linear correlation between two variables and is defined as the covariance of the two variables divided by the product of their standard deviations. The function returns a value between +1 and -1 (inclusive); +1 indicates total positive correlation, -1 indicates a total negative correlation, and 0 indicates no correlation. The function returned a correlation of 0.509, which indicates a positive correlation between the two variables. When the function was repeated and the editorials written by non-internees at Amache were omitted from the population, the function returned a correlation of 0.565, which indicates a positive correlation of a greater degree than the previous function.

Discourse Analysis

Once the coarse categorical content and the emotional intensity of the editorials had been gauged, I moved on to the more detailed, multifaceted discourse analysis of the editorials. One of the problems with this type of research is that the researcher is learning what they are looking for as they do the research, which runs the risk that understandings and ideas reached later might not be applied to the earlier portion of the research. To combat this tendency, I performed my discourse analysis twice, once with an open-category list and the second time with a closed list, just as I did with my categorical analysis. This helped ensure that patterns were captured throughout the run of the editorials, rather than being artificially concentrated towards the end of the run.

To achieve this discourse analysis I spent about five minutes on my first pass analyzing each editorial and taking detailed notes on its contents (the average editorial was about 200 words long). These were then condensed into a list of salient points, and both list and notes were stored with the editorial. Once I had done this for all the editorials, I compared the notes and list, and compiled a second, closed list of topics. I then went back over the editorials with this last list in hand to be sure that I had not missed anything important in my initial search. These lists and notes then helped me assemble a narrative of what was being discussed, when, by whom, and, most importantly, how it was being discussed. This narrative formed the backbone of my discourse analysis.

Content Analysis

Content Analysis is the exhaustive collection of all instances of a word, word family, or word list. The results can be very helpful as a means of quantitatively analyzing a written text. In my research, I had hoped to use content analysis to compare the prevalence of certain words: Japanese/American/Japanese American, for example. This information is usually collected by a computer; there are a number of programs with sophisticated algorithms and extensive syntax trees at the ready. Unfortunately, it rapidly became clear that the printing of the newspapers, while (mostly) legible to the human eye, were nearly entirely illegible to that of any computer program I had access to. I considered the possibility of focusing on just a few words, rather than the longer list I had initially planned, and logging them by hand, but this quickly proved to be entirely too

time consuming and error-prone to be feasible. With regret, I was forced to abandon this aspect of my research.

Semantic Analysis

Semantic analysis, on the other hand, proved quite useful. This is a method of analysis in which the coder looks for the underlying message of the written piece; is this also known as latent analysis. Semantic analysis depends on the linguistic skills of the reader, and while considerably slower than content analysis and is more able to capture multitudes of meaning. Semantic analysis is helpful in uncovering the meaning behind a piece of writing or other message, through such cues as tone, semantically-parsed content (which differentiates between, for instance, the affectionate in-group use of a word which might in other contexts constitute a slur), and general demeanor. As part of my semantic analysis, I took note of words or phrases that might be emotionally weighted, or words or phrases used in such a way as to suggest that they were meant to be so loaded. Semantic analysis was also the primary method by which I gauged the emotional intensity of the editorials: more emotionally-weighted words and phrases pushed the emotional intensity higher, emotionally-neutral words and phrases pushed it lower.

During my first pass through the editorials, I noted the topics discussed in each editorial, using the system of topics I had developed earlier as a guide. Once I had looked at all of the editorials once, I went through the list of topics and modified it, consolidating some topics and separating others. Then I analyzed all of the editorials again, this time

assigning the editorials to topics based on the new list. This also allowed me to reconsider my initial assessment of the editorial, and with the benefit of later information and new categories, I reclassified some of the material. A list of the topics and the reasoning behind each follows.

The Granada Pioneer

If an editorial pertained to the *Granada Pioneer*, then it belonged to the *Granada Pioneer* category.

Relocation

If an editorial contained information concerning relocation, then it was tagged with this category.

“Internment”

If an editorial discussed internment, then it was tagged with that topic.

World War II

If an editorial contained information about the war in general, rather than about the *Nisei* fighting in the war specifically, then it fell into the category of “WWII.” There was considerable overlap with the topic of “*Nisei* in the war.”

Nisei in the War

If an editorial contained information about *Nisei* in the War, whether through the language school or fighting in the Army, it was tagged “*Nisei* in the War.” However, one of the problems with this category is that many others, including “*Nisei* in the war,” are a direct consequence of the war and may be subsumed in its category: it was very difficult to make the distinction between, for instance, “internment” and “WWII.” “*Nisei* in the War” was a separate topic from “WWII” because mentions of *Nisei* fighting for the United States were often used for a specific purpose, separate from general mentions of the war.

“Disloyals”

This topic specifically refers to discussion or mention of the people declared to be “disloyal” by the American government; the possibility of disloyalty in general was not sufficient.

Camp Life

An editorial contained content for “camp life” if it discussed the details of life at Amache. Many of these discussed issues related to health concerns (there were a number of blood drives held, for instance, and there was a polio epidemic in late 1943), but several were also concerned with community unity, the farm, requisitions, and so on.

The WRA

If an editorial was actively defending the WRA it was tagged with this topic.

Support

If an editorial was written in support of the Japanese-American community, then it was tagged with this topic.

Racism

If an editorial relayed information about an act of racism against Japanese Americans, or was itself racist, then it was tagged with this category.

Patriotism

An editorial fell into the category of “patriotism” when it affirmed the patriotism and loyalty to America of the internees. An example is “I have the pleasure of knowing several Japanese-Americans, and find that they are just as upstanding and possess as much love for the United States as most native Americans” (SS, “Your Friend and Mine,” December 4, 1943). An identification of *Nisei* as American citizens was not sufficient.

Local News

If an editorial discussed news that specifically pertained to events in Granada or Lamar, and thus might be immediately important for the Amacheans' daily lives, then it fell into this category.

Probabilities

One of the things that was interesting in the topics was seeing which topics were mentioned in the same editorial. In order to calculate these co-occurrences, I made a spreadsheet of the number of times each topic occurred, then calculated the percentage of editorials that contained that topic. Then I calculated and created a spreadsheet of the number of times two topics were mentioned in the same editorial, then converted those calculations to percentages. Given those percentages, I used the formula $P(B|A) = \frac{P(A \cap B)}{P(A)}$ (the probability of B given A is the probability of the intersection of A and B divided by the probability of A) to calculate the probability that, given the presence of topic A, topic B would also be present.

Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is useful because it allows me to take a wider view of the editorials and the narratives that they are building about themselves, the internees, internment, and America in general. This wider view both provides more information and helps me to put my other findings in context. During my first round of semantic analysis, I kept running notes on potential narratives, and added new possible narratives as my

analysis progressed. Once my first analysis was complete, I was able to see which narratives were taking shape, and which were not as salient as I had initially believed. With a new set of narratives, I was able to go back during my second round of analysis and take more detailed notes on which editorials were contributing to which narratives in which ways, and I included illustrative quotes.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

The following is a summary of my results, beginning with those that pertain exclusively to the editorial column, followed by those applicable to the entirety of the *Pioneer*.

The Editorial Column

Types of Editorials

Something that was not immediately obvious was the finding that not all of the editorials had been penned by Amacheans, or not entirely by them. The different types of editorials became very important for my research, as they were used to send different types of messages.

Written in Amache by Internees

Over half of all the editorials were written by internees, and of that two-thirds were written anonymously. Nevertheless, there is a long string of signed editorials between late October 1943 and mid-February 1944, most of which are attributed to a single individual signed "SS." This may be the same person who signed one of the editorials "Sueo Sako." These tend to focus on camp-specific issues, such as the farm, health scares, and issues of self-governance, and used milder language than most of the other editorials. Some of these quote editorials or articles written in non-Amache papers,

mostly national newspapers such as the *New York Times* or *Colliers*, but the sections that they quote are not always favorable towards Japanese Americans, though the Amache-written portion of the editorials always acknowledges this.

As the timeline in Appendix D shows more clearly, most of the Amache-written editorials appeared in the first half of the *Pioneer's* run; after early 1944 most of the editorials were reprinted from outside news-sources, though there is a series of anonymously written pieces in October and November 1944.

Though they were harder to quantify, there are also a number of editorials written by internees quoting non-internee sources. One good example of this appears in “Racial Tides” (November 6, 1943), which was primarily written by “SS,” but in its last paragraph quotes from a *Christian Science Monitor* editorial penned by Rodney I. Brink. While SS's writing is relatively strong for an Amache-written editorial (I rated it a 3 on the 5-point scale), the quotes from Brink are quite a bit stronger. The last two lines of the quote, also the last lines of the editorial, read

“[...] until it is possible to replace American-born Japanese in their home communities, our national phrase “all men are created free and equal” is not likely to ring true to the peoples of the brown and yellow races across the Pacific. Not even though the Philippines are given independence; not even though the Chinese exclusion ban is lifted.”

This selection is notable not only for its language but also for its acknowledgment of the racism inherent in both the Chinese exclusion act and American sovereignty in the Philippines. SS might easily have omitted that line, or might not have made it the final

line. Its presence and position articulate a sentiment too radical for an internee writer, but by quoting a non-internee, SS managed to both articulate it and give it significant weight.

Written in Amache in Reference to Reprinted Articles

There is another variety of editorial that bears discussion, that of editorials written mostly or entirely by the staff of the *Pioneer* but which refer to pieces written in other papers. These appear both with and without quotes from the original source, and some are written in such a way as to suggest that the internees had access to the original article elsewhere. One such example is “Faith in Journalism” (January 9, 1943), which references a *Rocky Mountain News* editorial about the Amache school project. Though there is just enough description given so as not to confuse readers, the tone of the *Pioneer's* piece is rather leading, suggesting that Amacheans seek out the *Rocky Mountain News* piece for themselves.

The case of a *Chicago Daily Tribune* editorial that was cited in the March 17, 1943 issue of the *Pioneer* (see Appendix E5), is somewhat atypical, in that the *Tribune* was cited as a negative, rather than positive, example. The editorial in the *Pioneer* was arguing against the use of the phrase “concentration camp” to describe the internment camps, and insofar as the citation from the *Tribune* is merely an example, it is an apt one. The overall tone of the *Tribune's* editorial is difficult to place: it is meant to point out the discrepancy between the treatment of Japanese Americans in Hawaii and on the West Coast, but seems unable to decide what course of action to advocate.

Another editorial that was carefully strained for quotes was a piece by Rodney L. Brink that appeared in the July 5, 1944 edition of the *Christian Science Monitor* (see Appendix E2). Though the cited portions are positive towards the internees, they are not the only positive portions, nor, arguably, the most positive portions. Elsewhere the editorial cites the *Nisei* fighting in Europe, and their many Purple Hearts, as demonstrations of Japanese American loyalty. Another portion points out that “getting rid of the Japanese” leads to a slippery slope whereby no one is American enough, except “Swedes¹⁵ and the Indians.” Further, several paragraphs argue that the WRA has been acting in the best interests of the internees, a position that the *Pioneer* has elsewhere advocated for.

A paragraph from the *Washington Post* editorial “Test for Citizenship” (September 29, 1944) appeared in the *Pioneer* piece “Citizenship Quality” (October 7, 1944) (see Appendix E3). The rest of the editorial, though not inapplicable to Japanese Americans, is nevertheless not tailored to them in the manner of the *Pioneer's* editorial, or some of the other reprinted editorials, and it is not unsurprising that only the first paragraph was cited.

One of these that bears some additional scrutiny was a September 30, 1944 article that cites an editorial that was printed in the *New Canadian*, a tri-weekly newspaper for the Japanese Canadian community. The *New Canadian* was the only community

¹⁵ The mystery of the origin of non-immigrant Swedes was left unanswered.

newspaper to be allowed to continue publishing after Japanese Canadians, like their American counterparts, were removed from their homes on the West Coast and sent into internment camps. Much like the American camp newspapers, the *New Canadian* was allowed to continue to publish on the condition that it be subject to governmental censorship (Greenway 2008), though also like the American camp newspapers, the *New Canadian* found ways of evading that censorship (Robinson 2009:178). This was the only instance in which a non-American news-source was cited in the *Pioneer*, and indeed one of only a very few references to the wider Japanese diaspora.

