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Whose Community Museum Is It? Collaboration Strategies and Identity Affirmation in
the Amache Museum

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of Arts and Humanities

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Ting-chun (Regina) Huang

June 2019

Advisor: Bonnie Clark

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Advisor: Bonnie Clark
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Abstract

The Amache Museum is a preservation project that has multiple communities involved in preserving Amache history. It represents Japanese American as well as American history and is owned and maintained by the Amache Preservation Society (APS), which is comprised of local Granada High School students. By approaching the Amache Museum as a community museum and noticing its distinct collaborative strategy, this thesis investigates the community collaborations and the identity affirmations within the museum, and addresses the question of whose community museum the Amache Museum represents. My research explores the overlapping conceptual models of the Amache Museum: community museum and ecomuseum, and utilizes the realities of a difficult heritage to discuss identity affirmation through the use of individual and collective memories. Through participant observations, archival research, semi-structured interviews, and a questionnaire survey, this thesis identifies three community collaborations, as well as community members' thoughts of the importance of the museum for the Japanese Americans and Granada community. Recognizing that the museum and Amache site may be incorporated in the U.S. National Park Service in the future, this thesis also presents a glance at the potential positive and negative aspects if the governing agency is involved, and provides recommendations for future management.

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This thesis would not be possible without the help from so many individuals from the communities. I would like to first thank my interviewees, G and H, for sharing your life stories and thoughts with me. Also, thanks to Mr. John Hopper and Ms. Tarin Kemp for sharing your experiences and thoughts of the museum with me. I would also want to thank the Granada community members who spent their time taking the survey. This project would not achieve this outcome without your involvement. A special thanks to Dr. Bonnie Clark for giving me the chance to participate in the field school and introducing me to the Amache and Granada community members. Thank you, Dr. Christina Kreps, for co-advising this research and all the suggestions and help you gave me.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The Granada Relocation Center is also known as Amache. It was one of the ten War Relocation Authority internment camps in the United States during WWII. Japanese Americans, both immigrants and American born Japanese, were forced to move from their home places to the centers. Though it has been over seventy years, the Amache site is still in a relatively good condition. Recognizing its historical value, Amache has been designated as a National Historic Landmark. A variety of preservation work and academic research have been dedicated to preserving history by reconstructing life at the camp through material culture and historical documents. Additionally, the Amache Museum is one of the preservation projects as well.

The Amache Museum is located in the town of Granada in southeastern Colorado and is just a few miles away from the former camp's site. Although the museum contents are dedicated to Japanese Americans, the museum is maintained by the Amache Preservation Society (APS), which is comprised of local Granada high school students. The preservation work within the museum is carried out in collaboration with the Japanese American community, the University of Denver Amache Project, and other organizations. Seeing this distinct phenomenon of community collaborations, the primary research question of this thesis is which community the Amache Museum represents. This study also addresses the following three questions that include both theoretical and practical dimensions:

- How does the Amache Museum fit common models of community-based museums?
- How do the community of Japanese Americans and the community of Granada residents cooperate and negotiate in the maintenance of the Amache Museum?
- What role does the Amache Museum play in identity affirmation during the preservation process?

Based on this study of the Amache Museum, this research provides a view that a community museum could be a museum for multiple communities. In preparing this research project, I considered the Amache Museum as a community museum which has multiple communities involved. Following this thought, I found out that “community museum” and “community” are floating concepts which have flexibilities and multiple meanings. Ecomuseum is one museum concept which the Amache Museum could fit in. With these notions in mind, I considered the environmental connections between the museum and the communities, and how it could provide another perspective to understand the Amache Museum. Furthermore, identity affirmation and community members' thoughts on the museum are other questions that provided solid perspectives to fill the gap of the theoretical discussion of whose community museum it is. This research also aims to provide an overview of the Amache Museum for future use in light of the possibility of the museum's future management by the U.S. National Park Service.

I was drawn to this research topic because of Amache history and the distinctiveness of the Amache Museum. As an international student from Taiwan, I had no idea about this history before I started this project. I was curious about how a locally based community museum in the United States could preserve and interpret a difficult

national history. Furthermore, I was also hoping that one day I could apply this research to how museums preserve Taiwanese history.

A Note on Language

There are different terminologies that are used to describe the Japanese internment camps. Relocation center was the official terminology used by the U.S. Federal Government during WWII; however, this terminology has been recognized as problematic because it is a euphemism coined by the U.S. government meant which underestimates the difficult experience of the internees. In this research, I will use "internment camp" to describe the places where Japanese Americans were confined. I use this terminology with the understanding that Japanese Americans were treated as enemies and lost their basic civil liberties and human rights in camps.

Chapter Summaries

In Chapter 2, I first discuss the historical background of the establishment of internment camps and then narrow it down to the Amache internment camp. I depict a general view of the life at the camp and elaborate on the interaction between the internees and the Granada local residents. After introducing the Amache history, I discuss the preservation work that has been done at Amache, and the different organizations and communities that have been involved in Amache preservation, including APS, DU Amache Project team, the Japanese American community, and the town of Granada. An introduction to the Amache Museum is also included in this chapter. I briefly depict the museum exhibitions and the museum's establishment.

Chapter 3 is the literature review of different essential concepts used in this research project. I explore the concepts of community museum and ecomuseum specifically. Additionally, I elaborate on the connections between community, museum, and identity in order to better understand the complexity of the Amache Museum. The connections between difficult heritage, memory, and identity is another exploration included in this chapter. I discuss different types of memory, such as individual memory and collective memory, to apprehend their correlations with difficult heritage. These different examinations reveal complicated and correlated connections among different concepts. At the end of this chapter, I briefly discuss the potential effect of the bureaucratic involvement on heritage.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical framework applied in this research project. I first explain my rationale of structuring this research project and then elaborate on the key concepts that I will use throughout this thesis. Since most of these concepts have been explained in detail in the previous chapter, the elaboration of these concepts in this chapter is centered on the rationale of why I use them in this project.

In Chapter 5, I describe my research methods. I first illustrate the research goals and list three sub-questions, which helped me explore my main question of which community museum the Amache Museum represents. I also explain my phenomenological and exploratory methodology in conducting this research and then depict different research methods I used in this project.

Chapter 6 presents my research results and is separated into four sections. The first section is based on my participant observation and describes the community collaborations within the Amache Museum; the second section explores identity

affirmation through the museum narratives, object donations, and memories. Following these sections which are centered on the Japanese American community, the third section emphasizes the perspectives of Granada residents of the museum. I also include the thoughts of the interviewees from the Japanese American community, considering their opinions about the importance of the museum for their own community and the Granada community. The last section is a summary discussion, combining my literature research and data analysis about the question of whose community museum it is.

Chapter 7 is the last chapter that summarizes the whole research project. I readdress the primary discussions of this project and point out the limitations. Following the discussion of limitation, I present the potential implication of change at the Amache Museum and provide recommendations for future research and management.

Chapter Two: Background

Granada War Relocation Center

The Granada War Relocation Center, better known as Amache, was one of the ten internment camps in the United States during World War II. The bombing of Pearl Harbor ignited existing tensions especially towards Japanese immigrants and American-born Japanese. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, empowering the military to remove Japanese Americans from any designated areas soon that would include western Washington and Oregon, the entirety California and southern Arizona. Japanese people living in these areas were forced to move out while people who lived outside of these areas could stay at their homeplace. The first challenge for the Federal government was that some Japanese people had nowhere to go. Many areas and states were not welcoming Japanese people to come. Therefore, the government determined a need for a formal relocation plan.

The War Relocation Authority (WRA) was established on March 18, 1942 and was responsible for dealing with the relocation. The WRA selected ten internment camps in seven states: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and Colorado. In Hosokawa's words (2005), "relocation center" is a euphemism for concentration camps. Japanese people were treated with an unjust policy and lost their freedom. A majority of non-Japanese Americans were not welcoming them either due mostly to racism, and Ralph L. Carr, the Colorado Governor, was the only western governor who welcomed

Japanese Americans (Elis 2004, 8). The WRA selected the location of Granada as the place to build the Colorado's internment camp. The land that the WRA selected was seen by many as desolate and at the far southeast of Colorado, 15 miles north of the Kansas border. This land was private property. The WRA acquired it from ranchers and local residents through condemnation and low dollar bids (Elis 2004). The construction of Amache started on June 29, 1942, and the camp opened in August. The camp was not complete until November. In other words, when the first group of Japanese people arrived on August 27, 1942, they not only faced a desolate and difficult environment, but also needed to help finish the barracks.

The Amache internment camp opened in 1942 and closed in 1945. It had a relatively small population, which housed 7,319 Japanese Americans at its peak while the Tule Lake internment camp housed 18,789 and the Poston housed 17,814 people at their peaks (Hosokawa 2005, 103). The living conditions at Amache were difficult. The soil conditions were poor. There was little vegetation, and the weather was extremely severe. The environmental conditions were very different from there on the West Coast and thus challenged the Japanese people to survive. They knew nothing about their future when they were ordered to relocate. They did not know how long they would stay in the camp. Neither did they know what the new environment would look like. The Japanese people were allowed to take one suitcase, with the limited items that the government allowed them to carry, and then boarded the train to an unknown future.

Life was hard for the Amacheans; however, their farming knowledge and skills largely improved their life in the camp. Agriculture was an important industry in Amache. A majority of the internees came from California's central valley and had many

experiences in farming. These people turned the Amache internment camp into a productive agriculture center by applying their agricultural knowledge and farming skills. Due to their contributions, the Amache internment camp was not only able to be self-sufficient, but it also had the surplus of agricultural production to sell to other internment camps (National Park Service 2018). Furthermore, the Amacheans raised many vegetable crops, which were not previously grown in the southeastern area of Colorado, such as celery, spinach, head lettuce, potatoes, lima beans, onions, tea, mung beans, and daikon, a Japanese long radish. The Amacheans not only helped their neighbors at harvest time, but they also diversified the agricultural production at Amache and the Granada area that still continues to this day.

The relations between the Amacheans and the Granada residents are complex. They began quite strained but became relatively amicable over time. Some of the land on which Amache sits not willingly sold to the government and had to be taken by eminent domain. There was also a strong negative reaction throughout the region at the cost of the Amache High School (Clark, 2019). But one-on-one it was a different story. One internee recalled that she felt the people in Granada were fairly nice to the Amacheans (Harvey 2004, 128). This “peaceful” phenomena, according to Taniwaki, was built on a financial relationship between the local community and the internees (Harvey 2004, 129). Since the town of Granada was located one and a half miles away from the camp, it was a shopping destination for the internees to buy supplies that were not provided in the camp. With passes the internees were allowed to come out from the camp. They passed through a guarded gate at first, but were trusted to go by their own after a while (Jones 2017). Bruce Newman recalled that his family’s businesses, especially his father’s drugstore,

improved greatly when the camp was opened (Harvey 2004, 127). They imported more commodities, such as candy, popcorn, and piñon nuts, and they packed them in small paper parcels to sell (Harvey 2004, 127). Newman also remembered that he would go over to the internee-owned fish market, which was just next door to his father's drugstore, and ride on the truck that delivered packages of fish to the camp. Although the internees brought in business to the surrounding communities, there were some businesses in Lamar, another city near Amache, that had "No Japs Allowed" in their storefronts (Harvey 2004, 129). Therefore, although the local business welcomed the shoppers from the camp, the internees were in some ways still socially excluded by the surrounding communities. Yet other local connections were forged through sports; the camp newspaper documents many games between the Amache teams and other many other local, mostly school teams.

Today, the remains of Amache are in a relatively good condition, especially compared to the other WRA internment camps. Most of the barracks were torn down after the camp closed. Only one building from the Co-Op stores and a half of a recreation hall are still standing on the site. Yet, most of the concrete foundations still remain, and the road system is also visible to provide a clear layout of the camp. Furthermore, the original water tower was found near Granada and is now rebuilt on its historical location. In addition to the original buildings and artifacts, a reconstructed guard tower and barracks are also on the site, giving visitors a more concrete image and feeling of what the camp life looked like.

Preservation Work at Amache

Amache was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1994 and designated a National Historic Landmark in 2006. The site represents a difficult but important part of the history of the United States. Recognizing the importance of this history, different organizations, both national and regional have been involved in the preservation process. The Amache Preservation Society (APS), the Japanese American community, the University of Denver's Amache Project team, the town of Granada, Colorado Preservation, Inc., and the National Park Service, are the main groups that have been dedicated to the site, maintaining it as well as preserving and interpreting its history.

The Amache site was largely forgotten for many years before the start of this preservation work. The pilgrimages to Amache have been held every spring since 1976, but few further preservation works were done early on. Most preservation progress is due to the efforts of the Amache Preservation Society (APS), a student-based group in Granada. The APS is composed of Granada High School students and led by the current school's principal — John Hopper. This group was formed more than twenty-five years ago and started as a class in the school. The APS takes on the site maintenance and the upkeep of the Amache Museum, which is a small museum located in Granada. One of the goals of APS is to make the Amache history available to more people. According to the museum's website, the members of APS have been dedicated to giving presentations in the area of Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma. They also have traveled to Japan to share the stories of Japanese people in the United States during WWII. In addition to the outreach activities, APS also has researched Amache by collecting oral histories from the former internees as well as researching documentary records.

The Japanese American community is one of the Amache Museum's stakeholders. Multiple groups comprised of ethnic Japanese have been dedicated to Amache preservation. The Denver Central Optimist Club was one of the very first groups to get involved. It was established in 1979 and had the responsibility for many preservation and commemorative activities at Amache (Otto 2009, 130). The Amache Historical Society (AHS) was a group of former internees based in California. In addition to organizing the reunions, they were also responsible for the preservation of objects and photographs related to the Amache (Otto 2009, 131). The Amache Historical Society II (AHS II) is a relatively new group that was started by a group of surviving Amache Sansei (third generation) and Yonsei (fourth generation) descendants. It was established in 2015 when organizers of the AHS and the Amache Reunion announced that they are going to retire. AHS II continues the work of the AHS, devoted to educating about the history of Amache and supporting the APS to maintain the Amache site and the Amache Museum.

The University of Denver's Amache Project has been actively involved in Amache preservation since 2008. The team is led by Dr. Bonnie Clark who holds the Amache archaeology field school in the summer every two years. The research focuses on three domains: daily life, placemaking, and heritage as a process (Clark 2018). The project includes both archaeological and museum studies. The research conducted by former DU master students has contributed to archaeological research at Amache. Only one research was grounded at the Amache Museum, but it focuses on the biography of objects around collections in the museum (Cruz 2016). The DU Amache Project is conducted under the concept of community archaeology and public archaeology, aiming

to involve stakeholder communities in archaeological preservation work. The opinions from Granada residents and Japanese Americans matter in the research design and conduct. As stated by Clark, “at Amache, heritage research takes place in dialogue not just with a descendant community, but with one of living memory” (2018, 3-4). Some interesting facts and stories show up in the interaction with the communities and enrich the investigations. Furthermore, the interaction with the public is also important. Being able to talk to the public who are not familiar with Amache history or who are interested in archaeological works are part of the required training in the field school.

Friends of Amache, a non-profit organization, is composed of the representatives from the Amache Club, the Amache Historical Society, the Amache Preservation Society, and the town of Granada. The goal of this group, of course, is to preserve the history of Amache as well as the physical site, although the representatives from different groups might have different priorities (Otto 2009, 132). The Colorado Preservation, Inc., a private non-profit organization, has collaborated with Friends of Amache and contributed to the preservation through grant writing and site development. Through the negotiations and collaborations, these organizations have done many preservation projects, such as building a replica guard tower and obtaining former barracks to bring back to the site. Some environmental projects, such as preserving the trees planted during the internment years, are still being worked on.

Each of these different groups adds their efforts to the preservation work, but they also have collaborated with each other, as well as with the town of Granada since the land of the former camp is owned by the town. Although some Japanese Americans remained in the area after Amache closed, currently the residents in the town of Granada are largely

Euroamerican or Hispanic. The town has given Friends of Amache a ninety-nine-year lease to support the preservation projects taking place on-site. Though these different groups have collaborated nicely and conducted numerous preservation work together, conflicts did happen during the negotiation process. For example, the Denver Central Optimist Club wanted to erect a memorial for soldiers from Amache that died for the United States during the war. The representatives of the Optimist Club, therefore, asked the town of Granada for the permission to build it. Although the memorial was successfully built at the end, the negotiation process took several months because the two groups argued over the wording on the memorial. According to Otto (2009), not all the local Granada residents initially realized the importance of the Amache site. She mentions that a former mayor Alan Pfeiffer was worried that the National Park Service would take over all control of the Amache site. Although some older generations have not understood their work, the APS has changed some people's mind and led them to appreciate Amache preservation work (Otto 2009, 134).

According to Shikes (2001), the Federal Government's stance toward the camps changed in 1988 when President Ronald Reagan offered the first apology to Japanese Americans and acknowledged "the fundamental injustice of the evacuation, relocation, and internment of United States citizens and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry." This difficult history of Japanese-American internment camp started to get attention, and the government began to survey and research the sites. In 2001, the U.S. Department of the Interior released *Report to the President: Japanese American Internment Sites Preservation*, the result of a four-year study that catalogs the tangible remains at the Japanese-American internment sites. Additionally, with congressional

funding, the National Park Service (NPS) set up a Japanese American Confinement Sites Grant Program that makes many contributions to the Amache preservation. In 2007, the NPS worked with Friends of Amache to organize a *Comprehensive Interpretive Plan and Conceptual Development Plan*. They discussed the preservation goals of Amache, especially interpretive and educational goals. The NPS also has helped to fund numerous preservation projects at Amache, such as the rehabilitation and reconstruction plan for the water tower and guard tower as well as the reconstruction of barrack buildings.

The Amache Museum

The Amache Museum is located in the town of Granada. It is usually open five days a week in summer, and open Monday to Saturday on demand during the school year. The museum is maintained by the Amache Preservation Society (APS). The museum used to be in the classroom of Granada High School. Due to the safety concern for both students and collections, the museum has been moved to a separate building, which is a former Granada City Hall building in downtown Granada. The current museum is a small one-room museum (see Figure 2.1). People can easily see through to the end of the museum from the front door. Although the exhibiting space is limited, the museum is well organized in several display themes (see Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.1: Outlook of the Amache Museum

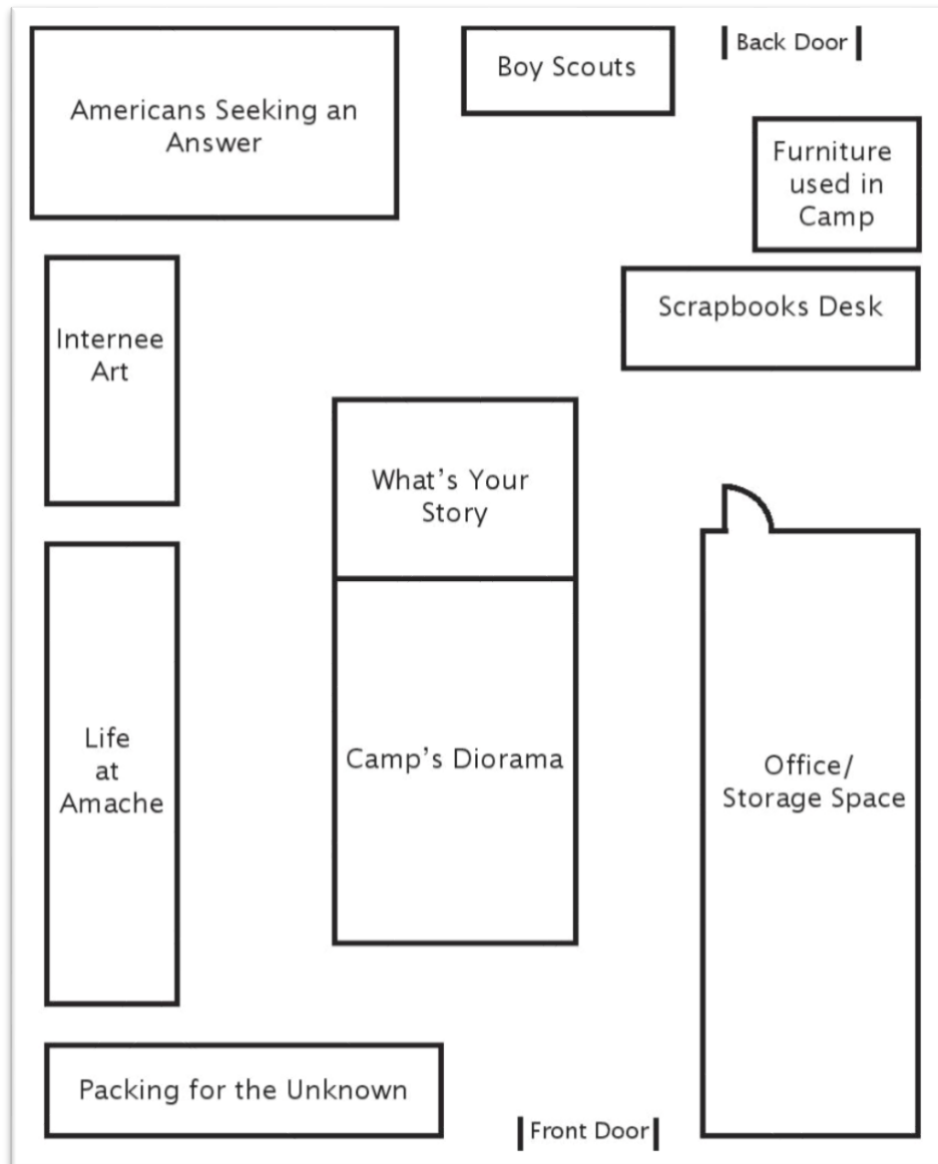


Figure 2.2: Spatial Map of the Museum

The museum can be separated into several sections by different themes. The first section *Packing for the Unknown* illustrates the arrival of Japanese Americans. Several piled-up suitcases are displayed in this area in order to visualize the scene when Japanese Americans arrived at Amache. In the middle of the museum is a diorama of the camp. Visitors can immediately see the diorama when stepping into the museum (see Figure

2.3). An introduction board is affixed to the diorama, providing a brief historical background of Amache. The following exhibiting sections introduce the daily activities and supplies at the camp, such as Japanese-style teacups and bowl, utensils, a wooden container for soy sauce, and a *seiro* (Japanese wooden steaming basket). Some historical photographs are displayed with these artifacts, and several family stories or personal experiences of the artifacts are printed out as narratives. *Internee Art* displays several art and craft pieces that were made in the camp. *Americans Seeking an Answer* displays various historical documents, intending to make people aware of the fact that the internees were citizens of the United States but were considered as outsiders and were incarcerated here back in the 1940s. The next section is about the Boy Scouts and sports at Amache. With the historical photographs and artifacts, this exhibiting section tells an interesting story of a tight competition between the Amache and Holly football teams.

What's Your Story is an exhibition that was installed by the field school's volunteers during the field school in 2014. It is designed to be installed like a small stand with three cubical walls. Their intention is to invite people to write down their stories about the camp, and then pin the papers on the walls to share with others. A camp map is also on the right wall for people to pin down the barrack where they used to live. Several historical documents, such as the list of the internees' names and the information of which families lived in which barracks, are on the table for people to look through. Many scrapbooks are on the table near the exhibition of *What's Your Story*. Most of the scrapbooks are replicas, but people still enjoy looking through them (see Figure 2.4). The museum office is a space to store collections as well as museum supplies. Since the office

only has limited space, a large number of collections were moved in 2016 to the Amache Research Center (ARC).



Figure 2.3: Visitors Interact with the Diorama of the Camp



Figure 2.4: People Gathering Around the Table and Looking Through the Scrapbooks

Amache Museum: A Preservation and Development Project

Establishing a museum was considered necessary for preserving Amache history by the authors of the preservation and development plans (Ellis 2004; National Park Service 2007). Having an Amache Museum is on the list of management recommendations and is considered as a method to achieve the preservation goals, in terms of increasing opportunities for visitors to learn about the internment experience and enhancing visitor experience as it relates to the camp. Additionally, the museum is also expected to bring in tourism for the area and could raise more funds for preservation projects.

The development plan (2007) has a relatively complete section about the museum scale and the budget. The authors planned to have a full-scale museum, including an entrance lobby and administrative and research offices. The National Park Service also suggested having a research group, collection management group, building support functions group, and processing group. In addition to physical construction, the preservation and development plans (Ellis 2004; National Park Service 2007) both discuss the interpretive plan for the museum. The report proposed that the Amache museum “is conceived of as a storytelling program rather than an artifact display project” (Ellis 2004, 48). They suggested exposing visitors to Amache history through the stories and interpretations from the survivors and the descendants, instead of the juxtaposition of different historical objects. The plan (2007) also provides some detailed recommendations to organize the exhibition, such as curate it chronologically and tell Amache stories by separating them into education, work, daily life, and entertainment sections (49).

These preservation and development plans provided an outline and expectations to the Amache Museum, hoping that it would benefit the preservation works of Amache history. Although the plans do not explicitly identify a specific museum model for the Amache Museum, the interpretive and exhibition goals of the museum, as well as the practice in the museum, indicate certain types of museum models. In other words, rather than intentionally form in a certain model, the Amache Museum has organically developed in the form it stands in right now, which makes it a distinct case study in the museum field. I will elucidate the potential museum models and concepts that the Amache Museum could fit into in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Literature Reviews

The Amache Museum serves as a special case in the museum field. The form of the Amache Museum overlaps with a couple of museum concepts such as the community museum and the ecomuseum. Additionally, numerous factors complicate the identity negotiation and collaboration strategies within the Amache Museum. My research focuses on three factors: the historical background and the memories of Amache, the participation of different communities, and the potential involvement of governing agency such as the National Park Service (NPS). Before discussing which community the Amache Museum represents, I will first clarify the museum models that the Amache Museum could fit into in order to know what kind of museum the Amache Museum could be. The three factors will be addressed in each section. The identity negotiation is discussed with the idea of the community museum, the memories and the historical background and the bureaucracy involvement will be brought out in the heritage section.

Community, Museums, and Identity

The concept of community has been at the center of new museology, in which museums move their emphasis from being object-centered to content- and visitor-centered. Aligned with this awareness, the question of who is telling the stories has been put on the table. Janet Marstine (2008), Ruth Phillips (2003), and Anthony Alan Shelton (2006) all mention the sharing power of storytelling when introducing the background of

the new museology. According to Vergo (1989), the appearance of the “new” museology is based on the dissatisfaction of the “old” one, that the old museology emphasized museum methods over museum purposes (3). Museum professionals started rethinking the functions people take for granted at museums such as collecting, educating, and exhibiting, and have also been aware of the unequal relationship between the curators and represented communities beneath the surface. With the awareness of multivocality, a community of people who have different opinions with professionals or elites is brought into museums. However, community is a complicated idea that could be interpreted differently depending on contexts and situations. It could be a minority in society or a group of people who share the same habits or situations. Lonetree (2012) uses “shared authority” to describe the new relationship between Native Americans and museums. The idea of sharing power and sharing authority could reflect the idea of decolonization. In the colonial period, authorities such as governments and museum professionals controlled the power of representation; only a single institutional voice could be conveyed. This dominant culture voice not only applied in political and social enforcement on colonized peoples, but it was also embodied in museum practice, in which museums served colonizing governments to convey their policy and to reconstruct national identity.