Written in Other Camps by Internees

Only two editorials from any of the other internee camps were reprinted in the *Pioneer*. The first appeared in the *Pioneer* on May 12, 1943, and was reprinted from the *Denson Tribune*, which was published at the Jerome Relocation Camp in Denson, Arkansas. The second appeared in the next issue, published on May 15, 1943, and was from the *Gila News-Courier*, which was published at Gila River in Rivers, Arizona. Both discuss various aspects of relocation and both are fairly negative in tone: the first exhorts internees to choose employment carefully rather than only as a means of leaving camp; the second encourages relocators to do so in the mid-west and the east, rather than the west coast, which has already proven itself to be hostile to Japanese Americans. Both topics also appear in Amache-written editorials.

Reprinted Editorials without Edits

There is a category of editorials, 60 in total, that consist of editorials reprinted from other newspapers, both larger newspapers with a national or regional distribution (e.g. *Colliers*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Sun*, the *Washington Post*) and smaller local newspapers (e.g. the *Modesto Bee*, the *Rocky Mountain News*). These outside editorials become more frequent later on in the *Pioneer's* run; only two appear prior to March 1944, but between that date and the end of the *Pioneer*, there are 73 of these outside-written editorials. Of those, nearly half were reprinted from newspapers local to California (e.g. the *Modesto Bee*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Sacramento Union*). An alphabetized list of the 39 outside news-sources appears in Appendix F.

Of those 60 editorials, 29 were reprinted from news-sources with a national circulation (*Colliers*, etc). Though in theory this category might overlap with the category of Californian news-sources, I chose to put Californian news-sources with a national distribution (e.g. *The San Francisco Chronicle*) in the category of Californian news-sources. I did this under the assumption that for the internees, the vast majority of whom were from California, these nationally distributed but California-based newspapers were more important for their origin than for their distribution. It is possible that the preponderance of Californian newspapers is because these were more likely to report on Japanese Americans than were those in the rest of the nation. California had

been more affected by internment than any other state¹⁶, having had a much larger Japanese American population than any other state. Though clearly Japanese American internment was a subject of debate in the rest of the country, the topic likely loomed more largely in California.

It is also possible that the presence of so many reprinted editorials, especially later on in the *Pioneer's* run, may be in part due to a lack of staff. Many Amacheans, including the staff of the *Pioneer*, heeded the urging of the *Pioneer* and the WRA and relocated; it is possible that the reprinting of the editorials is merely a sign of the *Pioneer* being short-staffed. I find this unlikely, however. The presence of an editorial was clearly not necessary for the publication of an issue: sometimes the *Pioneer* went for weeks without the appearance of an editorial, reprinted or otherwise. It might also be argued that the *Pioneer* might not have had space for an editorial in certain issues, to which I respond that editions of the *Pioneer* varied from between six to twelve pages, and that certain editorials were so long as to require smaller-than-usual type and even so spilled onto another page; while considerations of space are valid, they were not insurmountable.

Most of the reprinted editorials, at least those for which I was able to locate the original version, appear in the *Pioneer* in full or with changes so minor (a spelling error, the use of a different acronym) that the two versions are functionally identical. In some cases, however, changes were made.

¹⁶ Hawaii was also heavily affected, but it remained a territory until 1959. The islands' possible statehood was being discussed, however, and the allegiances of the large Japanese Hawaiian population was a contentious topic ("Hawaii's Statehood," October 4, 1944).

Editorials Reprinted with Edits

For the most part, there were no changes in the content of the editorials, though the number of editorials for which I was able to make the comparison was very limited. A number of editorials were edited, and a further number were cited in Amache-written editorials. In both cases, the excised material is very interesting.

In the instance of the *Washington Post* editorial that appeared in the *Pioneer* as “Slocum featured by Columnist Pearson” (June 16, 1943), there were a few minimal edits to restructure the editorial as a quote, rather than a reprint, and the title was changed (though the *Washington Post's* title encompassed several editorials, and did not refer specifically to Japanese Americans, so this is unsurprising) (see Appendix E4). The final paragraph of the *Washington Post's* editorial, however, does not appear in the *Pioneer's* reprint, and the only indication that the entire editorial did not appear was an ellipsis at the end of an embedded quote. The placement of the ellipsis is somewhat suspect: within the quote, it suggests that the quote itself was abridged, rather than the editorial that the quote appears in. The elided paragraph makes reference to internment, in terms that though positive about the internees, are not altogether positive about internment itself.

An editorial from the *Boston Daily Globe's* May 9, 1944 issue was reprinted in the *Pioneer's* May 17, 1944 edition (see Appendix E7). Though the editorial was not printed in full, there are no indications to that effect in the *Pioneer*. Though the edited version of

the editorial was rated a 5 on the emotional intensity scale, the unedited version is still more scathing; one of the deleted lines reads “[discrimination against Japanese Americans] is stupidity difficult to excuse. The attitude is cruel.” The final line of the original editorial was also deleted; it reads “they and their kind should be accepted everywhere.”

Another editorial from an outside source was reprinted on the same page as “Real Americans,” this time from the *Washington Post*: “War vs. Civil Rights: Military Government in Hawaii,” by Merlo Pusey. Unlike the piece from the *Boston Daily Globe*, the reprinted version of this piece (“War vs. Civil Rights,” May 17, 1944) does indicate where material has been deleted (see Appendix E1). The edited version of the editorial was rated a 5, and the deleted material is of the same emotional intensity as the rest of the editorial. Most of the deleted material pertains specifically to the continued rule of martial law in Hawaii, and thus is only minimally pertinent to Amacheans.

Finally, an editorial from the *Boston Daily Globe* (“Supremely American,” November 14, 1944) was reprinted in the *Pioneer* (November 25, 1944) with its last two paragraphs deleted (see Appendix E6). This is a fairly significant change, as the deleted paragraphs referenced internment in very negative terms. As originally written, the editorial makes a comparison between the sacrifice of a *Nisei* soldier for America and the mistreatment of his community by America; as printed in the *Pioneer*, it becomes a considerably less trenchant commentary.

Reprinted Editorials with Minor Changes

In two cases only the title was changed; “Death Comes to Mrs. Ohki's Son” (the *Milwaukee Journal*, September 15, 1944) was reprinted in the *Pioneer* as “To Mrs. Ohki's Son” (September 27, 1944). The change in the title, though superficially minimal, changes its meaning dramatically; where the original title was informative, the *Pioneer's* title makes the reprinted editorial, which contains a quote from Mrs. Ohki, a eulogy to her son, or a last missive from mother to child. In the other example, also from the *Milwaukee Journal*, “Once Again, Our Heroic *Nisei*” (November 9, 1944) became “Our Heroic *Nisei*” in the *Pioneer* (November 15, 1944). This change is less fathomable; though the original title's implication of a feat repeated was perhaps slightly more encouraging, the *Pioneer's* title does not suffer any appreciable loss of impact. This editorial is also notable because the event it relates would eventually become known as the Rescue of the Lost Battalion, a famous victory for the 442nd.

No Editorial

A category that also proved useful was that of a lack of editorial. There does not appear to have been an expectation that the *Pioneer* must print an editorial in every issue, and indeed 141 of the 304 issues went to press without an editorial. As each issue could be anywhere from five to fifteen pages long and the *Pioneer* was not unduly limited by a lack of either funds or materials, the lack of editorial is highly unlikely to have been due to a need to conserve space on the printed page. In a few instances, the editorial's

accustomed place on the second page had been filled by some other clearly time-sensitive content: a report from the director of the camp, for instance, or the transcription of a teletype relaying that there had been shots fired into the home of a family who had recently returned to California from Amache (“Teletype: Doi Incident,” January 24, 1945). However, given that there was a space of anywhere from a few days to nearly two weeks between the time when an editorial appeared in its original source and the time it was printed in the *Pioneer*, and Amache-written editorials could also doubtless be postponed if necessary, it is likely that most pieces that the editors wrote or found of importance appeared in the *Pioneer* unless suppressed by censors.

Written by non-Internees at Amache

There were also six editorials in the *Pioneer* that were written by non-internees. Joe McClelland, the Reports Officer in charge of the *Pioneer*, and John Spencer, Chief of the Granada Farm Division, each authored two editorials. A WRA administrator wrote the fifth, and the sixth was by a Mrs. Margaret Hopcraft. These were written in a less personable style, and, unlike the other editorials, both Amache-written and those reprinted from outside news-sources, addressed readers in the second person rather than the first.

Genre

For the most part, both the editorials written inside and outside Amache conform to the standard genres of American editorials and op-eds: they outline a problem and

argue for a certain solution to that problem. They are primarily written in prose and use a slightly more colloquial style than the rest of the paper, often addressing the reader directly. The combination of the problem-solution format and the direct address to the reader means that some of the editorials may appear to even be somewhat patronizing (e.g. “Buckle Down,” May 5, 1943).

The few editorials that do not fit within that genre clearly do so in order to catch and retain the reader's attention, and to thereby argue their point more forcefully. One example is “Opportunity” (unsigned, January 30¹⁷, 1943), which is unusual in using short sentences, each of which is a single paragraph. This conveys a sense of brevity and urgency that underlines the editorial's argument that *Nisei* must enlist in the Army in order to “demonstrate their desire to live the American way.” The piece “Are You Griping?” (unsigned, December 30, 1944), in addition to giving each sentence a new paragraph, also makes its first three lines questions, all of which begin “Are YOU griping because [...]” (uppercase original). The repetition allows readers who identify with any one of the questions to feel sympathy with people who responded to the others, creating a sense of unity. Both these and the few other atypical editorials (including “Take a Letter Miss Secretary,” unsigned, November 3, 1943; “The Editor's Letter, April 12, 1944, reprinted from the *Peoria Reader*, no date; “Send These... to Me,” April 22, 1944, reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor*, April 15, 1944; see Appendix C5) tend to use stronger language than the average editorial.

17 Due to a printing error on the part of the *Pioneer*, the editorial page of this issue lists the date as “January 20, 1943.”

Topics

My analysis produced a list of twelve topics. This list appears in Appendix B. Because editorials could contain content belonging to more than one topic, the percentages listed are not equal to one hundred percent. In fact, the co-occurrences of a number of the topics were quite interesting (see Appendix G), as were the probabilities that a given topic would appear if another had already been mentioned (see Appendix H).

The *Granada Pioneer*

Eight of the editorials, or about four percent, were about the *Granada Pioneer*. These were for the most part informational editorials, announcing a change in leadership or of policy. There was very little overlap with other topics; editorials about the *Pioneer* were nearly all only about the *Pioneer*.

Relocation

Relocation was not as prominent a topic as I had anticipated: only 31 of the editorials, or about 16 percent, focused on relocation. Their temporal distribution is less surprising: the first mention of relocation comes in January 1943, then another in April, but after that the topic is mentioned every month until January 1944, after which it is a less popular topic, possibly because at that point everyone was well aware of the need to relocate. Relocation did not significantly overlap with any other topics. Most of the editorials mentioning relocation fall in the middle of my emotional intensity scale, being

neither dispassionate nor impassioned. However, nearly all the editorials were very positive about the topic of relocation, regardless of the strength of language used. Even when editorials acknowledged that relocation might be difficult, the overriding sentiment was that relocation was worth nearly any price, and this sentiment was clearly and repeatedly expressed.

Internment

The topic of internment, like that of relocation, appeared less frequently than I anticipated: only 19 of the editorials talked about it, and 13 of those were outside-written. Over half of these mentions come in 1944, when there was a greater number of outside-written editorials overall, and most of these come with a vote of support; these are editorials that are supportive of the internees and negative towards internment generally. The topic of internment was most likely to co-occur with discussion of “racism,” “support” (there is a 52 percent and 62 percent chance, respectively, that those topics will appear in an editorial about “internment”), or the “disloyals” (in an editorial about the “disloyals” there is an 80 percent chance that internment will be discussed).