By acknowledging the unequal power of presenting and representing in museums, Karp (1992) brings in the idea of civil society to discuss the relations between community and museums. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci’s definitions of civil society, he states that it “creates hegemony through the production of cultural and moral systems that legitimate the existing social order” (1992, 4). In Karp’s discussion (1992, 5), museums are part of civil society that express, understand, develop, and preserve the objects, values, and

knowledge that the society values and relies on. He further mentions another side of civil society that it “is not merely the benign agent of social reproduction and education. Its institutions can either support or resist definitions imposed by the more coercive organs of the state” (Karp 1992, 5). Following this idea that museums are part of civil society where prevailing ideas could be resisted and critiqued, community involvement and sharing authority of storytelling in museums can be a way to fight against injustice. Although there is not a specific model or strategy for museums and communities to follow, Crooke (2007) provides two collaboration methods between community and museums.

Following the thought of sharing authority, Crooke addresses two different types of connections between community and museums (2007, 423). One is that museum professionals invite communities into museums to curate exhibitions and manage collections. Within this collaboration, communities are the long-term partners with museum professionals and also the groups who bring their indigenous perspectives and suggestions to museums. The other type of community museum, comparing to the first one, is a bottom-up museum. This type of community museum is initiated by a community itself. Not only is it a place to tell their stories, but museums also tend to be a means to communicate the community’s message, aiming to construct their identity. In the case of the Amache Museum, the museum mostly fits in the second type in terms of a bottom-up collaboration method. Instead of being established by professionals, the Amache Museum was started by the local Granada community who is closely collaborating with other groups such as Japanese Americans, DU Amache Project, and the government. Due to its special collaboration methods in terms of telling the stories of

Japanese Americans by local community members, it seems hard to define whose community museum the Amache Museum is.

Many authors have addressed how identity is embedded in a museum. Under the concept of new museology, which addresses issues of cultural representation, people have their own identities when curating an exhibition as well as when visiting an exhibit. The knowledge and ideas can be shaped and conveyed in a way that fits with curators' identity, and can also be understood and interpreted in a way that resonates with visitors' identity. In addition to these two layers, in terms of curators and visitors, of identity negotiation, McLean (2008) proposes a third layer, that is the identities of those being represented. To be more precise, in her opinion, the three identities involved in the negotiation are the identity of curators, visitors, and represented communities. McLean's (2008) ideas of identity negotiation in museums can be applied to Crooke's (2007) idea of two types of the community museum – bottom-up and top-down museum. In the case of a bottom-up community museum, if the curating community is not the represented community, the third layer of identity negotiation could be implied. Take the Amache Museum for example. The distinct community collaborations indicate identity negotiations between APS, DU Amache Project team, the Japanese American community, and visitors. Because the definition of community and collaborative strategies vary and are fluid, the categories suggested by Crooke (2007) and McLean (2008) are the general ideas that help us have a basic idea of community museum and the potential negotiation of identity within museums. There is always an exception that overlaps with these ideas, but is slightly different. Influenced by postmodernism and the new museology, the core value of McLean's idea is to be aware of who is speaking. As

she states, “exhibitions are systems of representation”, it is the representation of the dialogue between encoders and decoders (2008, 292).

In addition to narrowing down how and whose identity is being negotiated within a community museum, exploring the definitions of a community would help to define how many communities and what types of communities are involved in the negotiation. By looking into the literature of community from different academic fields, such as social and cultural anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, development studies and public policy, Crooke (2007) summarizes the idea of community into three areas: symbolic community, civic community, and political community. The area of symbolic community considers “how understanding the dynamics of community will bring a greater appreciation of the formation of identity, the creation of relationships and definitions of belonging” (2007, 27). The main questions for this area of community study are to understand how a community is symbolized and expressed. An ethnic community and a hobby group could both be considered a symbolic community. The idea of political community is related to public policy in which the notion of community integrates with policy and becomes a tool of local or national government (Crooke 2007, 28). The last type is the civic community. Different from the political community which serves as a tool of local or national government, a civic community is a bottom-up form that a community uses heritage and museums as a vehicle to strive for their social and political rights (Crooke 2007, 28). These three ideas of community imply that community is a form of identity; additionally, community is a means to engage in public life and to be involved in a social movement. However, as Crooke (2007) supposes, community is a fluid idea that changes depending on situations. Though she has summarized the idea of

community into three areas, it would be hard to draw a clear line between each. The boundary lines are shared. They could even be redrawn and thus developing into different categories.

Uncertainty seems to be the best word to describe the phenomenon of postmodernism. Concepts and ideas are not firm. Rather, they are contingent and relative to a context and can be challenged at any time. Instead of being fixed to a single definition or idea, being open-minded and accepting any possibility would be the way to think about the concept of community museum as well as the idea of community. The Amache Museum would be the example of the cross-disciplinary museum, which involves multiple communities and fits into different concepts of a museum. Other than the possibility of being a community museum, the Amache Museum could also fit in with the concept of ecomuseum.

Ecomuseum

Ecomuseum, as the name reveals, is the combined concept of ecology and museum. The concept comes from France and has now spread out all around the world. The concept was prompted by the environmentalism in the 1960s. The idea and its theories were mainly developed in the 1970s. Although environmental movements do have impacts on the idea of ecomuseum, the physical environment is not the only concern for an ecomuseum. The idea of environment encompasses all tangible and intangible elements such as landscape and memories within a region. In this section, I will briefly introduce the evolving definitions of ecomuseum and then elaborate on the main concepts of it.

The definitions of ecomuseum have evolved with the times. Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine were the very first people who contributed to the development of the idea of ecomuseum. According to Davis (2008), the early definition (Davis cited from Rivière 1973) have a bias towards ecology and the environment (401). In the following year, however, with the regional natural park projects in France, the concepts of local community, local identity, territory, landscape, a sense of history and continuity have been included in the definition of ecomuseum (Davis 2008, 401). A sense of belonging is one of the concerns of ecomuseum. Davis (1999) cites Rivard's (1988) ideas of the differences between the traditional museum and the ecomuseum: a traditional museum is composed of building, collections, experts, and the public while an ecomuseum consists of territory, heritage, memory, and population. Building on his definition of the ecomuseum, Rivard (1988) identifies four categories of ecomuseum (Davis 1999, 69):

- the discovery ecomuseum (the traditional, and first, holistic model)
- the development ecomuseum (concerned with the community, cultural identity, economic regeneration and with stated political goals)
- specialist ecomuseums (dealing with specific industries)
- 'combat' ecomuseums (usually in urban locations and dedicated to pressing social issues)

Inherited from the earlier definitions, Davis provides his definition of ecomuseum:

the ecomuseum, with its strong emphasis on community involvement, a museum that demands action by the community to conserve its own material culture and natural heritage within the boundaries of its geographical area or territory, was one of the proposed new approaches and became a focal point for debate about the purpose of museums (1999, 45).

In order to clarify the relationship between the museum, the environment, and the community, Davis (1999) provides a model for an ecomuseum (see Figure 3.1). The focus of the three circles model is that an ecomuseum must sit within its community and the local environment. The community must be the curator, or the criterion of ecomuseum will not be satisfied (Davis 1999, 75).

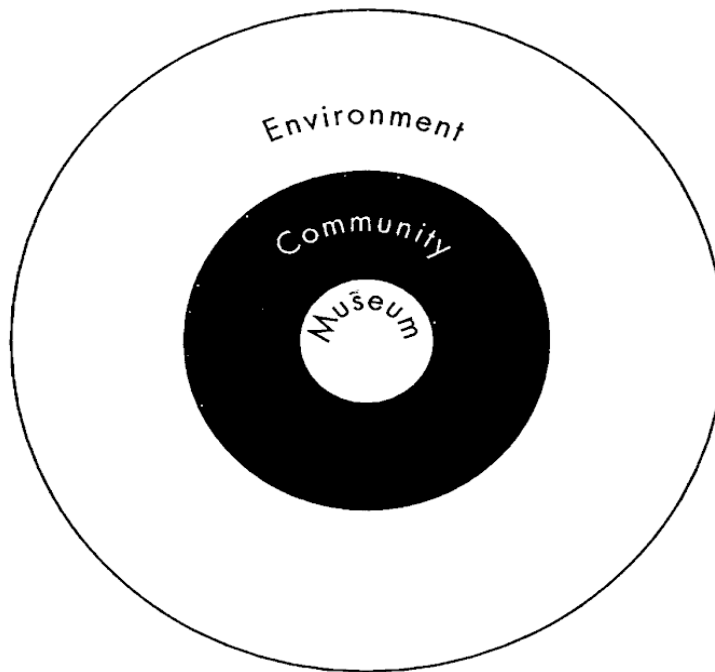


Figure 3.1: The Ecomuseum Model, source from Davis 1999, 75

The necklace model is another that Davis creates for ecomuseum. Different from the three circles model which describes the main components of an ecomuseum, the necklace model deals with the ideas involved in the concepts of ecomuseum (see Figure 3.2). In Davis' words, ecomuseum is considered "the thread of a necklace" (2008, 404) which holds a variety of distinct elements that make individual places special. In other words, due to the differences of each element among different cases, the concept of

ecomuseum emphasizes the sense of place and the specialty of a place. Based on this concept, ecomuseum could also be seen as a mechanism that would “enable the conversation of cultural and natural heritage and the maintenance of local cultural identity, the democratization of the museum and the empowerment of local people” (Davis 1999, 239).

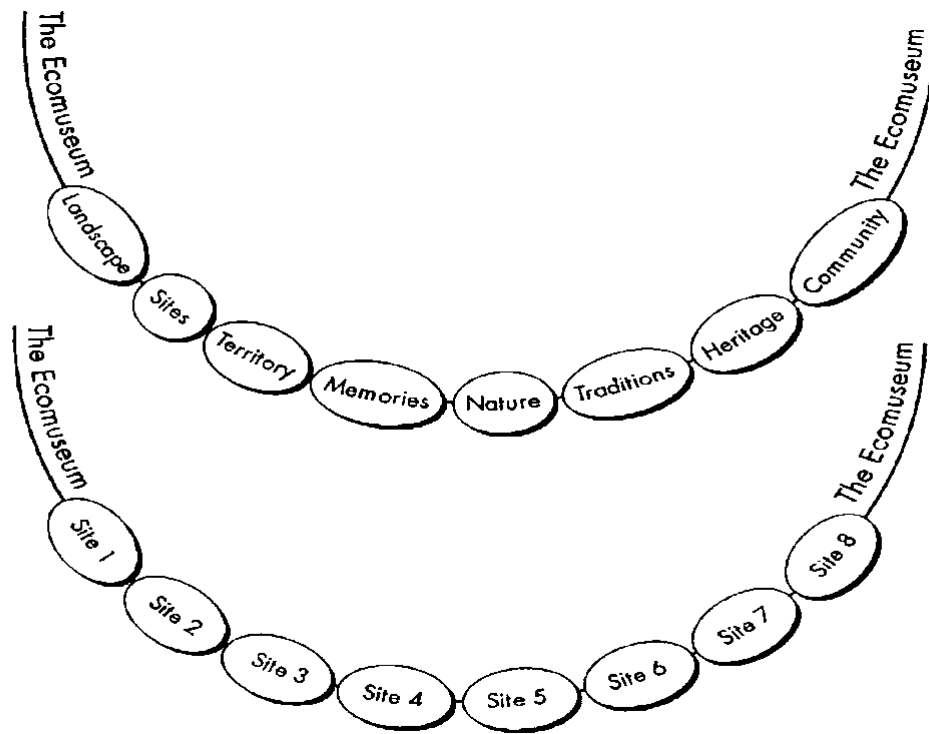


Figure 3.2: The Necklace Model, source from Davis 1999, 240

Fuller’s study (1992) provides a concrete example of an ecomuseum. In her study (1992), she sees the ecomuseum as an agent for managing change, and she researches how the Ak-Chin Indian Community used an ecomuseum as a vehicle to help the community to understand and manage everyday life as it changes. Following the ecomuseum idea of the sense of place, Fuller states, “ecomuseums are community learning centers that link the past with the present as a strategy to deal with the future

needs of that particular society” (1992, 328). Her project is centered on the educational function of the Ak-Chin ecomuseum, and she interprets that the activities and collections the museum conducted and collected reflect what is important to the community.

According to Davis (1999) and Fuller (1992), community is the core value of the ecomuseum, which has a great similarity with the concept of community museum. In light of Davis’ (1999) and Crooke’s (2007) idea, both the ecomuseum and community museum value the voice from communities, and this would therefore lead the museums to a social- and justice- concern direction. Additionally, ecomuseum brings in the idea of place. By recognizing a variety of elements that connect with a place, each ecomuseum can be considered as a distinct case study.

Concerned with the distinctiveness of places, Montanari (2015) proposes that the effects of globalization and migrations should also be considered into the ecomuseum paradigm. Her stance comes from her observation of the social and cultural phenomenon in contemporary society. Due to increased mobility, a territory often does not only exist as a single and fixed cultural landscape. The new members of the community would more or less affect the original cultural systems and reconfigure the identities in it. However, it is difficult to track the constantly changing of the relationship between community members and their identity. Montanari (2015) therefore supposes that the participation strategies for community involvement are a way to present the continuity and reconfiguration of cultural systems and identities. Considering the community heterogeneity in a single place that is caused by mobility of individuals or groups of people, exploring the contact and correlation of different communities on the specific territory are needed in the discussion of identity formation in an ecomuseum.

The involvement of the different communities in the Amache Museum is not only due to the historical background of the Amache internment camp but also because the Amache site is a National Historic Landmark, a heritage officially recognized by the state. Being a museum attached to this heritage has very much affected the form of and the collaborations within the Amache Museum. In addition to the benefits of being a heritage site, some potential challenges are also hidden underneath. This will be explained in the next section.

The Connection of Heritage, Memory, and Identity

Heritage is a broad idea and can address different topics in the museum field. My work will focus on the connections among heritage, memory, and identity, exploring how heritage contributes to commemoration and identity affirmation. In addition to elaborating these connections, my work also includes investigating how a museum is situated in these connections. Additionally, the benefits and challenges of being a heritage site will be addressed at the end of this section.