World War II

The *Pioneer* made it clear that the Japanese American community must continue to do their part in the war effort, despite their internment. Indeed, the war and *Nisei* involved in the war effort were popular topics. There were 15 editorials explicitly about the war: they were about the war effort, or fund-raising, mostly, though a few were about

the USO and similar organizations. Most of these appear in 1945, and only one editorial mentions the war in 1944. Though there was a chance that the topics of patriotism and *Nisei* in the War would appear in a WWII editorial, those probabilities were lower than I expected (38 percent and 31 percent, respectively).

There were very few references to the Pacific front, and nearly all of which were from outside-written editorials. The only mention (in the editorial section) of the victory over Japan (August 15, 1945 in Japan, August 14 in the United States due to the international date line) comes on August 25, as a reprint from the August 21st edition of the *Rocky Mountain News*.

***Nisei* in the War**

Though the 15 editorials that discuss the war generally and the 40 that discuss *Nisei* in the war, only 6 editorials mention both, which is a smaller percentage than I would have guessed. However, one of the problems with this topic is that many others, including “*Nisei* in the war,” are a direct consequence of the war and may be subsumed in that topic: it was very difficult to make the distinction between, for instance, “internment” and “WWII.” “*Nisei* in the War” was a separate topic from “WWII” because mentions of *Nisei* fighting for the United States were often used for a specific purpose, separate from general mentions of the war. There were 40 editorials that discussed *Nisei* in the war in some way, either in the language school at Camp Savage or, later, fighting in the army. Though we know from other sources that there were *Nisei*

women in the WAACS/WACS and the WAVS, the editorials only ever refer to *Nisei* in the war by “Joe *Nisei*” or “doughboys” or similarly gendered phrases. Unfortunately, it is outside the scope of my research to do more than note this discrepancy.

There was a 76 percent probability that an editorial that mentioned *Nisei* in the War would also mention patriotism, and a 63 percent probability that it would also mention support of Japanese Americans. Interestingly, there was also a 61 percent probability that an editorial that mentioned the patriotism of Japanese Americans would also mention the *Nisei* in the War.

“Disloyals”

With a few exception, for the most part the editorials carefully avoid discussing the “disloyals.” When they are mentioned in internee-written editorials, it is obliquely, and usually by contrast with the “loyal” internees. One such example comes in a piece welcoming new arrivals from Tule Lake; these were being transferred because they had answered positively to the loyalty oath, and were being transferred to make room for the “No-No”s. The *Pioneer* assures the Tuleans that “they can find comfort in the knowledge that we residents here belong in the same category of people,” i.e. the “loyals.” (“Welcome,” September 15, 1943). Later, when an Amache-written editorial addresses the unrest at Tule Lake in late 1943, the references to the “disloyals” are within quotations from outside sources, and the *Pioneer* explicitly frames them as being positive for the “loyal” internees because it makes them look good by comparison (“Ill-Wind

Blows Good,” November 10, 1943). Interestingly, if an editorial featured content for “disloyals,” there was a 70 percent probability that that editorial also contained content for “racism,” an 80 percent probability that it contained content about internment, and a 100 percent probability that it contained content that was supportive of Japanese Americans. The reverse was not true, however: there was only a 38 percent probability that an editorial about internment would mention the “disloyals,” and all other probabilities were far lower.

Camp Life

Amache itself and the internees' life there was also frequently discussed; “camp life” was the third-most populated topic with 45 editorials. This topic had little overlap with most of the others, as it was mainly concerned with the day-to-day running of Amache. I looked at sub-topics in this category, as it was diverse enough that I wanted to get a better idea of what it contained. Unfortunately this was mostly unilluminating: 9 of the editorials were about health (there were a number of strongly-worded pieces about polio); 6 were about Amache's system of self-government, which apparently was not as well populated or run as the *Pioneer* staff would have desired; 6 were about the farm run by the internees; 4 were on the camp's system of requisitions; 3 were on local matters; camp administration and education each had two mentions, and there were 10 editorials on topics that were only ever mentioned once. There were 7 editorials, however, that were pleas or entreaties for camp unity; two of these editorials were also on requisitions,

which appeared to have been a matter of some contention. This category overlapped very little with any other category.

The WRA

The WRA was rarely mentioned outright in editorials written by internees; in fact, it was only mentioned four times in the run of the *Pioneer*. When it appeared, however, the *Pioneer* invariably defended the WRA, explaining that they were doing the best they could, that internment was not their fault, and the internees should be understanding of them. These pieces fall all over the emotional intensity scale, from dispassionate to impassioned and in between. At the same time, however, a number of editorials reprinted from outside sources were very critical of the WRA. These often relate at length the deficiencies in the WRA's handling of both evacuation and internment, mentions of both of which are notably lacking in Amache-written pieces. This category did not overlap significantly with other categories.

Support

“Support” was easily the most populated topic, with 68 editorials featuring some kind of support of the internees, almost entirely (59, or nearly 90 percent) from outside-written editorials that were reprinted without commentary in the *Pioneer*. A further 5 editorials were Amache-written but referred to or quoted an outside-written editorial. The vast majority also occur in 1944 or 1945; in 1944 there are at least two nearly every month. The outside sources are quite varied, from small local papers like the *Rocky*

Mountain News (local to Denver) to small papers not local to the area like the *Modesto Bee* (from Modesto, CA), the *Register Republic* (Rockford, IL) and the *Sentinel* (Fitchburg, MA) to papers from large metropolitan areas like the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and the *Washington Post*, to those with a national readership like *Colliers* and the *Christian Science Monitor*. This topic overlapped significantly with other editorials: an editorial featuring “support” had a probability of 60 percent of also mentioning racism against Japanese Americans, and a 56 percent probability of mentioning Japanese Americans' patriotism. An editorial on “*Nisei* in the War” had a 63 percent probability of mentioning support for Japanese Americans, an editorial on racism against Japanese Americans had a 58 percent probability of supporting them, an editorial on internment had a 62 percent probability of mentioning support, an editorial on patriotism had a 69 percent probability of mentioning support, and all the editorials mentioning the “disloyals” also discussed support for Japanese Americans (100 percent probability).

Racism

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the topic of “racism” was fairly large: 71 of the editorials, or 37 percent, contained content that mentioned acts of racism against Japanese Americans, or was itself racist. This topic appeared often as a component of other topic, and overlapped heavily with “support” (41 editorials, or 21 percent, featured content applicable to both; if an editorial contained content for “support,” there was a 60 percent chance that that editorial also featured content for “racism,” and 58 percent vice versa).

Another interesting thing was that the Amache-written editorials were very carefully worded with regard to the perpetrators of racist attacks. The racism sometimes came from an anthropomorphized “California” (“Racial Tides,” November 6, 1943), which allowed inhabitants of that state some deniability. When people are blamed (though never named), the *Pioneer* goes to great lengths to assure readers that the group in question is quite small and merely gets attention because it is loud (“Eyes Front, *Nisei*,” November 13, 1943). A few of the editorials frame the problem of racism as a challenge to the *Nisei* to “go out and make something of ourselves” (“Somebody' Has Spoken,” November 27, 1943).

Patriotism

Fifty-five of the editorials, or about 29 percent, contained material that was supportive of Japanese Americans. This topic overlapped fairly significantly with the topics of “*Nisei* in the War” and “support.” There was a 69 percent probability that an editorial containing material for “patriotism” would also contain material for “support,” and a 61 percent probability that an editorial containing material for “patriotism” would also contain material for “*Nisei* in the War.” The reverse was also true; an editorial with “*Nisei* in the War” had a 76 percent probability of also containing “patriotism,” and an editorial with “support” had a 56 percent probability of containing “patriotism.” Interestingly, an editorial with “patriotism” had a 49 percent probability of containing material for “racism.”

Local News

“Local News” was a fairly small topic, with only eight mentions in the population, or about 4 percent. Of the editorials that were tagged “local news,” a fair number mentioned “racism”: a column featuring the former had a 63 percent probability of also mentioning the latter. The reverse was not true, however: “local news” appeared only infrequently in other columns, likely due to its small number of occurrences overall.

Emotional Intensity

There did seem to be a correlation between stronger language being used and the source of the editorial: the editorials written in Amache used less strong language and discussed less contentious topics, and those written outside the camp and quoted, either whole or in part, used stronger language and discussed more divisive and controversial topics. Some internee-written editorials even preach dispassion; in an editorial on remarks made by Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt, who publicly declared that “a Jap's a Jap” and all of them, Japanese citizens and otherwise, should not be allowed to return to the West Coast, readers were exhorted to “pity him and don't waste your anger,” and the general tone of the editorial is quiet (“To Be Pitied,” April 24, 1943). Contrast this with the several editorials reprinted in full from the Washington Post, each of which run to nearly one thousand words and are vehement in their defense of the patriotism of the internees and the illegality of internment (“For our part, we have grave doubts even as to the detention of [Japanese Americans].” [“Japanese Americans,” April 5, 1944]). Even more interestingly, there is a correlation between the source of the editorial and the

strength of the emotion with which it is written. When the sources of the editorials are condensed into two groups, interneer and non-internee, the function returned a correlation of 0.509, which indicates a positive correlation between the two variables. When the function was repeated and the editorials written by non-internees at Amache were omitted from the population, the function returned a correlation of 0.565, which indicates a positive correlation of a greater degree than the previous function.

The average emotional intensity of an Amache-internee written editorial was 2.57, while the average emotional intensity of an outside-written editorial was 3.98. As can be seen in figure 4, while the overall emotional intensity of the editorials is fairly evenly distributed, the Amache-written editorials skew heavily towards the lower end of the scale (exactly 80 percent of the Amache-written editorials are classed as a 1, 2 or 3), while the editorials printed from outside news-sources skew heavily to the high end (46 percent of the outside-written editorials are classed as a 5, and nearly 70 percent are a 4 or a 5).

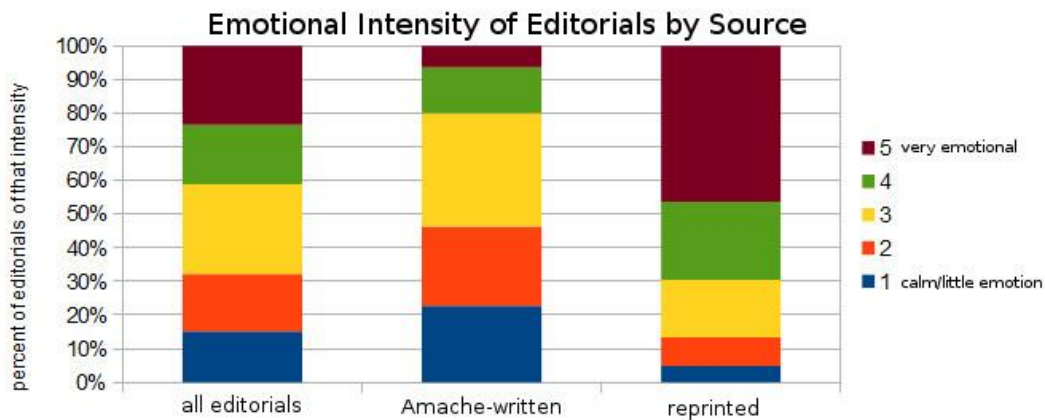


Fig. 5.1 Emotional Intensity of the *Pioneer*'s Editorials

The *Granada Pioneer*

Contents

It rapidly became obvious that there were a great number of events and activities on offer at Amache. There were sports teams, organized by block (e.g. the “7F Skibos,” “9E Raiders,” assembly centers (e.g. the “Modesto Midgets,” “Modesto Skookums,” “Livingston Wolverines,” “Walnut Grove Deltans”), through the high school (e.g. the “Amache Les Etoiles”) and through some other mechanism (possibly on a volunteer basis; e.g. the “Kau Kau Lane Zoros,” “Amache Roughriders”); all team name examples taken from the *Pioneer Sports* page, December 16, 1942 [page 6]). There were regular movie showings, dances, festivals, lectures, classes, church services, parties, Girl Scout groups, Boy Scout groups, and so on, and “the public” was almost invariably invited to attend.