Heritage represents a significant history, or, in Macdonald's words, "is a body of selected history and its material traces" (2009, 2). McDowell (2008) also proposes a similar idea that heritage is selective use of the past for contemporary purposes or the future. Following the line of this thought, having a heritage means having an identity (Macdonald 2009, 2). Recognizing a heritage could mean that the nation and the public acknowledge that this marked history is preservable and is part of their history. Difficult heritage is a special kind of heritage. It is usually related to the suppressed history such as wars, conflicts, and conquest over foreigners (Macdonald 2009, 2). In Macdonald's

argument (2009 and 2015), flagging a difficult heritage is meaningful for education. It has an impact on identity formation not only for the generation who experienced the difficult history, but also for the next generation who has distance from the past. Built on the educational function of a difficult heritage, Macdonald (2009) further points out the controversial issue of whether or not to preserve the material remains or just let it decay with the times. Some people advocate forgetting the difficult history by demolishing iconic symbols and architecture while others promote its memories by documenting or memorializing it. In this debate of whether to move on from the difficult history, Macdonald (2009) recognizes the commemorative power of buildings which makes people recall and feel related to the past. However, in addition to material remains in terms of buildings or architectures, the place and the territory where buildings were built are also crucial for people to remember the past.

Places are the medium that connects people either physically or emotionally to the past, and they are also bound up in the belief of belonging or not belonging, ownership, and identity (McDowell 2008, 38). In the case of difficult heritage such as internment camps, places are a concrete idea that reminds people of their experiences. People's memories are attached to the territory and connected with the events that happened in the place. In other words, it is not the land or territory itself that makes people feel connected but the history which happened in this place, on the land that reminds people of the past. Memory and commemoration are involved in the heritage process. Although lots of histories happened on the territory of a heritage site, the kinds of memories and what narratives are used in the preservation of the site impact identity formation.

McDowell (2008), Misztal (2008), and Macdonald (2009) all mention the role that memories play in heritage. They explore different types of memories which might work in heritage; collective memory is the one they all agree with. Collective memories, as the name implies, are the memories that people shared together; however, according to Misztal (2008), it is different from the sum total of the individual memories from the community members (381). Some memories would be classified as memorable and the other as forgettable depending on the needs of communities or nations. Individual identity, community identity, and national identity would more or less be affected by these selective memories. As McDowell (2008) states, “collective memory is not just historical knowledge, because it is experience, mediated by representation of the past, that enacts and gives substance to a group’s identity” (384). Compared to the general idea of collective memory, Misztal (2008) and Macdonald (2009) develop a specific term to describe the memory that works in heritage.

Built on the idea of collective memory that is embedded into the social context, Misztal uses the term “mnemonic community” (2009, 384) to elaborate on how a group maintains and cultivates a common memory. She locates three communities of memory: the family, the ethnic group, and the nation, and supposes that their identities are effected by the growing differentiation of society, the globalization of the world, and by the development of new means of communication (2009, 388). Cosmopolitan memory is the term that Macdonald (2009) uses to describe the selective use of memory in difficult heritage. Instead of limiting the discussion within the memories that come from the communities, Macdonald (2009) expands the boundaries of memories to people who have no direct relation to the difficult heritage. In her words, “memory is becoming

‘deterritorialized’, ‘transcending ethnic and national boundaries’, as people orient themselves in relation to events and histories — and interpretations of them — that are ‘transnational’ and ‘global’” (Macdonald 2009, 131). Macdonald’s definition can be applied to global history such as WWII. The war has more or less left traces on the countries and regions all around the world. People from different generations and different countries might all have memories of it, no matter if they come from personal experiences, family stories, or from textbooks. In addition to heritage itself and its territory, museums would also be the medium that connects people with the past by collecting, presenting, and interpreting artifacts.

A museum is considered one of the institutions of memory in which artifacts serve as the mediator to provide interpretations and to connect memories. According to Misztal (2008), “museums are unusual not only because their development is connected to the formation and honoring of the nation state, but also because of their role in the social objectification of the past and organized memory around diverse artifacts” (389). Collected artifacts were used as a means of constructing national identity in a colonial museum. After the colonial period, museums become responsible for protecting distinct cultures through the preservation and the display of their artifacts. Collecting is still a common function of a museum; however, with the transformation of being a culture guardian to a cultural mediator, artifacts can serve as a trigger of memories. In Crane’s (2000) ideas, museums house and protect memories (3). Based on her idea, artifacts could be the physical mediator of memories to be housed in museums, and Williams (2007) provides some more examples of what these mediators could be like in a memorial museum, such as surviving objects and historical photographs.

Going back to the discussion of the relationship between identity and heritage, Macdonald (2009) argues that different generations could have formed different identities from the same heritage. In her research, WWII is embedded in German's self-identification and therefore the generation differences would affect identity formation and attitudes toward Nazi heritage. People who were born during the WWII period and who had experience about the Third Reich might prefer to keep silent; while many people who born after that period, according to Macdonald (2009), tended to talk about themselves as being one of those born after (175). It reveals that people choose the factors they prefer to explain their identity. Young (1993) also researched German's difficult heritage but focused on the Holocaust-related monuments. He proposes the situation of the memory ambiguity in German, caused by the sensitive and controversial tensions of memorialization. The controversy, meetings, aesthetic debates, and bureaucratic wrangling are involved in the process of creating a monument, and which might displace the narrative of history (Young 1993, 18). Additionally, the questions of which kind of memory to preserve, how to do it, and to what end are the debates that will never be resolved (Young 1993, 21). These complicated and integrated tensions within a monument or a heritage impact identity formation for community members.

The educational function of heritage sites is rarely questioned. A difficult heritage, both tangible remains and intangible factors, could be the lesson for today and the future. This could link back to the previous part of the memory types. Cosmopolitan memory is a broader idea that relates the past to the present. Based on the difficult history of the Nazi period, people related this past to the Iraq war in contemporary life or would take this as a racist activity and want people to be aware of this issue (Macdonald 2009,

171). For the younger generation, due to their memory distance with the heritage history, they could have been different feelings and attitudes when facing the difficult history. Recognizing the difficult heritage of a nation has gradually become acceptable for the government as well as for the citizens of the nation involved, Germany is at the leading position of this activity. However, generational differences are another factor involved in the process of having a difficult heritage. As Macdonald mentions, it is difficult to determine whether the younger generation will later develop a cosmopolitan orientation to the past, or the older people would feel detached from the past (2009, 172). Negotiation is involved in this process. The negotiation of identity, of the memories, and of what should be memorable. The process and the result of this negotiation can be conducted in many institutions, and museums are one of them.

Having a heritage site usually means the history is recognized by a government; however, government imposes regulations and expectations on the site. Brown (2003) extends Max Weber's idea of "iron cage" to describe the challenges that bureaucracy inflicts on heritage preservation. In his study, the government preserves the natural and cultural landscape of Native Americans by recognizing and applying their traditional cosmology and methods. However, it turns out that the Native viewpoints are sometimes difficult to embed into the bureaucratic framework because of the highly rationalized and formalized systems of bureaucracy (Brown 2003, 213). Furthermore, an official boundary between communities drawn by the government indicates that some communities and voices are excluded from heritage preservation. This raises the question of who is recognized and why they represent the site. Being officially recognized as a heritage site will indeed bring many supports to preserve cultures and histories; nevertheless, the

bureaucracy is like an iron cage. It seems to give communities freedoms and spaces, but those freedoms can only be applied within the bureaucracy's framework.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework

This research project on the Amache Museum was developed from the broad question of which community the Amache museum represents. Seeing the Amache Museum as a community museum, I approached the question from theoretical exploration and practical investigation. For the theory exploration, I researched two museum concepts — community museum and ecomuseum — to understand the overlapped ideas in order to comprehend the complexity of the Amache Museum. For the practical investigation, I focused on three aspects: community collaboration, identity affirmation, and thoughts of community members towards the museum. Acknowledging that identity is embedded in community collaboration, I selected memory as an indicator to identify identity affirmation. This chapter will elaborate on the key concepts of this research project. Since I have illustrated most of them in the previous chapter, this chapter is centered on the rationale of why using them in this research.

Community Museum

In this project, the Amache Museum was considered as a community museum because it is located in a small town and is run by the local high school students. However, the Amache Museum is also important for the Japanese American community since the museum contents are related to their history and experience of the internment camp. Seeing this distinct phenomenon of community collaboration, I explored the

concept of community museum to better understand the Amache Museum and to answer the question of which community the Amache Museum represents.

In different works of literature, a community museum indicates community as source community who acquires the power to tell their stories in a museum. Aligned with this idea, a community is invited into museums to work with museum professionals to tell their stories and perspectives towards collection management or exhibit curations. In addition to being a guest who comes into museums to assist curators, a community can also become a museum establisher who make decisions for museum development. In keeping with Crooke (2007), this kind of museum is called a bottom-up community museum. Different scholars (Karp 1992; Crook 2006, 2007, 2008; Gordon 2005) have addressed their perspectives about a community museum. There are also case studies (Gordon 2005) about the start of having a community museum and operation strategies of a community museum. In these different works of literature talking about a bottom-up museum, source community and establishing community are usually considered as the same community. Few research or case studies revealed what a community museum would look like and how it would work if source community and establishing community are different.

Community

Through the exploration of the concept of community museum, I noticed that community is also a floating idea that there is not a single definition can fit into every context. Therefore, I explored the concept of community to help me identify the potential communities in the Amache Museum. According to Crooke (2007), community can be

understood into three areas: symbolic community, civic community, and political community. Following her categories, I identified and included two communities in this research project. I considered the Japanese American community as both symbolic and civic community that the members share the same ethnic background and are using a museum to strive for their rights, and examined the Granada community as a symbolic community because of its strong geographical connection with the place. I originally only included the community of Japanese Americans and Granada residents. However, after digging down into the research, I realized that the University of Denver Amache Project is another important community that has been involved in the Amache Museum; therefore, I decided to include it into the discussion of community collaboration. In other words, I discussed three communities in this research project, but only Japanese Americans and Granada residents are included in the discussion of which community the Amache Museum represents. Although this research project is centered on these three communities, I acknowledged that there are more communities and organizations involved in the museum.

Ecomuseum

According to Davis's (1999) definition, ecomuseum is a broader idea of a community museum which put both the environment and community as its core value. The idea of the environment in ecomuseum is not limited to the natural environment but encompasses all tangible and intangible elements within a region, such as landscape and memories. Additionally, Fuller's (1992) study of the Ak-Chin Indian Community presents the process of establishing an ecomuseum with the goal of community identity

and development. By seeing her study, I included the concept of ecomuseum into this research because I noticed that the environment could play an essential role in the relationships between the Japanese American and Granada community and the Amache Museum.

By seeing the involvement of different communities in the museum, I was curious about the role that an environmental factor, in terms of the location of the museum, plays within community collaborations and identity affirmation. Amache was located near Granada, and this difficult history has drawn the local high school teacher— John Hopper, who is also the Director of APS, to lead his students to study and preserve Amache history and run a local museum to store historical objects and archives. As Davis (1999) proposes, the environment not only refers to natural and tangible landscape but also indicates the intangible things embedded on the land. In the Amache Museum case, memories are the important attachments to the land and have attracted Japanese Americans, both survivors and descendants to come back. Recognizing the crucial role that the place plays, the concept of ecomuseum was considered useful for this research project to study the Amache Museum.

Difficult Heritage

Difficult heritage is a crucial idea to understand the connection between the museum, identity, and memory for this project. Macdonald defines difficult heritage as “a past that is recognized as meaningful in the present but that is also contested and awkward for public reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming contemporary identity” (2009, 1). Although Amache has been closed for more than seventy years, this difficult

history still has a great impact on the families who were incarcerated in the camp. Furthermore, even though Amache has been recognized as national heritage and designated as a National Historic Landmark, not all people understand its historical value. Many people do not know about the history of Japanese American internment camps, and some people do not recognize it as wanting of preservation. In exploring identity affirmation, I considered the reality of being related to a difficult heritage and its impact on people's identity affirmation.

Individual Memory and Collective Memory

In this research, I considered memory as a factor that correlates people's identity affirmation and their thoughts regarding the museum. During my fieldwork, I noticed that the museum sometimes utilized personal memories in object descriptions; additionally, visitors are encouraged to write down their Amache memories and stories to share with the public. Through formal and informal conversations with my interviewees and random visitors, I learned that there are some memory connections made during their museum visit. Furthermore, by seeing different emotional reactions when talking about their parents' or grandparents' internment experience, I noticed that people had diverse individual memories related to this history. According to Misztal (2008), collective memory is the memory that people share together, but it is not the sum total of individual memories. However, at the same time it indicates that people might have different individual memories related to collective memory. Even if the Amache Museum has selected some certain memories from the former internees to form a collective memory for museum narratives, Japanese Americans and Granada residents might still have their

own memories connected to Amache from their direct experience, the stories their parents or their grandparents told them, or from textbooks. Along with these reasons, generational differences can also be considered as a reason that makes people remember this history differently.

Encoding and Decoding Identity

Identity is commonly embedded in behaviors or decision making; however, it is an abstract idea that is hard to identify. In Dicks' research (2000), she studied a local heritage museum in South Wales and used heritage as a communicative circuit of encoding and decoding people's identity (2000, 63). She analyzed how the narratives in the museum were created, and who they were created by. In addition to the encoders in terms of the narrative makers, she conducted research on visitors, or decoders, to see what they have learned from the narratives. She especially put emphasis on the question of how the people of the local community are in turn imaged by visitors. Among the preservation processes at the Amache Museum, there is little doubt that identity plays an essential role in decision making. Following how Dicks (2000) studied identity in a heritage museum, my research sees Amache as a communicative circuit of identity coding and encoding, and explores the community collaborations and community members' thoughts to see whose voices and identities are involved in the Amache Museum.