On average about half the content of each issue of the *Pioneer* consisted of regular columns and features. Some of these, such as the editorial column, the sports page (which eventually also had a dedicated column within the page titled “Bullseye,” written by Jiro Sumita), and “Between Us Girls,” a women's interest column penned by Taxie Kusunoki, had clear analogies in mainstream newspapers. Others had analogies in community newspapers: “*Nisei* Potpourri” which commented generally on topics of interest to *Nisei*, and “Thumbnail Sketches,” which profiled individuals in the community, are examples. Others, including “Rustlings from other Centers,” which reported on events in other internment camps, “Y's Way,” the YMCA column, and a

short run of articles about living in Colorado entitled “Our Second Frontier,” meant to acquaint readers with local weather, history and so on, were more specific to the *Pioneer* and the specific situation of internment. Though the regular columns could be more strongly worded, they were generally within the same emotional range as the Amache-written editorials. The rest of the *Pioneer's* content was mostly strictly informative, with only the barest hint of partiality.

Terminology

Though non-quantifiable, it appeared to me that “evacuee” as a designator was fairly unpopular, and use tapered off fairly quickly. “Internee” was also little-used, though its use continued through the run of the *Pioneer*. On the other end of the scale, *Nisei* seemed easily the most popular designator, with “Japanese-American” or “Japanese American” coming in a more distant second. As results, these are not particularly surprising: “evacuee” would become less useful as a descriptor once the evacuation was past, and “internee” would be a negative reminder of internment. The popularity of “*Nisei*” is also unsurprising: as an endonym¹⁸ it would naturally be more popular than the cumbersome “Japanese American” and other hyphenates. Interestingly, “*Issei*” appears only very infrequently, though this may be at least partially attributable to the fact that I was working with the English-language section, which the *Issei* were less likely to read.

The use of “concentration camp” to designate the internment camps, on the other hand, did not appear until fairly late in the editorial run. It appears in a piece reprinted

18 An endonym is a name used by the group to designate itself or individuals thereof.

from the *Milwaukee Journal* (“To Mrs Ohki's Son,” September 27, 1944; originally published September 15) that argues vociferously that this phrase is the most accurate one to describe the camps; I rated the piece a 5 on the emotional intensity scale. In fact, there are a few editorials written by internees that explicitly reject the use of that term. However, the fact that it appears in editorials printed in such camps is interesting, despite the rejection of the term. It is possible that because the term was used by an outside source, it was more able to slip by the censors. Of course, it is also possible that the internees preferred not to change the content of the reprinted editorials, though they did do so a few times (see “Real Americans,” May 17, 1944).

Attribution

For the most part, the Amache-written editorials are unsigned, and the “speaker” of the editorials is implied to be the staff of the *Pioneer*, who clearly position themselves as part of the general American community, the Japanese American community, the *Nisei* community, the general internee community, and the Amache community. There is no obvious indication that there are any writers on staff who are not members of all of those communities; except in the editorials attributed to non-internees, there is no obvious suggestion, through the use of pronouns, self-descriptions or otherwise, that clearly suggests that the staff consider themselves to not be members of that community. Whether those various communities agree with that assessment is not always clear, though by the fact of internment we can assume that not all Americans took the Japanese Americans as being part of their group.

Otherwise, the editorials are usually signed, whether by the initials of a member of staff (and therefore an internee), or with the name of a member of the administration, or the whole piece is carefully attributed to whichever external news-source it was reprinted from, with the date of its original printing. If that external source is signed, that name is also reproduced. That some pieces ran with bylines shows that their removal was a deliberate choice, and one that has a number of consequences. First, without a byline, a piece is said to reflect the views of the newspaper as a whole: individuals are less accountable. One of the consequences of this monolithic approach, especially in view of the “supervisory” role of the WRA, is that deciphering what was written under the aegis of the WRA becomes more complicated. It might be argued that in removing the byline, the newspaper was protecting the writer from the wrath of the WRA, but given the presence of the “reports officer” on the staff, it seems highly unlikely that the administration would not be able to trace an editorial to its source. Perhaps the lack of byline is meant to protect the writer from their fellow internees, or to conceal the hand of the WRA.

Engagement

For the most part, the *Pioneer* does not engage directly with other news-sources, but two of its editorials are direct responses to other pieces, and both highlight some interesting tensions. One, printed in the April 28th, 1943 edition, is in response to a cartoon that was printed in the *Denver Post* that juxtaposes an imagined scene of comfort

and ease in the internment camps, while “Nipponese” soldiers bayonet American prisoners of war on a television screen¹⁹ (“Rebuttal”). The Amache-written editorial decries the cartoon in moderately strong language (I rated it a 4 on the intensity scale), one of only a handful on the higher end of that scale. The editorial also, interestingly, frames the cartoon as being an attack on the WRA's relocation plan, rather than on the internees. This framing sets up the cartoon as being unpatriotic, and suggests that the internees, in cooperating with the WRA during both internment and relocation, are the more patriotic group. The other rebuttal comes over a year later, in September 1944 (“About Face, Please,” September 13, 1944). Unlike the earlier example, this issue actually reprinted the offending piece, in this case a short editorial by Mark Hellinger of the *San Francisco Examiner* (“Scum of the Earth,” same issue). The reprinting itself suggests that the internees were unlikely to have access to that particular news-source, but it also shows the kind of invective that was being thrown at Japanese Americans. Though the title is quite damning, Hellinger goes on to say that “the Jap is the dirtiest, the most despicable torturer the world has ever known. He has no sense of honor, no sense of decency, no sense of humanity,” and conflates Japanese Americans with the Japanese against whom the US was waging war. In contrast, the *Pioneer's* rebuttal is calm and collected: “[the staff of the *Pioneer*] always held a brief [sic: belief] that Mark Hellinger was one of the upper-strata in the writing field,” but this piece “sort of make [sic] us shy away from his bandwagon.” The *Pioneer* clarifies that though they do not agree with Hellinger, their feelings are due not to their own hurt but to “the harm he is

19 This was likely in response to reports that a “substantial number” of British and Indian prisoners of War were killed by bayonet. See “Japs 'Murder' British Prisoners With Bayonets,” *Washington Post* (1943).

doing to the Americans of Japanese Ancestry, which is totally unjustified.” The contrast of language not only illustrates the kind of harassment that *Nisei* have been facing, possibly for the benefit of non-*Nisei* readers, but also makes the *Pioneer* and the internees seem much more restrained, mature, and patriotic by comparison.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS

Though I was unsurprised to find that the *Pioneer* was helping Amache to form a *habitus*, it eventually became clear that the situation was more complicated than that. There was more resistance against the WRA than I had expected, and more active engagement with the outside world than I had anticipated.

Amache

Embodied Ideology

Bourdieu saw *habitus* as “embodied ideology,” shaped by shared social values, lifestyle and habits. It is clear that the inhabitants of Amache shared many of these, both by shared cultural background and the institutionalization inherent to life at Amache. Certainly they shared certain aspects of lifestyle and habit, as these were enforced by the WRA: mealtimes, working hours, activities, and the limits of personal freedom were closely regulated by armed guards and barbed wire fences. These were supplemented by a host of sports, activities, festivals, classes, dances, movies, and lectures, all of which were announced in the *Pioneer*; doubtless there were other group activities that went unannounced, or were announced via some other method. The fact that the *Pioneer* takes the form of a newspaper, fancy letterhead, headlines, editorials, letters to the editor, cartoons and so on, was an ideological choice to emphasize the community-building aspect of the *Pioneer*. Other methods and formats of sharing camp news would have

performed the same function, but newspapers as a genre are particularly associated with communities, and especially those that are first defined geographically.

By the design of internment, all of the internees shared a common heritage, and the vast majority had been evacuated from the same general area. As a result, they would have brought similar social touchstones: food and music preferences, slang words, social vocabularies and expectations. The reinforcement of these through the emphasis on Californian newspapers, on topics that specifically affect Japanese Americans such as racism, internment, and relocation, and the use of endonyms further adds to the habitus of the community. In addition, the Amache-written editorials speak to their readers as if both reader and writer are internees, and the reporting of “local news” create a slightly exclusionary community, within which only Amacheans are permitted. At the same time, however, discord within the community is de-emphasized: the editorials carefully avoided mentions of divisive topics, such as the “disloyals,” and topics that would likely have been painful, such as the evacuation from the West Coast. The habitus was meant, in some ways, as a performance of earnest patriotism. The audience for that performance was both the Amacheans and the outside readers, though some aspects, such as the discussion of relocation, were more pointedly directed at Amacheans. But the performance of habitus was important for both readerships: to the internees, it was meant as a model of “good” behavior, while to the non-Japanese American readers, unaware that the *Pioneer* was not representative of all internees' opinions, the performance was a demonstration of non-threatening, earnest community.

Disrupting the *Habitus*

Though the *Pioneer* encouraged the formation of a *habitus* at Amache, it also attempted to contest and disrupt aspects of that *habitus*. One of the changes was to re-frame relocation as a way of regaining power lost in evacuation and internment, and of demonstrating the Amacheans' patriotism. Though no one knew how long the war might last, and indeed many internees remained so until after the end of the war, the camps were nevertheless thought of as transitory: internees did not expect to remain in-camp, nor in the power of the WRA generally. Relocation was a fairly popular topic, both in the editorials and in the rest of the paper; a piece printed in December 1944 explaining that the *Pioneer's* new policy was to emphasize relocation and to provide as much information as possible to facilitate that ("Our New Policy," December 20, 1944). Further, the internees' ability to relocate is framed as an exercise of their power and right to self-determination.

There were a number of sound reasons to stay in Amache, and to build a *habitus* that was primarily place-based. Such reasons included a worry that a second evacuation might be ordered, a desire to return to their homes on the West Coast rather than start anew elsewhere, and a simple disenchantment with the WRA and disinterest in cooperating with them more than necessary. One of the goals of the WRA, however, was to re-integrate the internees into American society, and the formation of a *habitus* at

Amache that did not explicitly feature relocation was antithetical to that goal. Internees were frequently encouraged to relocate, and relocation itself is framed as both the “right” thing for Japanese Americans to do and the “safe” thing; one of the editorials notes an apparently persistent worry that Nisei will no longer be welcome in new communities after the war, and in response the *Pioneer* urges readers to relocate as soon as possible and make themselves indispensable to their new communities (“Our Only Chance,” November 13, 1943). Relocation became synonymous with “rejoining American society at large;” the act of relocation was a means of performing their patriotism. The topic of relocation was, however, a much more complicated issue than its frequent casual mentions in the *Pioneer* would suggest. Reasons to stay in camp were ignored or dismissed. Alternatives to immediate relocation, among them repatriation to Japan and staying in camp, were only rarely discussed, and repatriation especially was only discussed as something that “other” internees were doing. Amacheans, by implicit contrast, were “good” internees, and the best way to demonstrate that, it was strongly suggested, was to relocate.

Circumventing WRA Censorship

Norman Fairclough defined intertextuality as the understanding that all texts are “demarcated by a change of speaker (or writer), and are oriented retrospectively to the utterances of previous speakers [...] and prospectively to the anticipated utterances of next speakers” (Fairclough 1992:270). This is a definition which certainly encompasses the editorial column of the *Pioneer*, the writers of which both wrote their own editorials

and reprinted editorials from diverse outside sources. In the case of the *Pioneer*, it appears that the staff took advantage of this opportunity to express themselves, when they were otherwise hampered by censorship. A large part of the reason that camp newspapers were circulated beyond the camps, according to Mizuno (2001), was the WRA's desire to show the rest of America that the internees were being well treated; the appearance of a free press was important to that image. We know from historical sources that the staff of the *Pioneer* was under pressure from both the administration and the other internees (Chang 1997:342-343). We have little means of knowing what was entirely suppressed, but we can look at the patterns of editorials that were edited. There are few of these, but the pattern is telling: content that was highly critical of the WRA were deleted, as was content that was perhaps deemed to be too defensive of the Japanese American community. Simply supportive language was allowable: a great number of editorials contain messages of support. Content that suggests that the internees needed to be defended from the WRA, however, was suppressed. Though I can only guess at the origin of this suppression, I would imagine that it originated from the WRA rather than self-censorship by the staff. Had the staff of the *Pioneer* not wanted to convey certain information, they might have chosen to write an editorial, or reprint one from another source, or not print an editorial at all. The fact that the editorial seems to have been interfered with later in the process suggests external, rather than internal, pressure.