Chapter Five: Research Designs

Goals and Objectives

This study has multiple goals. In general, it aims to provide a deeper understanding of the Amache Museum, and explore which community the Amache Museum represents. In order to answer this general question, this research is comprised of three specific questions:

- What museum models and concepts could fit the Amache Museum?
- How do the different communities, especially the community of Japanese Americans and the community of Granada residents, cooperate and negotiate to maintain the Amache Museum?
- What role does the Amache Museum play in identity affirmation during the preservation process?

My research provides an analysis of specific aspects within the Amache Museum, which is a community-based museum. But it may be incorporated into the National Park system in the future. Although we are unsure whether the museum will still be community-based, my research shows identity affirmation made possible by the preservation work accomplished through community collaborations.

Methodology

Phenomenology is the methodology used for this research. According to Starks, “phenomenology contributes to a deeper understanding of lived experiences by exposing taken-for-granted assumptions about these ways of knowing” (2007, 1373). It relies on the use of thick description and examination of individual experiences to comprehend the meanings and common features of an experience or event (Stark 2007, 1374). In this research, I used the phenomenological methodology as a means to explore people’s experience and thoughts on the Amache Museum, and review the existing definitions of community museum. Through this exploration, I present the distinctiveness and the complexity of the museum that make it novel from other existing frameworks. This research is also an exploratory investigation that aims to gain a sense of the community collaborations in the Amache Museum, as well as the roles that the museum play in identity affirmation.

Research Methods

A number of different research methods were used in this project, including participant observation, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, secondary analysis, and archival research. These research methods helped me better understand the community collaborations in the Amache Museum and community members’ thoughts about the museum. This research relied on interpretive analysis to analyze the qualitative and quantitative data (Bernard 2010, 361). I not only used interpretive analysis to find the community collaborations and people’s thoughts from different archival texts, but also

used it to figure out the meanings of the coded results from the questionnaires. Therefore, this research is primarily qualitative not quantitative.

Participant Observation

The goal of participant observation was to gain first-hand information about community collaboration in the Amache Museum. This method was primarily used in the 2018 archaeological summer field school. The five-week long field school was held by the University of Denver's Amache Project team. It was the sixth field season since 2008. I participated in the field school as a student as well as a researcher. All the field school's students and volunteers worked from Tuesday to Saturday and had two-days off on Sunday and Monday. During the workday, I participated in the archaeological survey and excavation in the morning. In the afternoon, I worked at the Amache Museum with the other participants to help with collection management and exhibition development.

Based on the information that I collected before I entered this field school, the exhibitions in the Amache Museum were mostly created during the past field school seasons. The field participants were comprised of different community members, such as Japanese Americans and local Granada residents. Therefore, I selected participant observation as the primary research method during the fieldwork, in order to directly observe community collaboration in the museum. I focused on two aspects of collaboration: collection management and exhibit curation. I looked into how different communities were involved in preservation work, and what roles they played in this process. In addition to being a method for collecting data, participant observation helped

me build connections with key informants from the communities. The informants also became comfortable talking to me and sharing their stories and thoughts with me.

Questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed to collect the thoughts of Granada residents who are not directly involved in the Amache Museum. Some of the survey takers were the relatives of the APS members or the residents in Granada or Bristol, which is around four miles away from Granada. This survey was made through Qualtrics, an online data collecting software, and distributed at the event for Granada and Bristol Day on June 16, 2018. People used supplied iPads to take the survey. The questionnaire included eleven questions. Each of them was a multiple-choice question. It included questions about how much they knew about the Amache Museum and the importance of the museum for Granada residents and Japanese Americans. Since only a small group of people are actively involved in the Amache Museum, the objective of this short questionnaire was to collect the thoughts of Granada residents and people who come from neighborhood area, in order to have a better understanding of their attitudes to the Amache Museum.

Semi-structured Interview

Semi-structured interviews were used to gain insight into individuals' experiences and thoughts about the Amache Museum. It was also the best method to interview informants who were hard to meet more than one time (Bernard 2011, 172). The design of the semi-structured interviews followed the probing principle that Bernard (2011) proposes. I designed an interview guide for each interviewee. The guides were similar,

but with a few differences. I led the interviews by sequentially asking the questions to make sure the interviews covered the key questions and topics. However, I still gave them spaces to talk about their experiences that were recalled during the interviews. Additionally, I designed these questions in a way that not only aimed to acquire the information that I intended to collect, but also could stimulate the informants' memories.

I designed two interview guides; one was for Japanese Americans, and the other one was for APS members. Both guides included questions about how important, on the scale of one to five, the Amache Museum is for Japanese Americans and Granada residents, and why. These questions were also included in the questionnaire, which was for local Granada residents who mostly have no direct relationship with the Amache Museum. The data from different samples depicted a general understanding of people's thoughts, both from people who have direct, indirect, or even no relation to the museum.

The rest of the questions in the two interview guides were designed for acquiring information that might reveal the details of community collaborations and identities embedded in the collaborations or preservation works. I assumed that museum collections, archaeological materials, and the physical site of Amache were the three factors which would be meaningful for Japanese Americans and Granada residents. Therefore, these three factors were mentioned in the questions.

I conducted three face-to-face interviews and one email interview. Two of the face-to-face interviews were conducted during the field school in 2018, and the last one was conducted in February 2019. The email interview was also conducted during February 2019. Since my five-week long fieldwork was too short to have a holistic view of the Amache Museum, semi-structured interviews were helpful for expanding my

understanding of strategies in collaboration management and exhibition curation outside the field school's periods.

Secondary Analysis

A secondary analysis was used to increase my data of people's opinions on the Amache Museum. I used Rebecca Cruz's (2016) master thesis *The Role of Amache Family Objects in the Japanese American Internment Experience: Examined Through Object Biography and Object Agency*. Cruz (2016) researched the relationships between museum donors and objects. She interviewed six museum donors and asked about the objects' stories. She also investigated why they decided to donate the objects to a museum, and why the Amache Museum instead of other museums that have Japanese American collections. My secondary analysis relied on Cruz's (2016) questions related to the Amache Museum. These interview questions were formed in the way that fits into Cruz's research interest as well as my own. I coded the raw data from the interview transcripts in another way that fits into my research project and avoided the subjective views that were involved in Cruz's analysis.

Archival Research

The objective of this method was to look at the preservation work that has been done in the past and outside the field school's period. I relied on the newsletters from APS, the University of Denver's Amache Project and AHS II. I looked at information about Amache preservation work and specifically the data related to the Amache Museum, such as museum donations, community collaborations, and people's thoughts

about the museum. Additionally, articles written by former participants of the Amache field schools provided me with the information about projects that have been done before, as well as people's feelings and thoughts about attending the Amache field schools and participating in the preservation work. These documents presented the past work and therefore provided me a more holistic view of the Amache Museum.

In addition to the texts, I utilized videos which were produced by a field school student in 2018 and posted on the Facebook page of DU's Amache Project. I investigated the videos presenting short interviews with a local high school intern and Japanese American volunteers. These videos helped understand more about their backgrounds and identity in relation to Amache, as well as what drew them to Amache.

Field Notes

During my fieldwork, I kept a field journal and took photographs to help me record details about the museum as well as community events. I wrote down my observations of the participants and the museum. Since each student and some volunteers had their own museum projects, a large portion of my field notes recorded what projects they were in charge of, whom they worked with, and how they conducted their projects. Taking photographs was another recording method that helped me when I did not have time to notate. These photographs not only recorded details that I did not notice before, but this medium also reminded me of many other happenings during the field school.

Samples

Questionnaire

Since the questionnaire was distributed at the event for Granada and Bristol Day, the samples of the questionnaire were the people who attended the event. I collected twenty-nine responses in total, and eighteen of them were usable. I initially assumed that the people attending all lived in Granada or Bristol. However, according to the survey results, over half of the survey takers were actually living in other places. In my conversations with the survey takers, some of them revealed that they were born and grew up around Granada and Bristol, but have moved out to other places. The survey results also showed that some of the people who moved to other places had family members who volunteered at the Amache Museum or worked with APS. Therefore, the only usable samples of this survey were people who had connections with Granada or Bristol.

Semi-structured Interviews

The sample for the semi-structured interviews was selected from the Japanese American community and the local Granada community. I interviewed four people; two of them were Japanese Americans, and two of them were from the Granada community. Since one of the research objectives is about community collaborations, these four informants all had directly participated in the Amache Museum. I met them during my fieldwork in the summer field school. With some basic understanding of their personal experiences with Amache, I decided to interview them to know more about their stories related to the museum.

Data Analysis

Coding

A large portion of my data analysis relied on thematic coding. I used ATLAS.ti, a software designed for managing qualitative data, to organize the video and textual data. I transcribed the interviews. Using these textual forms, I identified the significant portions with the help of ATLAS.ti and created several specific themes regarding my research questions. The thematic coding helped me organize the codes both within and across different documents and cataloged them into broader themes in order to better understand community collaborations and identity affirmations in the Amache Museum.

Data Matrices

The data matrices were used to analyze the results from the questionnaire survey. The primary goal of this analysis was to understand the Granada residents' thoughts about the Amache Museum. Additionally, I looked at the variables which might affect people's thoughts about the museum, including but not limited to age, residence, and relationship with APS. I utilized both profile and proximity matrices to do the analysis. The former is a table of cases and their associated variables, and the latter is a measurement of relations or proximities between items (Bernard 2010, 364). This analysis showed the general opinion of the local community with regard to the Amache Museum. Furthermore, by comparing with these different variables, I was able to identify the variables that correlated with different people's thoughts about the Amache Museum.

Chapter Six: Results

Community Collaborations in the Amache Museum

In this section, I identify three community collaborations at the Amache Museum: exhibition development and installation, collection management, and museum activities surrounding the Open House days. I utilized data from my participant observation during the five-week-long 2018 field school season, as well as the analysis of the archives to discover how collaboration happened outside the 2018 field season. I focused on the collaborations between the Japanese American community and the Granada community. Besides, I recognized that the University of Denver (DU) Amache Project and the museum crew chiefs played a crucial role among these collaborations; therefore, I included a section discussing the role of the museum crew chief within the Amache Museum.

Exhibition Development and Installation

Similar to other museums, exhibition has been one of the primary tasks in the Amache Museum. G, a volunteer at the field school and a survivor of the Amache, witnessed the unfinished museum when she first came in 2005. She recalls:

He [the APS member] brought us to the current museum, which was just basically a little house, and they didn't have any of shelves at that over there. I mean they had just tables, card tables with boxes of things. They had not been classified or anything, so it was just sort of embryonic. It was not even formed. So it took a while to get to the present state, which is awesome (G 2018).

The DU Amache Project team plays a crucial role in providing professional perspectives on collection management as well as helping arrange displayed objects and exhibition. As stated in the newsletter of DU Amache Project, “unique to this field school was its focus on both archaeological field methods as well as museum collections management” (Volume I, April 2009). The field school’s participants have contributed a variety of works for the Amache Museum since the first field season in 2008, and exhibition development and installation are the work that has been continuously updated.

A new agriculture exhibition draft was one of the museum projects conducted in the 2018 field school. The exhibition project team was comprised of the field school’s participants, including a volunteer who is a survivor of the camp, an intern from APS, a college student who is interested in cultural resource management, and me. Each member of the team was in charge of a task that might be connected or interest to them. The volunteer conducted research on the agriculture industry in the camp; the intern was in charge of talking about the crops developed and raised at Amache as well as the impact of these crops in the Granada area; the college student looked at historical archives to identify the farm areas in the past in order to make a comparison with the current maps. Additionally, the volunteer and the college student collaborated to interview a person who was also a volunteer of the field school and whose father was a farmer and was recruited from Amache to work in somebody’s farm. My work on this project was to find historical photographs showing the farms and agricultural productions to support our research results. We met a couple of times to discuss what contents should be included in the exhibition and then shared the information that we found. The museum crew chief supervised this process, integrated the information we collected, and wrote the narratives

for the agriculture exhibition. The exhibition draft was presented on the Open House days, which were the events that invited Japanese American community members and the general public to visit the site and the museum (see Figure 6.1). In addition to printing out the narratives on letter-size papers, we pulled out two big sheets of paper to encourage people to write down their comments on the exhibition or to share their stories related to agriculture.



Figure 6.1: Agriculture exhibit draft on the wall at the Granada community center. Two comment sheets are on the table

A couple of exhibitions were also created in collaboration during the previous field school seasons. In the 2016 field school, the participants developed an exhibit called What Is Your Story (see Figure 6.2). This exhibit was created in collaboration with a

former Amache resident and the field school's participants. Riki Eijima, a descendant of Amacheans and was one of the contributors of this exhibit, writes,

The highlight of the museum work was creating my own exhibit, "What Is Your Story?" assisted by former Granada [Amache] resident and DU Amache volunteer Carlene Tanigoshi Tinker. This participatory exhibit was a space dedicated to descendants' and internees' stories relating to Amache, for visitors to get a better sense of the life lived here. At the open house, guests added their recollections and comments. I contributed, "Fear can be dangerous. No people should be scapegoated. No one should be jailed without due process" (Eijima 2016).



Figure 6.2: Exhibit: What is Your Story

This exhibition is dedicated to the stories of the Japanese Americans at Amache. The descendants and the former internees are welcomed to write down their stories related to Amache and share with visitors about their life at Amache. G was part of this

exhibition team and recalled her work, sharing her opinions and observations on this exhibition.

G: Oh I'm sure every time we did something but there is an exhibit called What Is Your Story, and I worked on that in 2012 and my friend at that time who was also a volunteer from Fresno, California... Janet Clarson, and we set up those boards and basically form the foundation of it. But then, later on, another volunteer, Riki, Tomi's sister, she added the pictures to the backboards and so she really improved it and then she has on the left-hand side, a sort of a bulletin board where people can write little cards and talk about their experiences in Amache.

Me: So is this exhibition still in the museum?

G: Is it still there? Yes, and people I see them as they come through today and in the past few weeks. They do look at that. We have in the front. We also have directories of the people who were living in the camp in 1943, and then we also have maps on where they were located.