More subtly, the dramatic difference in emotional intensity between the Amache-written editorials and those that were reprinted suggests that the staff of the *Pioneer* was

circumventing the WRA's censorship by allowing the outside editorials to voice complaints shared by the internees. Though the staff of the *Pioneer* might not have been able (or willing) to use strong language for themselves, with the exception of health-related issues (see Results 1.3 “camp life”), they could borrow the words of others and allow the others' indignation to speak for them. This ability becomes especially important in instances where the reprinted editorials are critical of the WRA. Though some of them were edited to leaven the criticism, some, especially towards the end of the *Pioneer's* run, were not. Where the internees might not have wanted to criticize the WRA, or were perhaps wary of any language that might seem self-pitying, reprinting the editorials allowed them to express themselves without running afoul of the WRA censors. In this light, the high co-occurrence of “racism” and “support” in the editorials becomes very interesting. If the staff of the *Pioneer* were to point to these incidents themselves, they might have been accused of being too negative or self-serving. By allowing other writers to point to and condemn the incidents, non-*Nisei* readers are made aware of (and perhaps more sympathetic to) the difficulties faced by Japanese Americans, while the Japanese American readers are made aware of the support they have outside of their own community.

America

Imagined Community

Benedict Anderson defined an “imagined community” as a group of individuals who, without having all met in person, nevertheless believe that they constitute a defined

group based on a shared attribute, belief, or other marker. Though there are a number of potential applications of this definition of community, one of the definitions that Anderson explored, and one that is particularly useful in my research, was within the context of nation-building and nationalism. Here I argue that the *Pioneer* was attempting to shape a pre-existing entity: the imagined community of “America.”

In the course of my research, the many outside editorials showed that the *Pioneer* was engaged in conversations with the rest of the journalistic field far more than I had anticipated. These interactions, in concert with the editorials written at Amache, showed that the *Pioneer* was changing another imagined community at Amache: that of “America.” The concept of “America” is given a great deal of weight, not only as a patriotic ideal but as a community of people, both of which are possible iterations of Anderson's “imagined community.” The internees are framed as being completely loyal to the concept of “America,” but as being excluded from that community as it is currently defined. The staff of the *Pioneer*, therefore, does their best to re-define the imagined community of “America” in the minds of its readers into a version that is open to Japanese Americans. There are two components to this: they have to show that there is a place in the community for Japanese Americans, and they have to show that Japanese Americans are ready and willing to be part of that community. One of the ways in which the *Pioneer* challenged the official mind of American society was in their redefinition of what being “American” constituted. By the evidence of internment, the “official mind” did not believe that Japanese Americans were Americans; the *Pioneer* was working to

change that perception. However, they were not directly challenging that perception; rather they were affirming their place in that community and re-iterating that they had always been a part of it. The *Pioneer* therefore became something of a performance of patriotism. It sought to redefine “being American” as a performance of patriotism, rather than fact based on ancestry and immigrant status.

One of the dualities that I had not thought to find was the comparison of “American principles” and acts of racism. However, there were a large number of editorials that appealed to “American principles” or similar as a sort of higher authority: in one example, the *Christian Science Monitor* imagines that the Statue of Liberty “must have bowed her head in shame at the repudiation of her promised-filled invitation”²⁰, after which it goes on to quote that invitation (“Send These ... To Me,” April 22, 1943; reprinted from the *Christian Science Monitor*, April 15, 1943). Other editorials, nearly all reprinted, are even more pointed; the *Omaha World Herald*, after quoting the words of Technical Sergeant Kuroki, note that “his words might well be pondered by some, perhaps well-intentioned, who have the face of Americans but the hearts of bigots so far as Ben Kuroki and his minority group of Americans are concerned” (“Home is Where the Heart Is,” December 9, 1944; reprinted from the *Omaha World Herald*, November 28).

Remembered and Wanted

20 The author refers to the oft-quoted lines from Emma Lazarus' sonnet “The New Colossus,” which was engraved on a plaque on the inner wall of the statue's pedestal in 1903. The poem reads, in part, “[...] “Give me your tired, your poor,/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,/The wretched refuse of your teeming shore./Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost [sic] to me,/I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”” (National Park Service 2014).

The large numbers of outside-written editorials, especially those that are supportive of the *Nisei*, were reprinted in the *Pioneer* in part to signal to the internees that the outside world had not forgotten them or their plight, and indeed it desired their return. It does appear that there was a concerted effort to find editorials that were positive towards and supportive of Japanese Americans. One Amache-written editorial notes that “a day doesn't pass that we, *Nisei*, can't thumb through national newspapers or magazines without finding an article of encouragement for us” (“Your Friend and Mine,” Dec. 4, 1943), and indeed there are more editorials containing supportive language than there are of any other variety. One of the editorials addresses this, though not quite directly; “S.S.” notes that “favorable news stories or fair treatment for *Nisei* are not enough. But when various papers take a firm stand in their editorials it is encouraging” (Nov. 27, 1943). Nearly one-third of all the editorials contain some message of support for the internees, and nearly all of those are pieces are reprinted from an outside source. Some of those pieces are very strongly worded, as well, and indeed there is a correlation between high emotional intensity and an editorial being reprinted from an outside source. We can also look at the differences and overlaps between the topics of “support” and “racism.” For all intents and purposes, these topics appeared equally in the *Pioneer* (68 editorials featured the former, 71 the latter) and overlapped heavily (41 editorials featured both). Both were more likely to be reprinted than to be original to the *Pioneer*, though the supportive editorials were nearly entirely reprinted, which indicates that the writers believed that it was important that the supportive message come from outside the camp rather than inside it. Especially in this situation, where Japanese Americans had been excluded from society

by society, seeing that not all segments of that society were antagonistic toward them would be heartening.

Desire for Inclusion

At the same time, the *Pioneer* can also be read as an extended performance of interest in Americana, the American community, and of an ardent desire to be accepted as part of that community. The *Pioneer* does its best to reassure non-internee readers that the Japanese American community bore non-internees no particular ill-will and still wanted to be part of the community. This lack of animosity extended to the residents of California, who were understood to have been the fearful and racist citizens that precipitated internment; the *Pioneer* suggests, though anger may be a first response, rather, “pity him, and don't waste your anger” (“To Be Pitied,” April 24, 1943). This muted reaction can also be seen in the fact that Amache-written editorials are considerably more likely to be low on the emotional intensity scale. In the context of Goffman's “backstage,” in which the performer allows the audience to see the “real” self rather than that which is understood and acknowledged to be a performance, this lack of ill-will is presented as the “backstage” and therefore more “real” representation of Amacheans' feelings. Coupled with the many outside-written examples of racism toward Japanese Americans, this serves to reinforce the injustice of internment. In this more “real” backstage, the contrast between the internees' lack of ill-will and the acts of racism they experience invites readers unfamiliar with the community to draw the conclusion that the internees had been unfairly maligned. The fact of Nisei fighting on the front was

also used many times as performative proof of the loyalty of Japanese American generally. Though the writers of the Amache-written editorials are careful never to call into question the patriotism of non-internees, several of the reprinted articles are strong in their assertion that internment is a violation of “American principles” (e.g. “Is this the American Way?” July 8, 1944). “America” becomes an ideal separate from its government, and so the actions of the government can be criticized without loss of patriotism – at least, by those whose patriotism has not already been called into question.

Two Readerships

A number of my analytical points use the same evidence; this is not by chance. As earlier discussed, different readerships may view the same information differently, depending on the context within which they are reading it. Alternatively, certain readers may be excluded from the narrative. Here, the imagined community of America is not invited to participate in the *habitus* at Amache: certain aspects of the editorials and the *Pioneer* are clearly not intended for them. A number of elements contribute to this sense of exclusion: the assumption that the reader is familiar with the experience of evacuation and internment, for instance, and the assumption that “camp news” will be relevant to the reader, are good examples. These are elements clearly intended only for Amacheans. Other editorials deliberately include non-internees: the reprinted editorials, and especially those to which the *Pioneer* offers rebuttals, are opportunities for non-internees to be part of a community. This is the basis for my assertion that the *Pioneer* is building two separate communities: there is clearly one community to which only certain readers,

Amacheans, are allowed access, while another community, America, is open to all readers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

Technological Stumbling Blocks

One problem that I had not anticipated was that a number of pages of the *Pioneer* would be so degraded as to be entirely illegible to the human eye. I was sometimes able to solve this by downloading the page or issue in question from another database, but in some cases I was not able to find a more legible copy. Unfortunately, this meant that some potential data was lost. Further, though most of the issues of the *Pioneer* were legible to the human eye, very few of them were able to be parsed by any computer program that I had access to. I had initially planned to perform some content analysis, including word frequencies comparisons, but without being able to perform these counts digitally, that plan proved too labor-intensive. Without the ability to quickly scan the entire *Pioneer*, I was also forced to limit the bulk of my intense research to the editorials, rather than the entire issue. Though I tried to perform word counts by hand on the editorials, this also proved too labor intensive, and my use of quantitative data was finally restricted to the emotional intensity scale.

Expected Results

I had anticipated that the *Pioneer* would have used markers of community identity, including community-specific jargon, to bring the readers of the *Pioneer* into

community. I had expected that the staff of the *Pioneer* would have showed their resistance to the censorship of the WRA by explicitly framing the members of the administration as non-members of the Amache community, perhaps by addressing readers consistently as *Nisei*, or resisting the use of WRA euphemisms for the Amacheans, such as “evacuee.” With the addition of the reprinted editorials, I expected that the *Pioneer* had used the reprinted editorials as a means of expressing some of the frustration that they themselves were not permitted to express.

Significant Results

In my initial approach to the editorials, I did not anticipate that so many of them would have been reprinted from other news-sources, and this discovery changed the course of my research. As a result of this finding, I incorporated into my method the comparison of as many reprinted *Pioneer* editorials with their originals as was feasible, and found that a number of the editorials that were most critical of the WRA had been censored to remove those criticisms. I also found that the reprinted editorials were considerably more emotionally intense than the Amache-written editorials, and were more likely to discuss more controversial topics. Thus the reprinted editorials proved to be a very fruitful source of both hypothesis and analysis, and all the more so for being unexpected. They provide evidence, not only that the editorials that appeared in the *Pioneer* were being censored, but also that the staff was challenging that censorship. James Omura (1988) and others have expressed a great deal of frustration for what they see as the “collaboration” between the staff of the *Pioneer* (and other camp newspapers)

and the WRA. Omura and others of his opinions certainly have good reason for their feelings: Omura, who was the editor of a Denver-based newspaper during the war, felt that the *Pioneer* undermined his efforts by being too compliant with the wishes of the WRA, and one can readily see the matter from his point of view. But the reprinted editorials, and the intensity with which they discussed topics that the staff of the *Pioneer* did not feel able to express in their own words, show that the staff of the *Pioneer* were resisting as best they could, in the ways that were available to them, and were trying to reach as wide an audience as possible.

I had not originally anticipated that the *Pioneer* would have had a readership beyond Amache, the other camps, and perhaps a few locals. The fact that, based on the Letters to the Editor from outside Amache, the *Pioneer* had a non-internee audience, meant that they had a much wider audience than I anticipated, and that their acts of both compliance and subversion reached far more people than I had initially imagined. Together, these pieces of information showed that, rather than being a closed microcosm, there was considerably more information flowing in and out of Amache than I had thought.

Self-Censorship

One of the elements about which I can only speculate is the source of the censorship in the *Pioneer*. Though I have strong suspicions that much of it originated with the WRA administrators, there is also the possibility that some or all of the

editorial censorship is a result of self-censorship. In my opinion the reprinted editorials that were edited to remove only the phrases that were injurious to the WRA suggests that the Amacheans themselves were the originators of the censorship, although I have no direct evidence to that effect. If there was self-censorship, the possibility that the writers were attempting to avoid community censure, rather than WRA disapprobation.

Researcher

Method

Unfortunately, one of the problems with this type of research is that to a certain extent the researcher is learning what they are looking for as they do the research. This increases the likelihood that understandings and ideas reached later might not be applied to the earlier portion of the research. To combat this tendency, I performed my discourse analysis twice, once with an open-category list and the second time with a closed list. This helped ensure that patterns were captured throughout the run of the editorials, rather than being artificially concentrated towards the end of the run.

Community Outsider

The undeniable fact must be noted that I have no personal claim on the history or memory of Japanese-American internment. My interest in the newspapers at Amache stems from an interest in linguistic analysis, so my initial interest was spearheaded by my methodology rather than an interest in the subject matter. As a result, though it may be regarded as an advantage that I lack a personal connection that might bias my judgment

in this fraught case, it must be acknowledged that as an outsider I also lack the insight a more personal connection might give me.

My work also has the potential to suffer from other cultural gaps: between myself and the Japanese American internees, and between myself as a reader in the 21st century and the writers in the 1940s. Though seventy years is too little for radical linguistic changes, it is entirely possible that nuances might have been lost. Undoubtedly, some information and context was lost, despite my best efforts to the contrary.

“Racism”

Part of my analysis revolved around the identification of certain editorial as “racist” or “non-racist.” As a white woman living in the United States, institutional racism is not something I often experience, so it might be argued that I am ill-qualified to judge the degree of racism of these pieces. Further, as a white woman seven decades removed from the events I am studying, it is entirely possible that I missed cultural or linguistic nuances that might have conveyed additional content. These concerns are valid. I did my best to address them by being aware of my privilege, and by doing as much research as possible on the dialogues surrounding racism, both in my own time and during the war.

On the other hand, because the *Pioneer* was circulated beyond Amache, and many of the reprinted articles (we might even say the majority) were originally intended for

white readers, I do constitute a certain intended class of the readership of the *Pioneer*. It is as a member of this readership that I approach this portion of my research: with the assumption that, if the staff writers want non-Japanese Americans to know that they are being subjected to racist words and actions, the racism of the content will be made clear.

References to Previous Research

My research demonstrated that though the writers were experiencing censorship, as showed by Mizuno (2000, 2001, 2003, 2011) and Kessler (1988), they were nevertheless able to express their discontent and frustration with their situation. My research contributes to the body of literature surrounding Japanese American internment, as well as the bodies of literature on Amache and the camp newspapers, neither of which have received as much attention as they deserve. More specifically, my research adds to the body of literature on Japanese American identity and the means by which that was expressed during internment. Catherine Luther (2003) has also written on this topic, and my research speaks in tandem with hers, as we explored different manifestations of identity as expressed through the same medium. My methodology also contributes to the large body of literature around the applications of discourse analysis in general and Critical Discourse Analysis specifically.

Avenues for Further Research

My research opens up several avenues for further work. The *Pioneer* itself could support a great deal of further research, as could the newspapers published in the nine

other camps. It would be fascinating to find out if the Japanese-language sections are entirely faithful to the English, especially given the tension between the administrator and the writers of that section (Mizuno 2003, 2011; Chang 1997:342). It could be equally interesting to compare the editorials of a number of camps that might have experienced different levels or types of supervision : Rowher (which, according to Bearden [1982], experienced “complete autonomy,” though I have my doubts that this was in fact the case), Tule Lake (which undoubtedly experienced heavy supervision and censorship), and perhaps Heart Mountain and Manzanar. Or a researcher happily unencumbered by the demands of time or limits of distance might locate all the editorials that I was unable to find, and compare them to the versions that appeared in the *Pioneer*. The same happy researcher could also, on the assumption that the editorials were reprinted from the full issue rather than clippings, look at what editorials or other articles the *Pioneer* might have chosen to reprint but didn't. Perhaps the editorials that were reprinted were less offensive, or perhaps they were more so. Perhaps they were the first relevant column, and the staff chose to conserve their time and not continue combing through the paper. Similar questions and methods might be applied to newspaper published under other varieties of supervision, from media published under oppressive government regimes to school newspaper, to find other ways in which writers evade or rebel against supervision.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

My intention in conducting this research was to look at the ways in which the editorial column of the *Granada Pioneer* fostered community identities among its readers, which consisted of both internees and non-internees. This question becomes particularly complicated with the understanding that the *Pioneer* writers were working under intense scrutiny and the threat (and possibly reality) of censorship from the WRA. As part of my inquiry I used semantic and narrative analysis to examine approximately a year of the *Pioneer's* run, then extensively analyzed every editorial published in the *Pioneer* over the course of its three year run. This allowed me to gain an understanding of the general content of the *Pioneer* and put the editorials in context within that content.

Over the course of my work I found that the editorials were indeed fostering a number of community identities: a communal habitus among the internees at Amache and an imagined “American” community in the minds of all its readers, internee and otherwise. The community habitus was not intentionally fostered by the *Pioneer*, but was in some sense unavoidable as a consequence of internment. The *Pioneer* did not dissuade the internees at Amache from forming this habitus, but did impress upon them that this habitus was temporary, and should not be pursued once the internees were back in the general population. At the same time, the editorial column was attempting to foster an imagined community based on “American principles” and American patriotism. This

imagined community was being fostered in the minds of both the internees and the non-internee readers. The non-internees were meant to understand that the Japanese American community was not isolationist; rather, that they wished to be part of the general American community. The internees were meant to understand that despite their internment at the hands of the American government, the general American community would still accept them as members of the general American community. I contend that the internees were using the editorial column to create a definition of “American” that was focused on a particular set of “American values.” In many respects, this concept is similar to the nationalist aspect of Anderson's “Imagined Community,” the invention for which people would die, though they would not necessarily do so for the community defined by that invention. Using both their own words and the carefully curated words of others, the editorialists have re-defined the concept of “American” to include themselves. The patriotic nature of the act of fighting and potentially dying for one's country is taken as understood by both readers and writers, so there is a great deal of emphasis on the many Nisei involved in the war effort. The writers are also rejecting the “official mind” and are instead creating an imagined community that re-defines what it means to be American. By reprinting editorials, rather than writing them, the staff was able to draw their readers' attention to the injustices and indignities of internment. The fact of the reprintings, together with the contrast of their high emotion against the low emotion of the Amache-written editorials and the edits made to some of the reprinted editorials, heavily implies that the staff's writing was being censored. In addition, though the frequent appearances of the topics of Nisei in the War, support and patriotism were

unsurprising, given the internee readership of the *Pioneer*, the fact that discussion of racism was the most prevalent topic points to a large investment in the outside readers of the *Pioneer*. Though the others are topics that the Amache readership would be expected to be interested in, it could be reasonably assumed that that readership would be familiar with the amount of racism encountered by Japanese Americans. To an outside readership, however, that topic would be an important reminder of the discrimination the community continued to face, even outside the camps, with a call to action left perhaps unspoken, but palpable nevertheless.

My research speaks to the literature by providing evidence of some of the ways in which the internees expressed themselves and interacted with some of the journalism of the time. My work supports Mizuno's findings on the censorship of the newspapers published in the camps while also suggesting new avenues of investigation. These might include further exploration of the camp newspapers, the archives of which would support a great deal of further research, other manifestations of community identity, and further research of the archives of the *Pioneer* in particular. Similar research might also be done on the newspapers published in the other internment camps: Amache was known for having a particularly liberal administration, and there is some evidence that other camp newspapers were watched more carefully and were more censored than the *Pioneer* was.

My work has implications for the Japanese American community as well as for other researchers interested in community identity and the ways in which it might be

manifested. My research contributes to the body of work around Japanese American internment during WWII, especially that part of it that looks at the ways in which the internees both cooperated with and found ways around the WRA's censorship. It also contributes to the research surrounding community identity and provides an example of how a community newspaper might shed light on the formation and maintenance of community identity. My findings are important because they provide more evidence of the many and varied ways in which the Japanese American internees dealt with the fact of their internment during WWII. Though the *Pioneer* cooperated with some aspects of WRA censorship, they also found ways of expressing subversive opinions. My research complicates and deepens our understanding of the ways in which the Japanese American internees dealt with internment, and especially the censorship that was imposed on them there. This has implications for other newspapers and media sources operating in censored conditions.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Map of Internment



map of the United States west of the Mississippi River. It showing the locations of the ten “internment” camps, Denver, Camp Savage and the Exclusion Zone

Appendix B: Topics

The *Granada Pioneer*
 Camp Life
 World War II
Nisei in the War
 Relocation
 Racism
 Disloyals
 Support
 Patriotism
 Local News
 the WRA
 Internment

Topics	Occurrences	Percentage of editorials containing that topic
The <i>Granada Pioneer</i>	8	4.17
Camp Life	45	23.44
World War II	16	8.33
<i>Nisei</i> in the War	45	23.44
Relocation	33	17.19
Racism	71	36.98
“Disloyals”	10	5.21
Support	68	35.42
Patriotism	55	28.65
Local News	8	4.17
the WRA	5	2.60
Internment	21	10.94

Table of Topics with how often they occurred and what percentage of the editorials mentioned that topic

Appendix C1: Examples of Emotional Intensity

Emotional Intensity of 1

December 16, 1942

page 2

Fitness Program

One hundred and forty pupils from four elementary school classes have been examined thus far at the dental clinic, according to Morris H. Soglow, health and physical education adviser.

This statement is significant, not only because tooth decay is especially prevalent among Japanese-American children, but because this is the beginning of a comprehensive physical fitness program for the boys and girls of school age.

The plan, which will continue throughout the school year, has been launched and is being guided by Soglow and Dorothy Kobata of the education department, and Dr. Gerald Duffy and Dr. George Y. Nagamoto of the hospital.

It is more than a regular physical education program, according to Soglow. It includes a complete physical examination of every pupil in school. This phase has already started with the present dental check-up.

Following the examinations, there will be physical fitness tests; a corrective program, in which the child's family will play an integral part; a regular physical activities and health education program; and finally, a re-evaluation of the entire plan.

Appendix C2

Emotional Intensity of 2

April 10, 1943

page 2

For the Community

Of service to the community--with this in mind the YWCA will open the doors of Hospitality House today. Like the USO centers throughout the nation, Hospitality House was set up to give soldiers a place to visit with relatives, and friends in a nice homey atmosphere. And it is also for the use of everyone in the community.

The YWCA hopes that you will call at Hospitality House, for its open door is a personal invitation to each and everyone of you.

Let's join in welcoming and dedicating a worthwhile addition to our community.

--T. A.

Appendix C3

Emotional Intensity of 3

April 16, 1944

page 2

Education Comes First —

There is a trend among the young people of this center--perhaps such is true of all centers--to place education second to the dollar mark. Especially with war-time conditions opening up many lucrative jobs all over the country.

But there's fallacy in this idea because it is shortsighted and shallow--it does not take postwar future into the picture. Sure, right now, with manpower-shortage and high production being stressed as of first importance, it's not so noticeable. This will all be changed when the war ends.

When industrial wheels once again turn out normal peace-time goods, personnel managers and hiring clerks will pay more attention to diplomas. Then men and women with education will find better jobs--and quicker.

This is not the time for students to quit school to chase dollar-hued rainbows. First, fortify yourself with a certificate of education, then go out and look for that "pot of gold." Remember--there is no such thing as knowing too much of a good thing.