Me: Wow. I remember that one. I love that part of the exhibition. It's really cool.

G: Yeah, people seem to like it, so I'm glad that I had a part of it.

Me: So did you share your personal experiences on that?

G: Yes, I did. It's up on the wall.

Me: So you wrote down...

G: Yeah on the 3x5 card. You write down some of your memories. So I wrote down... I think had three, and then some people say: oh I didn't really live here but my parents did. So, you get a wide variety of responses.

Me: I also saw a lot of pins on the map.

G: Right. In fact, it happened before we started this exhibit. They had the map. I can't remember where was located. So people before us, before 2012 were using those pins to pin on the map where they were actually living at the time.

(G, interview transcript, 2018).

Along with the exhibit illustrated by G, more collaborative exhibition work was described in the newsletters. For example, Kirsten Leong, a volunteer of the 2012 field

school and whose relatives were in Amache, shared her field school experience in the DU Amache Project newsletter. She writes, “in the mornings I helped identify field artifacts and worked on some of the first excavations within barracks, and in the afternoons I worked with the other students in the museum and developed an exhibit on foodways” (DU Amache Project’s newsletter, Volume V, Spring 2013). Additionally, the APS newsletter also reveals some exhibition work during the 2016 field school season: “the field school also worked in our museum where three new exhibits were made. These exhibits were on dance bits, relocation books, and the basketball trophy from Amache” (Dec 2016). These quotes from the newsletters shows that community collaboration is a common strategy for curating exhibitions in the Amache Museum.

From the way that the exhibitions were developed during the field school periods, there is little question that community engagement is the core value of the exhibition curation. First of all, the agriculture exhibition and What Is Your Story both included Japanese Americans and Granada interns in the curation process. Their opinions mattered in this process. With the help of the museum crew chiefs, they conducted exhibition research to dig out the information they were interested in or wanted to share with the public. They could also decide the format of the exhibition, such as the use of materials and the organization of the objects and photographs. According to the collaborations within these two exhibitions, community engagement not only included members from multiple communities who participated in the field schools, but they also incorporated the voices from the public. The public included not only people who have direct relations to Amache, such as Japanese Americans and Granada residents, but also people who have no relations but came here to learn about Amache. They were invited to help review the

agriculture exhibition and provide suggestions to improve the exhibition; they were encouraged to dedicate their stories and experience to enrich the content of What Is Your Story. In other words, community engagement was not only applied in the curating process but also appeared in the exhibitions themselves since people continuously added new elements to them.

Collection Management

Collection management is one of the primary tasks of the DU's Amache field school. In the 2018 field season, each of the participants learned basic museum principles during the museum time in the afternoon and applied this knowledge when they started doing the hands-on activities on collections. Participants were assigned different collection management tasks, including the cataloging of the books, collection inventory, and condition reports. One of the interviewees, H, a volunteer of the 2018 field school and whose mother was in Amache, shared her experience of her task:

H: Yes, I have been trying to catalog all of the periodicals that were in the library. I worked off the list but found that there were many many more listings that were already cataloged. So, there was a lot of its additional cataloging.

Me: Yeah, I saw three boxes of books inside the office. Did you also catalog those books?

H: No, I just catalog whatever was out in the main... on the shelf. It was a couple hundred new reading material that wasn't cataloged, including in the... their system.

Me: Nice, there are a couple of books, not a couple, so many books there. I saw you were reading the books while you were organizing them.

H: I thought I had a job to do, so I was trying to help John Hopper and his group, the Amache Preservation Society, do some of the things that they just don't have enough time to do. There is so much to do I think it's great that everybody in

this... the Denver... is down here, helping in some way. There [are] just so many facets to this whole Amache project that I don't think that John Hopper and his students can have enough time to do all of these things that need to be done.

Me: Yeah...

H: There were books. There were a lot of books that were recently donated. And they were under the table, and at one time, someone is probably gonna have to catalog them, but that's gonna take quite a bit of time also. There were books, I guess, that James Michener wrote. And his wife, Mari, was here at Amache. So, someone donated all of those books.

(H, interview transcript, 2018)

As indicated in the interview with H, collection inventory was one of the primary goals during the field school. The Amache Museum has been continuously receiving donations from different groups and individuals; however, APS does not have enough people to take care all the donated objects. Therefore, helping APS to maintain the museum collections was a task for the field school's participants. According to DU Amache Project's and the APS newsletters, the field schools have completed a bunch of collection management tasks during the field schools' periods. The following quotes from the newsletters demonstrate this goal of the field school:

In the Amache museum in Granada[,] students learned how to manage the many items in a small historical museum – photographs, historic documents, and objects. Students used the collections to research Amache and then created new displays for future museum visitors (DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume III, Winter 2011).

Then, in the afternoon, we would go to the local Amache museum. There, we would see slides, read documents, and peruse letters that pertained to the interned[internee] (Ava Tamiko Hawkinson, DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume IV, Spring 2012).

In the Museum, the crew undertook a number of major projects. Crew members helped to document and properly store many objects which helped to clear the backlog of donated materials. They also created new exhibits for the museum and installed them while totally reorganizing the display gallery. The new exhibits and

reorganization were showcased during our successful open house on the 14th of July and were the subject of many compliments by visitors to the museum (DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume V, Spring 2013).

I thought afternoons were the best because we were able to spend time with Natalie Ruhe at the Amache museum. Together everyone pitched in and completed a project they thought would make the museum more amazing than it already was. Natalie taught us about what makes a great museum. The lesson that I loved the most was when she taught us to make boxes to store artifacts in. I was far from making a great box like William Borkan's (Abby Hopper, DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume VI, Spring 2014).

The museum was reorganized, leading both to better object management and new opportunities for display and interpretation (DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume VII, Spring 2015).

At the Amache Museum, students and volunteers worked to catalogue new collections and move existing ones to the new Amache Research Center. A total of 30 new objects and archival pieces that had been donated in the past year were added to the collection. We also took a complete inventory of the collections, made sure that everything was in the computer system, took photographs, and made new storage boxes to protect the collections. Collection[s] were then moved to their new home at the Amache Research Center where they will be better preserved in a more climate controlled environment and easier to access for research and viewing by families (April Kamp-Whittaker, DU Amache Project's newsletter, Volume IX, Spring 2017).

According to these archival texts, the collaborations on collection management mainly happened between APS and DU Amache Project team. Every two years, the field school's participants with DU Amache Project come into the museum and help with the collection management. Since the Amache Museum did not have a comprehensive system to manage those historical and valuable objects, Dr. Bonnie Clark, the director of DU Amache Project, identified collection management task as a necessary work for the field school. She states, "helping the APS organize their collections and set up collections management systems not only met a previously identified need, it also meant that the collections from the field school would also be protected" (Clark 2012, 225). This

statement has been applied to each field season. In the 2018 field school season, in addition to the book cataloging, the participants conducted collection inventory for both objects and archives. Since some of the collections were stored in the museum while some others were in the Amache Research Center (ARC), one of the tasks was to check the object locations, including the artifacts and the historical photographs. Furthermore, the field school's participants also helped to conduct condition reports for the objects which had not been reviewed for a certain time.

As previously mentioned, most of the objects in the Amache Museum were donated by individuals. In the 2018 field school season, one of the volunteers is the donor of a wedding dress, veil, and shoes, as well as the marriage certificate and license that were inherited from her mother. These objects were worn and received in the camp. As the donor shared in a group talk during the field school, she decided to donate these objects to the museum because she hopes her objects could educate more people about Amache. In this situation, community collaboration extends to a broader idea. Not only collaborating for practical affairs in the museum, the different communities — Japanese Americans, APS, and DU Amache Project — have collaborated to preserve Amache history through the Amache Museum. Japanese Americans donated objects and shared their stories; APS members maintain the museum and take care of the objects; DU Amache Project team shares research results with the museum and also helps manage collections when they are in the town.

Activities on the Open House Days

Open House days are important community events in the field school. They are usually held at the end of the field school. Since 2014, one is for the Japanese Americans community and the other one is for the general public. The objective of these days is to present the results of the field school. In addition to showing people the archaeological findings on the site, people are also invited to the museum or community center to see the exhibitions or the students' projects. In the 2018 field school season, in addition to the agriculture exhibition, a couple of interactive activities were designed by the field school students for people to interact with on the Open House days. Three field school students collaboratively designed children activities for the Amache Museum. Tomi Eijima, one of the students in the children activity team and who is also the descendant of the Amacheans, shared her experience in a published article:

Although many children visit the museum with their families, the Amache Museum lacked an interactive activity targeting this age group. I found it difficult to portray this dark part of our history to a younger audience. I wanted children to understand the obstacles faced by the incarcerated but also the ways in which they made the best of their situations. Therefore, I designed a booklet with Amache-related activities, including a crossword puzzle, word search, comic strip, origami directions and an image of an empty barrack with suggestions to beautify the structure, such as internees did with their barrack gardens during their incarceration (Eijima 2018).

By seeing the lack of activities for children in the museum, Eijima developed a children-friendly interactive activity for the museum. Additionally, the other two students also have improved the children dimensions of the museum. One of them developed an origami folding activity, which is a Japanese art of folding paper into decorative shapes and figures; the other one created a scavenger hunt (see Figure 6.3) for children to play with while learning about Amache history.

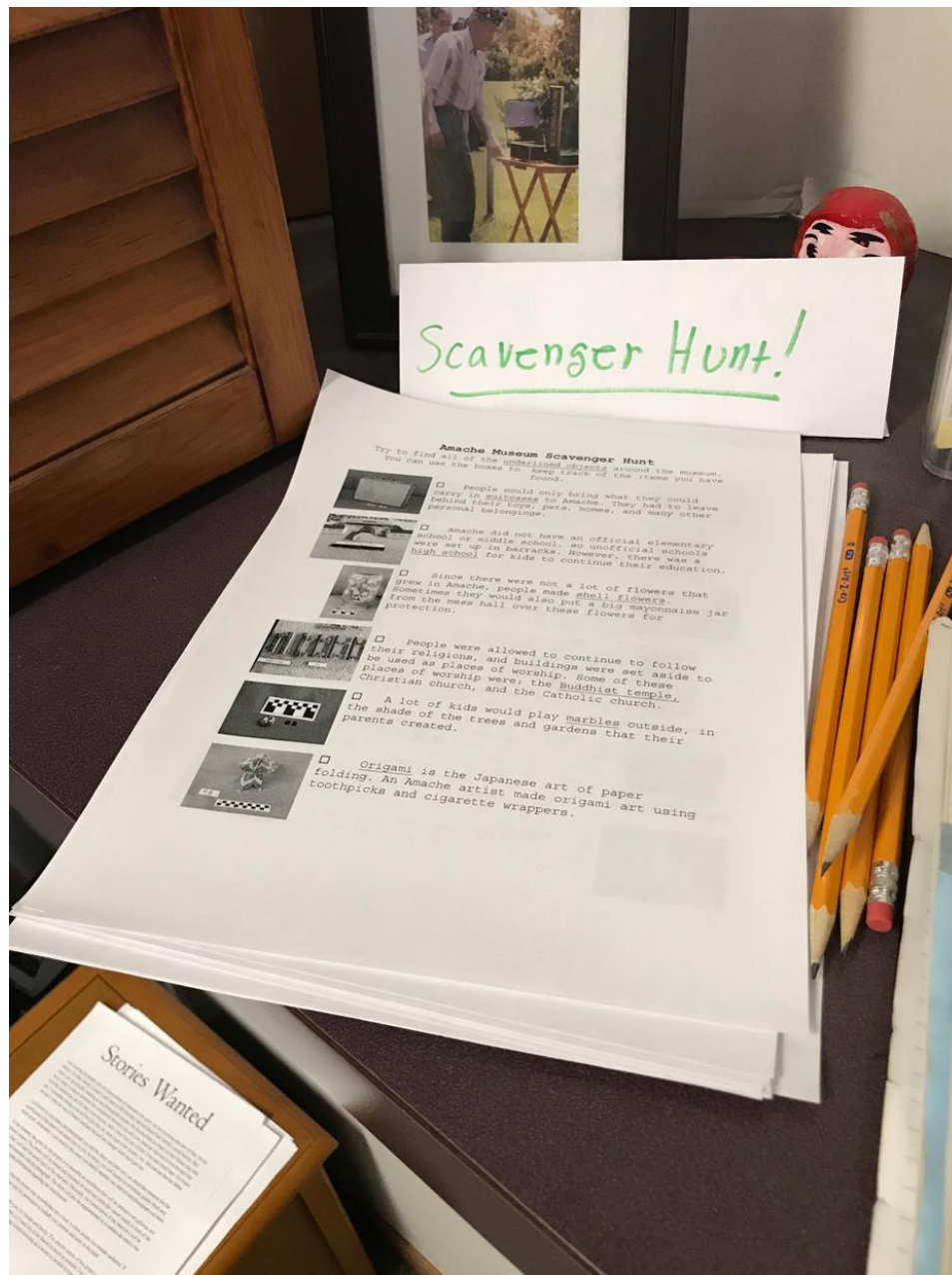


Figure 6.3: Scavenger Hunt on the Front Desk

The Role of DU Amache Project and Museum Crew Chiefs

The above sections are focused on community collaborations happening during the field school periods. Although I intentionally wanted to concentrate on Japanese

Americans and Granada people, I recognized that the University of Denver Amache Project plays a crucial role in these collaborations. Referring back to one of my research questions, in terms of how different communities cooperate and negotiate to maintain the Amache Museum, DU Amache Project, Japanese Americans, and APS are the three primary communities that have been closely collaborating within the museum. In order to answer this question, illustrating the development of the Amache Museum first will be helpful to understand the community collaborations within the museum.