Appendix C4

Emotional Intensity of 4

April 14, 1943

page 2

Whoa ---

The exodus of the evacuees from the center is gaining momentum. More than 300 persons left Amache during the past week.

The desire to get back into the stream of normal American life is natural and healthy. But in the rush to get out from behind the barbed wires many of the evacuees are snapping at offers which tend to cheapen Japanese labor in the eyes of the American people.

Nisei labor will be judged by their own estimate. If a person accepts a job offer that does not pay a living wage, he is admitting to the employer that a sub-standard wage is all he is worth.

What the evacuees do now may have a lasting significance on the nisei's future in America.

Do not accept menial employment simply to get away from the center.

Appendix C5

Emotional Intensity of 5

April 22, 1944

page 2

"Send These... To Me"

If by the light of her flaming torch, the "Mother of Exiles," standing in New York Harbor looked down on Great Meadows, NJ, this week, she must have bowed her head in shame at the repudiation of her promise-filled invitation: "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to be free--send these, the homeless, the tempest-tost to me." Five Japanese-American evacuees who only "wanted to prove by working hard and living decently that we could be accepted by the community" were forced, by threatened mob action on the part of other Americans, to flee the farm to which they had been sent to relieve labor shortage.

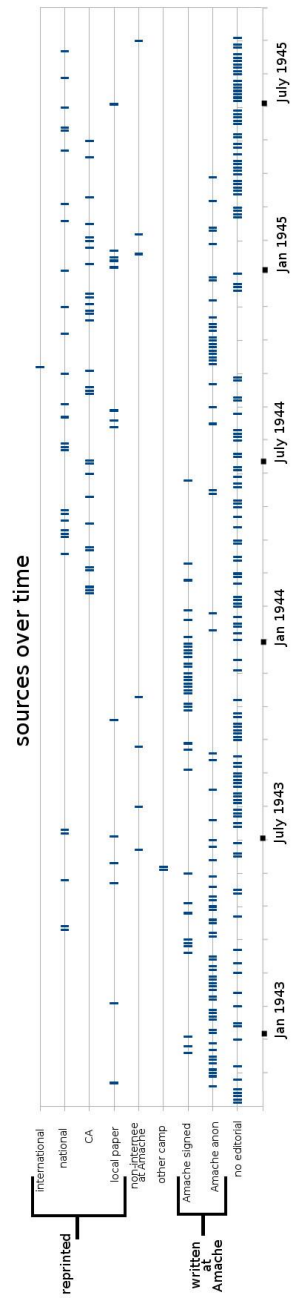
Experienced farmers, thoroughly investigated by the War Relocation Authority, the evacuees were condemned mainly on the grounds of race prejudice and secondarily because of fear of economic competition. Some men and women seemed to feel that having sons in the service justified their protests against the presence of the Japanese Americans. But Japanese Americans themselves --about 9,000 of them--are serving in the United States armed forces, and have won high praise. Just a week ago Purple Heart medals were given to the families of 58 of these soldiers killed in action in Italy. One flyer has earned the Distinguished Flying Cross twice, and the Air Medal five times.

Moreover other Americans, not of Japanese descent, on returning from action in the Pacific, have raised their voices in pleas against racial intolerance at home. They know it is of such stuff that wars are made, and they want no more wars. Yet the problems of peace loom large, indeed, in the face of such incidents as that in Great Meadows.

--The Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 15

Appendix D: Sources Over Time

This timeline shows every published issue of the *Pioneer* and marks where each editorial in every issue originated. Note that “no editorial” is also listed.



Appendix E1: Reprinted and Edited Editorials

Merlo Pusey, "War vs. Civil Rights." *the Washington Post*, May 9, 1944

Printed in the *Pioneer*, May 17, 1944

The portions circled in yellow do not appear in the *Pioneer*.

War vs. Civil Rights: Military Government In Hawaii

By Merlo Pusey

The Washington Post (1923-1954); May 9, 1944;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997)
pg. 9

War vs. Civil Rights

By Merlo Pusey

Military Government In Hawaii

WHEN THE victory is won and the excitement of war subsides, we are going to be very much ashamed of two policies now in



effect. They are the mistreatment of loyal American citizens of Japanese origin and the prolongation of military government in Hawaii. In both instances the constitutional rights of citizens have been flagrantly

violated, and even if we assume that those encroachments were necessary in the first place, they have been extended much longer than any military necessity seems to justify.

In the case of Hawaii the initial mistake appears to have been the creation of a military government. On Pearl Harbor day the civilian governor simply bowed out of the picture at Honolulu and General Short proclaimed himself military governor instead of simply establishing martial law. Hawaii's organic act provides for martial law and suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in case of invasion or imminent danger. But military government is something else again. It is a form of

complete military administration ordinarily used only in a conquered enemy nation or rebellious territory.

Hawaii's attorney general, Garner Anthony, insists that neither Congress nor the President authorized military government in that Territory. Hawaii was not in rebellion. It was overwhelmed by a disastrous attack because the armed forces in that area were temporarily asleep. Certainly strict martial law became imperative, but no facts that would warrant treatment of Hawaii as enemy territory have come to light.

THE RIGORS of military government in the islands were relaxed somewhat 14 months ago. But General Richardson still retains the title of military governor and the Army still insists on trying civilians accused of violating military orders in provost courts. Writs of habeas corpus for civilians held by the military are still ignored. In the latest case of this sort a civilian was accused of assaulting two Marine guards. His loyalty was not under suspicion. Yet he was denied access to the civilian courts.

Both General Richardson and Admiral Nimitz have testified that Hawaii is no longer in danger of invasion, although it may still be attacked from the air. To continue suppressing civil rights in these circumstances is strangely out of keeping with American traditions and the ideals for which we are fighting.

The continued detention of loyal and law-abiding citizens in concentration camps within our own continental borders is probably less excusable. Six months ago Attorney General Biddle declared that "the Relocation Authority has no power to intern American citizens, and constitutionally it is hard to believe that any such authority could be granted to the Government." Yet the Government continues to prevent thousands of citizens whose loyalty has been thoroughly tested from returning to their homes.

To be sure, the Japanese Amer-

icans in relocation centers, except the segregation camp at Tule Lake, may leave on a sort of probationary arrangement. That is to say, they are free to go if they can secure jobs outside of the western military zone, if their records show no grounds for suspicion of disloyalty, and if any community will receive them without disturbance after they have been incarcerated as enemies. In effect, this means that many thousands of them will have to remain in concentration camps until they are permitted to return to their homes.

SECRETARY ICKES and the Department of Justice both vouch for the fact, yet there has been no sabotage by a Japanese American in this war and no case of espionage is known to the authorities. The dangerous Japs in this country were arrested within a few hours or a few days after Pearl Harbor. An overwhelm-

ing majority of those who were ousted from the Western States have never committed a crime of any sort and have always remained loyal to the United States. "Would anyone, before the war," Attorney General Biddle recently asked, "have complacently accepted the proposition that the Government could move 75,000 American citizens out of their homes, and hold them with enemy aliens for relocation?"

The real mystery is why the Administration of which Mr. Biddle is the chief legal officer continues to punish loyal citizens solely because of their racial origin. These black patches on an otherwise very creditable record in the protection of civil rights ought to be given attention before the courts compel the Administration to retreat from what many of its own officials recognize to be an indefensible position.

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Appendix E2

Rodney L. Brink. "Attitude on U.S. Japanese is Changing on West Coast." *Christian Science Monitor*, July 5, 1944.

Portions circled in blue appeared as citations in the *Pioneer* in "Expressions of Opinions", August 15, 1944, page 5.

Attitude on U.S. Japanese is Changing on West Coast: Small Number of...
By Rodney L. Brink Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
The Christian Science Monitor (1908-Current file), Jul 5, 1944.
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Christian Science Monitor (1908-2000)
pg. 18

Attitude on U. S. Japanese Is Changing on West Coast

By Rodney L. Brink
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
California

As war in the Pacific reaches ever closer to Japan and the possibility of attack on this Coast grows consequently more remote, there are indications of a lessening of the bitterness, suspicion, and hatred once directed at Americans of Japanese ancestry.

One such positive indication developed at the recent encampment of the California Department, Veterans of Foreign Wars, a hard-bitten but nonpartisan and decidedly unemotional group of ex-soldiers, most of them veterans of World War I.

The issue of a permanent ban against Japanese re-entry into California was raised before the 1,500 assembled delegates to the encampment by Lomita Post, No. 1622, which is situated in an agricultural area formerly heavily populated by Japanese.

The chairman of the State-wide resolutions committee, J. R. Klaws of San Francisco, reminded the delegates that many hundreds of American-Japanese are now serving honorably overseas in the United States Army, and that many have received the Purple Heart.

Small Number of Disloyal

After hearing the resolutions committee chairman's plea the veterans voted to support a resolution presented earlier proposing that the ban apply only to Japanese proved to be disloyal. This would be only a small percentage, unquestionably less than 10 per cent, of the 112,000 Japanese evacuated from the coastal areas of the three Pacific Coast States early in 1942.

The Southern California-Arizona Methodist Conference held at Pasadena adopted unanimously a resolution to restore to loyal Japanese the right to return to evacuated areas as soon as the military situation makes such a move feasible. "Democratic justice will be best served by granting freedom of movement to loyal Japanese anywhere in the United States on the same basis as other Americans and aliens of other countries," said the resolution.

Other evidence of a slowly changing attitude toward American-Japanese who have no blot of disloyalty against their records is less tangible, being rather negative than positive. Former blasts of editorial and political opinion which for a time were almost constant, and which reached heated crescendos whenever any difficulty occurred at the Japanese relocation camps, are much less numerous now, much less violent.

It is generally known that many thousands of Japanese have left their barracks camps in California and other States and have resettled themselves in agricultural, business, and professional pursuits in areas ranging clear to the eastern seaboard.

Plea for Less Hysteria

New facts relating to the interned Japanese were presented recently before the Institute of International Relations held at Mills College, Oakland. Ottis Peterson, supervisor of the Salt Lake, Utah, area for the War Relocation Authority, a former newspaperman, presented the facts, and with them a plea for less hysteria in some quarters with respect to the American-born Japanese.

"To a great number of people on the Pacific Coast and to some, not a great many, elsewhere, they are not simple beings," he said. They are the enemy. The reasoning is simple. They look like the people we are fighting. The tradition of the melting pot, that institution which is popularly supposed to make us all Americans, is forgotten. These people were born in Japan or their parents were born in Japan; hence they are Japanese.

"A vociferous minority is admitting that the melting pot is licked. First, they say, we must get rid of the Japanese. But let's carry this reasoning further. Who comes next, the Negroes and other minorities? Then they may say, let's eliminate the Greeks, the Italians, the Germans, the English, and the rest. Eventually the only ones left in America would be we Swedes and the Indians.

"That is the feeling which has been engendered before and since the Japanese evacuation by a highly vocal minority. I am happy to report it is my personal belief that the efforts of these groups have failed, have indeed boomeranged to arouse right thinking Americans to the dangers such opinions engender."

Children Help in Harvest

Mr. Peterson gave the surprising information that there is presently an actual labor shortage in the relocation camps in his area because the number of persons who have relocated permanently or have left the centers on temporary seasonal leave to work in the crop harvests. Even the high school children, he said, are joining with the Caucasian children in helping with the harvest.

"The WRA has taken the position from the first," said Mr. Peterson, "that it was not only un-American to keep individuals within the centers when their loyalty had been established, but that it hindered the war effort by keeping so many hands idle in a time of manpower shortage."

The actively disloyal and those who have merely expressed a preference to live in Japan after the war have now been segregated, the WRA supervisor said, and one center is now in the process of being liquidated.

There are now more than 11,000 American-Japanese in American uniform, Mr. Peterson said, the bulk of whom are volunteers of the pre-evacuation era. Selective service channels have been re-

opened, and there is now a constant flow of young manpower into the Army from the centers and from families on the outside, he added. Forty per cent of the first company of American-Japanese landing in Italy were casualties.