The start of the Amache Museum is the result of community collaborations among APS, Japanese Americans, and the town of Granada. Within the email interview with John Hopper, the director of APS, he reveals that having and maintaining a museum was not a part of the APS' intended project:

When we began this project;[,] it was a research project and not going to be much more than that. However, after we began interviewing Japanese Americans that were associated or from Amache the more the interest began to increase to have more than just a research project. There was a suggestion to do speaking engagements with the students to other schools. Japanese Americans then began to visit us more often with family histories. They also brought family items to us from Amache to have. It was then that my students thought of setting up a small exhibit for the items with a scale model that they built for the project and used for the presentations. So we used an outbuilding on campus to do this and we had people coming to the school to see the items and what we had. Word of what we were doing was spreading like wildfire across the Japanese American Community. We were accumulating more and more information and artifacts (Hopper, interview transcript, 2019).

The original intention of APS was to reach out to the survivors and the descendants of Amache and to collect oral history to have more understanding about Amache. As time went on, Japanese Americans started visiting Mr. Hopper and his students, sharing their family stories, and bringing their family object for APS to have. Their collection therefore gradually grew up with their relationships with the Japanese American

community. After accumulating more and more artifacts, the City of Granada joined in preserving Amache objects. As shared by Mr. Hopper:

We were accumulating more and more information and artifacts. Then the City of Granada had built a new community building and a local group, the Granada Pride Committee decided to make the old city complex into a museum for all of Granada and Amache. However, over the years, we never received many artifacts from local citizens. Many of the older generation in town did not want to give there[their] items to a museum. In the meantime[,] we were getting more and more[,] and the decision was made to just call it the Amache museum. My students took it over and ran it (Hopper, interview transcript, 2019).

The Amache Museum was therefore set up with efforts from different communities. APS collected oral history to research and preserve Amache history; Japanese Americans shared their stories and donated their family objects; the town of Granada provided a residence for APS to store the objects. However, it was not until the involvement of the DU Amache Project team that the Amache Museum became an organized museum. As Mr. Hopper shared:

The National Park sent a person I believe his name was Matt Wilson to help us with boxes and cases that we would need and gave us a few suggestions; however, it was not until Dr. Clark and Denver University got involved that it really took off. Without their help, it would not be what it is today (Hopper, interview transcript, 2019).

The DU Amache Project team has been actively participating in the Amache Museum since 2008, which is the year of the first field school season. According to the newsletters, the museum did not have an organized setting and collection management system when the team first came in. This situation is revealed in the newsletter of DU Amache Project:

A grant from the DU Public Good fund was used to purchase a new computer, museum database software, traveling cases, and other museum supplies for APS. A great deal was accomplished in just a short time. Many of the objects and

documents held by the museum were inventoried and entered into the computer database. Stable storage was created for fragile items and cases donated by DU were used by students to create professional looking exhibits for the museum. During the final week of the field school, an open house was held for the Granada community to share the results of everyone's hard work. The collaboration between APS and the University of Denver is ongoing and we look forward to future work there (DU Amache project's newsletter, Volume I, April 2009).

As demonstrated by the newsletter, the DU Amache Project team provided both hardware and software support to APS and the museum. In addition to the computer, the museum database software, and traveling cases, the DU Amache Project team, with the help from University of Denver Museum of Anthropology, provided professional museum perspectives on collection management, such as numbering the collections, handling methods of collections, and conducting condition reports. As shown in the newsletters (2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2017), DU's staffs, faculties, and students came to the museum and helped with the museum in every field season. They also brought some materials to support collection management and for exhibitions. For example, DU provided boxes, stationery, and papers to support the children activities and the agriculture exhibition.

The DU Amache Project team not only actively collaborated with APS as well as Japanese Americans separately, but it also brought these two communities together in the Amache Museum and created a platform for them to work collaboratively for exhibition development and collection management. In other words, due to the chance given by the field school, Japanese Americans not only played the role of stories and object givers, but they also participated in the museum maintenance and saw how their objects would be preserved in the museum. The APS members also acquired a chance to chat and interact

with people from the Japanese American community. During the field school, these community members contributed their thoughts and worked collaboratively for the preservation work in the museum, and the DU Amache Project serves as a mediator who stimulates this community collaboration.

During the collaborations work that took place during the field school seasons, the museum crew chiefs play a crucial role in decision making. They oversee all the museum work during the field school periods. During my fieldwork in the 2018 field school, the museum crew chief — Whitney Peterson, a graduate student with the Department of Anthropology at DU, was in charge of opening and closing the museum, as well as visitor greeting during the workdays of the field school. Additionally, she was responsible for creating a to-do list of the work that could improve the museum. The to-do list was created with assistance from Anne Amati, the registrar of the University of Denver Museum of Anthropology. The museum crew chief conducted these tasks and assigned some of the tasks to field school's participants. Based on my observation during the 2018 field school, Mr. Hopper gave the field school team a lot of freedom in the museum. For example, the crew chief liked to inform Mr. Hopper before we changed anything in the museum, and the answer from him usually was positive. In other words, most of the time, the Amache Museum has been maintained by APS members; however, during the field school periods, this work was taken over by the DU Amache Project team, but of course still in collaboration with APS.

The decisions made by the museum crew chief respected APS' opinions and were aligned with the main goals of the field school. As revealed in the Amache research design and methodology for the field school:

At the heart of the Amache field school lies an ethical commitment to true engagement with communities of concern. A host of scholars in anthropology (as reviewed by Low and Merry 2010), including many archaeologists (such as those in the edited works by Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008 and Little and Shackel 2007), regard such work as the future of the field. Indeed, several scholars suggest that field schools are the natural vanguard for such a paradigmatic shift (e.g. Silliman 2008). As Kent Lightfoot writes, collaborative field schools “provide a dynamic context to contemplate the significant issues facing the practice of archaeology today” (2008:126-127). The Amache field school is at the forefront of disciplinary change by emphasizing engaged and applied archaeology. It recognizes that many people, not just professionals, are central to heritage management (Clark 2018).

As demonstrated by the quote above, community engagement is considered as a core research method of the DU Amache Project. People from different communities are involved in Amache research and preservation in various ways, and their opinions matter in the research. As shared by Dr. Clark in a conversation, research will not be conducted unless community members feel comfortable about the topics. This research ethics is also applied in the heritage management within the Amache Museum. The DU team respects the opinions of the communities involved. Although the team provides professional perspectives on museum practice, they do not want to overshadow the voices from the communities. Instead, the team welcomes their thoughts and aims to incorporate them into the museum.

Conclusion

Community collaboration is a complicated situation in the Amache museum. This research focuses on the collaborations in the museum during the field school periods. I identified three types of collaborative works done by the community of Japanese Americans, Granada residents, and DU Amache Project team; they are exhibition

development and installation, collection management, and museum activities on Open House days. I illustrated these works based on my observations and by citing the participants. In addition to providing the different collaborative work that happened during the field school, I also elaborated on the development of the Amache museum, which is a result of community collaborations.

There is little question that more groups and organizations are involved in the museum development, such as the Granada High School and the National Park Service. However, in this research, I put emphasis on the three communities who participated in the field school – the Japanese American community, APS and the Granada community, and the DU Amache Project team. This limitation of the study could be broadened in future research. More collaborations have happened outside the field schools' periods, and more groups have been involved in these collaborations. Since my research focuses on the collaborations involved within the museum context, having a study that covers other community collaborations or having another study that mentions the fundraising and administrative aspects would build a more holistic view of the community collaborations in the Amache Museum.

Identity Affirmation through the Amache Museum

Following the discussion of community collaborations, this section explores the role the Amache Museum plays in the identity affirmation of Japanese Americans. I identified exhibition narratives, object donations, and memories as the three factors that demonstrate their identity affirmation. As previously explored in chapter three, museum narratives can have a great impact on identity formation. Therefore, through the

investigation of these narratives, I was able to identify the identity embedded in the museum exhibits. Additionally, by noticing the different attitudes about Amache objects between generations, I determined object donation as an indicator of identity affirmation. Along with the explorations of exhibit interpretations and object donations, I determined memory as the third indicator of identity affirmation by the exploration of the connection between memory in chapter three.

Interpretive Plans and Narratives of the Amache Museum

Aligned with my previous exploration that the Amache Museum is the result of community collaboration, the interpretive plans for the museum were determined within the workshop held by the National Park Service (NPS). This workshop was requested by Friends of Amache and the town of Granada, in hopes of developing guidance and direction for interpretation and development at Amache National Historic Landmark.

Four primary interpretive themes were identified during the workshop:

1. Fueled by fear, racism, war hysteria, avarice, and panic, the United States' government failed to protect the constitutional rights of its citizens following the attack by Japan on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, by ordering and implementing the forced relocation and internment of more than 120,000 Japanese Americans to remote "American concentration camps" throughout the western states; 10,000 of whom were incarcerated at Amache from August 27, 1942 through October 15, 1945.
2. From chaos to community: Japanese Americans incarcerated at Amache attempted to develop a sense of community, struggled to maintain their family structure and strove to retain a sense of normalcy after they were forcibly removed from their homes and communities on the West Coast.
3. Relationships among individuals, groups, and the communities connected to Amache continue to evolve; these relationships have encompassed the spectrum from hostile to amicable.

4. Even after the camp closed, the struggle to overcome injustices continues resulting in great impacts on individuals and traditions.

(NPS, Intermountain Regional Office, 2007, 17-18)

In addition to these general themes, the communities identified a couple of sub-themes for each primary theme. These following sub-themes provided more precise directions to follow:

- 1.a The entry of the United States into World War II resulted in the creation of Amache and the other nine camps.
- 1.b The Japanese American evacuation, confinement, and relocation experience during World War II raises the question of the role of Civil Rights in American society; discuss the civil rights violations.
- 1.c Will similar biases happen in the future?
- 1.d Discuss the historic use of the term “concentration camp” and its present usage.
- 2.a Discuss the role and impact of location.
- 2.b Discuss the role and impact of physical structures.
- 2.c Discuss the role of the camp’s operations and logistics.
- 2.d Discuss the role of communication (e.g., newspaper, etc).
- 3.a The creation of Camp Amache resulted in injustices to local residents, leading to long-term distrust between parties (e.g., local residents, federal government, War Relocation Authority, Japanese American community and internees).
- 3.b Internees and Coloradoans experienced a range of interactions from reinforcing prejudices to forging new relationships.
- 3.c Evolving partnerships and cooperation.
- 4.a Changes are still occurring as democracy within the United States continues to evolve; this directly and indirectly impacts individuals and traditions in both a positive and negative way.

4.b The need to be vigilant to protect constitutional rights continues today — i.e., particularly related to the civil and constitutional rights of Muslims and Arabs following 9/11 and in light of the “War on Terror.”

4.c Immigrant groups adapting, acculturating or assimilating to American life face impacts on families, traditions, cultures, and generations.

(NPS, Intermountain Regional Office, 2007, 17-18)

According to these sub-themes, the violation of civil rights is one of the concerns from the communities; this concern was addressed through the exhibits in the Amache Museum. For example, the museum displayed a panel of the terminology for the Japanese American internment camps used during World War II (see Figure 6.4). As explained in the panel, although “relocation” and “evacuation” were the official terms used by the Federal Government, they are seldom used today because these words incorrectly imply Japanese Americans were rescued by the U.S. government. “Concentration camp” is considered the most accurate term to describe these camps; however, since this term is more often associated with the Nazi camps, “internment camp” is the terminology that is now widely used. Nevertheless, the panel discloses that “internment camp” is not an accurate depiction of the camps. As the panel shows, “‘internment’ refers to the imprisonment of citizens of enemy nations during times of war.” Since two-thirds of the internees were American citizens, this panel presents this fact to visitors and discusses the violation of civil rights from the angle of terminology.

RELOCATION CENTER, INTERNMENT CAMP, OR CONCENTRATION CAMP?

The ten camps in which Japanese American were detained in the 1940's were called "relocation centers" by the U.S. government. Today, many feel that this term inadequately reflects the fact that Japanese Americans were removed from their homes and forced to live behind barbed wire, under surveillance of armed military guards.

"Internment Camp" is widely used to describe the ten sites where Japanese Americans were confined, though some believe it is technically incorrect. *Internment* refers to the imprisonment of citizens of enemy nations during times of war. Although some of those imprisoned were Japanese nationals living in the U.S., roughly two-thirds of those in the camps were United States citizens, and none were ever prosecuted for enemy associations.

Many scholars and Japanese Americans believe that "concentration camp" is the most accurate term to describe these camps. Concentration camps are sites in which non-combatants are imprisoned during a time of war. President Franklin D. Roosevelt publicly used the term "concentration camp" more than once to refer to the incarceration of Japanese Americans during the war.

JAPANESE AMERICAN DETAINMENT TERMINOLOGY

Understanding each of these terms and their meanings helps us accurately interpret American history while avoiding whitewashing reality. At the same time, we must be conscious of the fact that the original meanings and associations of terms have changed over time. Terms such as "relocation" and "evacuation" are almost never used today due to their implication that Japanese Americans were *rescued* by the U.S. government, instead of being detained. Many prefer to use the term "internment camp" because of the fact that "concentration camp" is most often associated with the Nazi death camps.

Figure 6.4: Exhibit Panel About Terminology for the Camps

In addition to the terminology panel, the exhibit *Americans Seeking an Answer* also indicated the identity issue by displaying a speech script, “American, Our Hope Is In You” given by Marion Konishi at the Amache Senior High School commencement ceremony. According to the script, she presented her thoughts on what American meant to her and revealed her strong belief in being an American. As shown in the script:

I was once again at my desk. True, I was just as much embittered as any other evacuee. But I had found in the past the answer to my question. I had also found my faith in America—faith in the America that is still alive in the hearts, minds, and consciences of true Americans today—faith in the American sportsmanship and attitude of fair play that will judge citizenship and patriotism on the basis of actions and achievements and not on the basis of physical characteristics. Can we the graduating class of Amache Senior High School still believe that America means freedom, equality, security, and justice? Do I believe this? Do my classmates believe this? Yes, with all our hearts, because in that faith, in that hope, is my future, our future, and the world’s future (Marion Konishi, Speech transcript, June 25, 1943).