Appendix E3

“Test for Citizenship.” the *Washington Post*, September 29, 1944
The portion circled in blue was cited in “Citizenship Quality”, *Granada Pioneer*, October 7, 1944

Test For Citizenship
The Washington Post (1921-1954): Sep 29, 1944.
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997)
pg. 6

Test For Citizenship

When a man bears arms for a country, he is reasonably entitled to think of that country as his own. He gives, by virtue of his service in its armed forces, about as satisfactory a demonstration as possible of his devotion to the Nation's security and welfare and, therefore, of his qualifications for citizenship. This seems a better test, indeed, than any which are, or can be, applied to civilians seeking naturalization. Accordingly,

Congress wisely provided, under the Second War Powers Act, that the usual forms and residence requirements be waived in granting citizenship to aliens serving in the armed forces—provided they can produce some record of lawful admission to this country.

The proviso works a senseless hardship upon some thousands of aliens who entered the United States illegally or who, for reasons quite beyond their own control, have no record of lawful admission. We know, of course, that a considerable number of refugees, fleeing the Hitler terror or angered by the savageries of Nazism, came to America as a haven of refuge, sometimes without complying with the niceties of our immigration forms. Their devotion to democracy has been attested by their readiness to fight in its defense. What does it matter that they neglected certain forms? These men, whatever their origin, have behaved as Americans. Since they are serving under the flag of the United States, we should be glad and proud to welcome them among us.

A proposal to do this—to give them the same status with respect to naturalization as that granted to other aliens in uniform—was passed by the House in April, 1943. For 18 months the Senate Immigration Committee has been sitting on this bill—despite warm approval of it expressed by the War Department and by the Department of Justice. A committee report and Senate action on the measure is long past due. We hope that these will be forthcoming as soon as Congress reconvenes and that senatorial caution will be tempered with generosity.

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Appendix E4

Drew Pearson. "Merry-Go-Round: Crowley Wins Fight Against Chemical Monopoly. Jap—American." *The Washington Post*. June 11, 1942

Reprinted in the *Pioneer* as "Slocum Featured by Columnist Pearson" (June 16, 1943). The portion circled in yellow does not appear in the *Pioneer*.

Merry-Go-Round: Crowley Wins Fight Against Chemical Monopoly

By Drew Pearson

The Washington Post (1923-1954); Jun 11, 1943;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Washington Post (1877-1997)

pg. 6

Jap--American

MARTIN DIES, looking for new bogeymen to keep his committee going since Stalin dissolved the Comintern, has picked on the interned Japs, many of them American citizens. This recalls an incident which occurred in Pottstown, Pa., some time before Pearl Harbor, when Willard Dorang got a letter from a Japanese on the West Coast saying that he had been a buddy of his son, Chuck Dorang, killed in the last war. He wanted to visit the family of his old friend.

Dorang consulted a Pennsylvania State policeman who had served with his son in France, but who assured him that there was no Jap in their outfit. The policeman suggested that when the Jap arrived he would take a great pleasure in pinching the phoney.

When the Jap did arrive, he began talking very intelligently with the Dorang family about his dead alleged comrade, when suddenly a motorcycle pulled up in front of the house and the cop

came inside. The family expected an immediate arrest.

"Good Lord," yelled the cop, "it's Tokie!"

It was Tokie Slocum, a Japanese-American, to whom the President gave the pen with which he signed the bill giving citizenship to Japanese who fought in World War I.

"In France," explained the policeman afterwards, "we never considered Tokie a Jap. He was just another American fighting side by side with his buddies"

When Pearl Harbor came, however, Tokie Slocum was interned along with thousands of other Japanese-Americans, many loyal, some not, one-fourth of them children. He has since been released, together with others who have proven their unquestioned loyalty—but not until after the FBI and the Army and Navy have made thorough investigations.

Appendix E5

The portion circled in blue appeared in the March 17, 1943 edition of the *Granada Pioneer*.

“Japanese in America and Hawaii.”
Chicago Daily Tribune, February 25, 1943
page 12

JAPANESE IN AMERICA AND HAWAII
Chicago Daily Tribune (1923-1963); Feb 25, 1943;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849-1990)
pg. 12

JAPANESE IN AMERICA AND HAWAII.

In this country we have 107,500 Japanese locked up in internment camps, to which they were removed from their homes in the Pacific coastal area. Two-thirds of them are American citizens.

The internment program is under criticism at the moment from both flanks. A number of protective committees charge that the procedure constitutes cruelty, while two Democratic senators, Johnson of Colorado and Wallgren of Washington, have charged in congress that the internees are being pampered by social experimenters and provided, at government expense, with better schools and teachers than the citizens living in the neighborhood of the internment camps are able to provide for their own children.

Meanwhile, we have in Hawaii 160,000 Japanese, of whom 36,000 are aliens. Lt. Gen. Emons, the military governor of the territory, says their presence is a definite menace but they are not locked up. Whether this is because their labor is valuable in the sugar and pineapple plantations and elsewhere, or for other reasons, is not made clear.

Thus, we have a hundred odd thousand Japanese interspersed with close to 10,000,000 white Americans in the Pacific coast states and we have hustled them off and locked them up for fear they will do us harm. We have 170,000 Japanese, constituting a third of the population of the islands that are the keystone of our Pacific defense, and we leave them at liberty. Without committing oneself on whether any one should be locked up, it seems fairly apparent that the locking up, if it was necessary anywhere, started in the wrong place. The procedure is not without a smell of lynch law or vigilantism.

Two-thirds of the interned Japanese are American citizens. That, also, is something new under our constitutional system. On what theory can an American citizen be locked up, with or without trial, because of his race? It is a matter of concern to all American citizens if any American citizen can be put in a concentration camp.

The legal questions involved have yet to reach the Supreme court. It is as hard to see how any court can justify internment of Japanese without either laying all Americans open to the same treatment or justifying discrimination between Americans on grounds of race. The dilemma is referred to the prophets of the four freedoms.

Appendix E6

“Supremely American.” *Daily Boston Globe*, November 14, 1944

Reprinted in the *Pioneer* November 25, 1944. Portions highlighted in yellow do not appear in the *Pioneer*.

Supremely American
Daily Boston Globe (1928-1960); Nov. 14, 1944.
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Boston Globe (1872-1982)
pg. 12

Supremely American

The tragic loss of Mr. Kiichi Saito of Belmont should be a reminder to a vast number of Americans that they have behaved badly to other Americans who are citizens of this country, although either born in Japan or descendants of persons born there.

Mr. Saito is now mourning the loss of a second son who, like his brother, was a volunteer soldier of the Army of the United States. Last April they went overseas with the Japanese-American 442d Combat team.

Calvin Saito, the younger, was killed in action in Italy last July. Now his brother George has made the same sacrifice in France. In writing of Calvin's death George told his father: "Of what I've seen. . . . I am more than convinced that we have done the right thing." He also said, "Don't let anyone tell you that he was foolish or made a mistake to volunteer."

Yet about 100,000 Japanese, with as much title to the rights of American citizenship as any reader of these words, were taken from their homes on the West Coast, forced to leave homes, business and gardens, and herded into relocation camps.

A small proportion, not difficult to identify, sides with our foes, but the rest are Americans at heart and should be rated with the Saitos.

Appendix E7

“Real Americans.” *Boston Daily Globe*, May 9, 1944, page 14.

Reprinted in the *Pioneer*, May 17, 1944. The portions highlighted in yellow do not appear in the *Pioneer*. This editorial does not appear as it was printed because it was nearly illegible.

Real Americans

On the Anzio beachhead is an outfit in which individual soldiers have won many decorations for their terrific fighting. The record to date is three Distinguished Silver Crosses, 21 Bronze Stars, 36 Silver Stars and 900 Purple Hearts. All the enlisted men and one-half of the commissioned officers are of Japanese descent. They are almost all natives of Hawaii.

But they are as much entitled to call the United States their country as are the descendants of people from the Continent of Europe or from the British Isles, but born under the Stars and Stripes.

Americans have, most of them, gained sufficient discrimination to distinguish between a loyal citizen with a German or an Italian name and a sympathizer with the Axis. Yet many difficulties are placed in the way of citizens and natives of this country whose ancestors came from Japan from earning a decent living.

Here is stupidity difficult to excuse. The attitude is cruel. A person of Japanese ancestry cannot expect to go back to Japan and live happily or live at all after having functioned as an American citizen. These fine soldiers at Anzio are showing how loyal men of their blood can be. They and their kind should be accepted everywhere.

Appendix F: List of Sources of Cited and Reprinted Editorials

Printing in **bold** denotes sources for which I was able to locate the original editorial; an asterisk (*) denotes a newspaper from one of the other camps

Colliers

the Boston Daily Globe

the Chicago Sun

the Chicago Tribune

the Christian Science Monitor

the Cleveland Press

the Clinton Herald

the Daily Californian

the Denson Tribune *

the Denver Post

the des Moines Tribune

the Gila News Courier *

the Heart Mountain Sentinel *

the Lamar Daily News

the Los Angeles Examiner

the Medford Hail-Tribune

the Milwaukee Journal

the Minneapolis Star Journal

the Minneapolis Tribune

the Modesto Bee

the New Canadian (Kaslo, British Columbia, Canada)

the New York World Telegram

the Omaha World Herald

the Peoria Reader

the Philadelphia Inquirer

the Philadelphia Record

the Pueblo Chieftain

the Republic Times

the Resettlement Bulletin

the Rockford Register Republic (Rockford, MA)

the Rocky Mountain News

the Sacramento Union

the San Francisco Chronicle

the San Francisco Examiner

the Sentinel (Fitchburg, MA)

the St. Louis Dispatch

the Stockton Record

the United Press

the Washington Post

Appendix G: Co-occurrences of Topics

percent of A ∩ B	A	Pioneer	camp life	WWII	Nisei in the war	relocation	racism	disloyals	support	patriotism	local	WRA	internment
Granada Pioneer				0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
camp life				1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
WWII					3	2	1	1	1	1	3	0	1
Nisei in the war						1	7	1	15	18	0	0	1
relocation							6	1	4	3	0	1	2
racism								4	21	14	3	1	6
disloyals									5	2	0	0	4
support										20	2	1	7
patriotism											1	0	4
local news												0	1
defense of the WRA													1
internment													

this chart shows the percent of editorials that utilize both topics (e.g. 21% of the population contained both “support” and “racism”).

For legibility this chart does not display decimal places, though my calculations included two decimal places

Appendix H: Probabilities of Co-occurrences of Topics

$p(B A) = (P(A \cap B)) / P(A)$	Pioneer	camp life	WWII	Nisei in the war	relocation	racism	disloyals	support	patriotism	local WRA	internment
Granada Pioneer	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	12%	0%
camp life	0%	0%	6%	4%	6%	3%	0%	0%	0%	25%	0%
WWII	0%	2%	0%	11%	9%	3%	10%	3%	11%	0%	39%
Nisei in the war	0%	4%	31%	0%	6%	20%	10%	41%	61%	0%	0%
relocation	12%	4%	19%	4%	15%	15%	10%	10%	9%	0%	19%
racism	0%	4%	13%	31%	33%	0%	70%	60%	49%	63%	20%
disloyals	0%	0%	6%	2%	3%	10%	15%	15%	7%	0%	0%
support	0%	0%	13%	63%	21%	58%	100%	100%	69%	37%	40%
patriotism	0%	0%	38%	76%	15%	38%	40%	56%	4%	25%	0%
local news	12%	4%	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	4%	4%	0%	5%
defense of the WRA	0%	0%	13%	0%	6%	1%	0%	3%	0%	0%	9%
internment	0%	4%	13%	4%	12%	15%	80%	19%	14%	12%	40%

this table shows the probability that, given the presence of topic A (x-axis), topic B (y-axis) will also be present. Therefore, if an editorials mentions the "disloyals", there is a 100% probability that the same editorial will also mention "support". However, there is only a 15% probability that the reverse will be true. Probabilities over 50% have been colored yellow for ease of identification.