The display of this speech transcript indicated that the community of Japanese Americans wanted to emphasize the identity of being an American citizen. According to the interview transcript with a descendant of Amacheans (Akaki 2015), the internment experience caused many Japanese American internees’ conflict with their identity as an American citizen. By acknowledging this situation, the communities have embedded the identity message in the exhibits and delivered not only to Japanese Americans, but also the public.

In addition to national identity, the museum presented ethnic identity through the exhibits *Life at Amache* and *Internee Art*. A lot of Japanese-style objects were displayed in these exhibits, such as teacups and bowls. A photograph of a traditional Japanese garden built during the camp was also showcased in the exhibit (see Figure 6.5).

Additionally, the exhibit panels and object labels revealed more details of their traditional

practices. For example, the label of a sake jar showed that the internees would buy sake from the drug store in Granada or brew it by themselves, although liquor was banned in the Amache internment camp. The panel of Institutional Meals VS. Culinary Traditions also told a story that the internees cooked their traditional food and ate with their family in barracks. The practice of their traditions helped the internees reclaim a sense of home (see Figure 6.6). As written on the panel:

Meals at Amache were eaten communally in mess halls where internee employees prepared and served food cafeteria-style. In contrast to the Japanese tradition of intimate family meals, children often chose to eat with their friends. Long lines, unfamiliar foods, and the visible deterioration of family solidarity and unity characterized mealtimes.

Although prohibited, many families cooked and ate meals in their barracks. Internees reclaimed a sense of home by creating traditional snacks, dishes, and comfort foods and taught their preparation in Home Economics classes.

(Excerpt from the label Institutional Meals VS. Culinary Traditions)



Figure 6.5: Part of the Exhibit Life at Amache. Displaying Japanese-Style Teacups and Garden Photograph



Figure 6.6: Sake Jar (right in the photo) and the Panel of Institutional Meals VS. Culinary Traditions (middle in the photo)

These practices of Japanese traditions expressed internees' ethnic backgrounds; however, these traditional practices did not affect their national identity as an American. As revealed by the label of a container of soy sauce (see Figure 6.7):

Each family got a little container of soy sauce, and it said from the International Red Cross... I said, "You know President Roosevelt put us in this place and this guy, the enemy, is sending us soy sauce. I don't get what the purpose is. We can't help him, we don't want to help him. We're not Japanese, we're Americans." And it really bothered me... at that moment, when I saw the soy sauce, about how President Roosevelt treated us, and this enemy guy, Emperor Hirohito, was sending us soy sauce. It really bothered me (Story shared by Thomas Shigekuni, from the label in the Amache Museum).

The identity as Americans was reemphasized through this label. By putting this label with the display of traditional Japanese practices, it seemed to deliver the message of not only being a Japanese American but also an American.

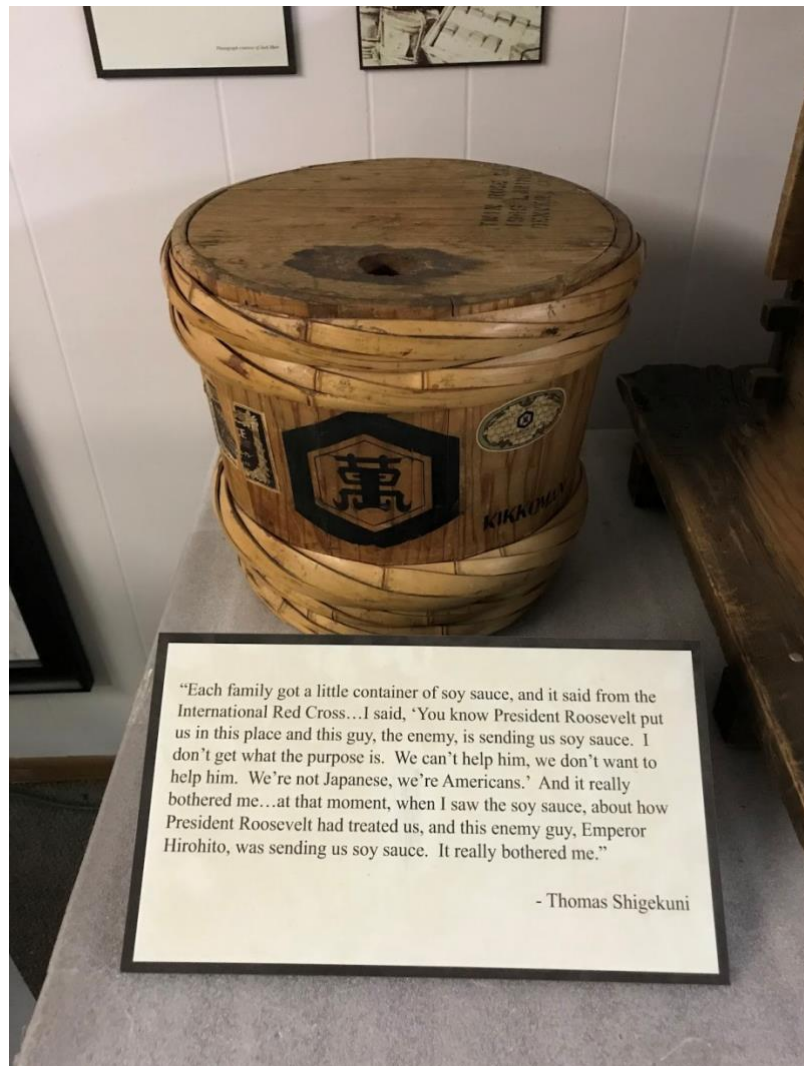


Figure 6.7: Soy Sauce Container with the Story Shared by Thomas Shigekuni

Through the exploration of the official interpretive plan and the museum narratives, identity is revealed as one of the primary focuses of the Amache Museum. The terminology panel and the object labels all clearly stated that these internees were

American citizens with a Japanese cultural background. Although the Amache Museum is not run by the Japanese American community, this identity message is well presented in the museum through the collaboration with APS and DU Amache Project team. Meanwhile, the display of both national and ethnic identity also indicates that the identity affirmation can be achieved through the Amache Museum.

Object Donation Reveals Identity Affirmation

The Amache Museum, according to Gurian's definition (2006), can be seen as a narrative museum that uses objects as evidence to tell stories and makes nonvisible visible. The Amache Museum stores various objects, and these objects were mostly donated by people who or whose families were incarcerated at Amache. Therefore, they are not only valuable historical artifacts but also memory holders that contain many memories and family histories. Arlene Makita-Acuna, a volunteer at the 2018 field school, is a descendant of Amacheans. She inherited wedding-related objects from her parents and decided to donate them to the Amache Museum. In her article, she shared the stories behind the object and her memories of them:

Earlier this year I sent to them, and, in a way, back to Amache, my mother's wedding dress, veil and shoes, my parent's marriage certificate, license and two wedding gifts: a wool blanket that they used a lot, and a damask tablecloth and napkins they never used because they were fancy and too good to be used, so always stored in their original gift box in one of the camp trunks that my father had made. Periodically, my mother would pull it out for us to look at (Makita-Acuna, unpublished article, 2018).

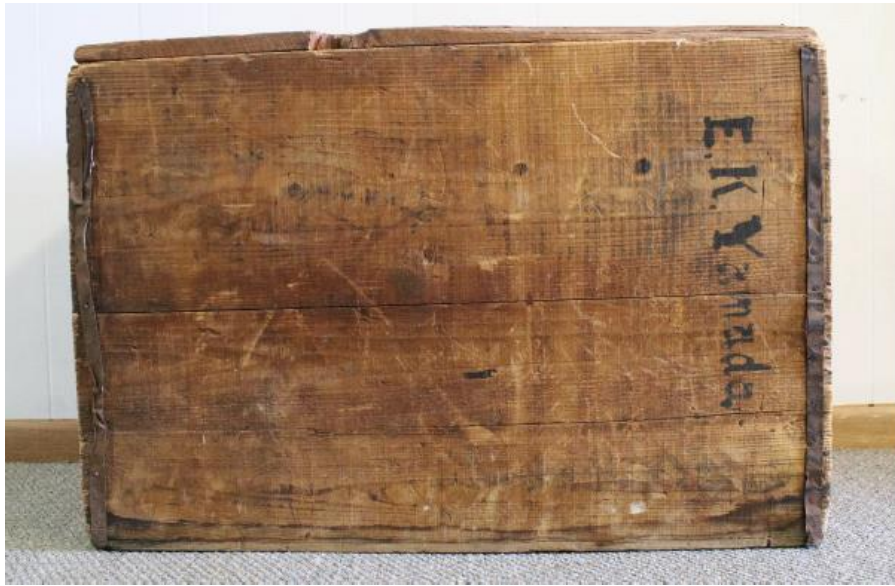


Figure 6.8: Yamada Family's Tea Crate, Screenshot from Cruz's (2016) Thesis. Image Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society

In addition to Makita-Acuna's stories, more memories of the donated objects are explored in Cruz's thesis (2016). Edwin Yamada, the donor of the tea crate (Figure 6.8), shared his memories of this object when it was used in the camp: "the tea crate sat at the end of my parents ['] bed and was used as our only piece of furniture we had (dresser, bureau, cupboard, etc.)" (interview transcript, 2015). Additionally, as Yamada revealed, this tea crate served as a suitcase for his family to bring their belongings to the camp; after internment, it was used as a suitcase again to transport his family's belongings back to Los Angeles; after they settled down, this tea crate stayed in their attic until it was donated to the Amache Museum (Cruz 2016, 72). The decision to keep the tea crate in storage reflected her parents' attitude toward the internment experience. Like most of the family histories, Yamada's parents were not comfortable talking about their memories at the camp. As Yamada shared,

My parents were very reluctant later to discuss the internment experience. They seemed to feel that there was nothing they could have done to change the experience, it was extremely traumatic, and it was over. It was like a sore that was slowly healing. It did no good to tear of f [off] the scab and relive and suffer from the memories. We had lost almost every material that we had[,] and we were sent to an unknown destination and future. My mother nearly died from pneumonia. My father was sent away to some unknown destination for an indeterminate length of time. We all suffered physically and emotionally from being forced to live in that hostile environment. My mother was so traumatized that she not discuss[es] that episode in our lives with anyone she did know and trust very well. She absolutely and vehemently refused to attend the 1999 Amache reunion as it would bring back too many traumatic memories that she did not want to relive (Yamada, interview transcript, 2015).

Those experience and memories of the camp became a forever trauma for the internees, and they avoided the objects that were used during the camp. In contrast to Issei (first generation) and Nisei (second generation) who were adults when in the camp, their children and grandchildren have tried very hard to learn the history of Japanese American internment camp. A couple of interview conversations show this kind of stories:

Interview Excerpt with Francis Palmer by Cruz

FP: My generation, most of all, some people say to me I'm busy raising my grandkids...I'm retired and traveling and I don't remember anything about Amache. I have a...went to junior high school with, I have a picture of us in camp, we were in the nursery school class together. He doesn't remember anything...his parents, unfortunately, died young, so my mother is 97 still alive, all she hasn't been really able to speak, but he hasn't heard as many stories as I heard from my adopted Auntie who I've heard all through the 1960s and 70s...all about what she remembers...she was an excellent source, but most people my age, they don't have an excellent source because their parents died and never talked about it.

(Palmer, interview transcript, 2015)

Interview Excerpts with Bob Akaki by Cruz

BA: I didn't start asking them [my dad and mom] about it until I was in college. I actually did a paper about internment when I was in high school, but I didn't talk to them much about it because they didn't really want to talk about it. They didn't

want to start talking about it...and see my brother and sister who were younger than me, they also did the same thing while they were in high school, they did like a term paper about it, and they started loosening up about it when they started asking about it. Like they, for my brother's paper, my mom actually brought out a couple of things that he could actually use, that he could actually include with his project, you know, he didn't get it back, I mean, so that was kinda neat, and I think my sister did the same thing. But for me, they didn't want to talk too much about it. I think that's fairly common. That's fairly common that a lot of people didn't want to talk about it. My dad said one of the reasons why he didn't want to talk about it was... it wasn't a pleasant experience for one thing. And I think that's what a lot of people left like...that we were shamed.

BA: But yeah, they never talked a lot about it...was only later...you know as they got older... after you know, we kept asking before they start really telling us about some of this stuff.

(Akaki, interview transcript, 2015)

Interview Excerpts with H

H: So, my mom is still avoiding... revealing anything about her experience. She is one of those... she was part of the generation those who wanted to forget their experience, and also not talk about it... and just to move forward.

Me: So you decided to find out those stories by yourself?

H: I decided because I didn't know much that. I need to find out more. I wanted to know more what made my mother as she is today. I wanted to find out what I am about. So that's... and then I interest in social issues, so combing all of those things... I'm here... to learn.

(H, interview transcript, 2018)

These interview excerpts reveal that most of the camp survivors avoided talking about their internment experience to their children. As mentioned by Bob Akaki (2015), people felt ashamed to talk about their internment experience because the government told them they were not good and incarcerated them in camps. Harvey (2004) also mentions this point and reveals that people began to talk about their internment

experience only within the last few years (211). Most of the internees are Issei and Nisei; a few of them are Sansei (third generation) who were still very young and did not have memories of the camp. Different from Issei and Nisei who want to forget the experience, Sansei and Yonsei (fourth generation) try hard to learn about camp history, as well as their family histories, from other resources. They actively are involved in preservation work and hope to spread and bring awareness of this difficult history to Japanese Americans and Americans alike, through their memories and family histories.

Following this train of thought, donating family possessions to museums can be considered as a means to achieve their goal of educating the public. As I mentioned in the previous section, Makita-Acuna stated that she hoped her objects could educate more people about Amache and the history of Japanese Americans internment camps (Makita-Acuna, personal communication, July 2018). She is not the only donor that hoped to reach the educational goal. Ogawa (2016) also mentioned this goal during his interview with Cruz:

Interview Excerpt with Dean Ogawa by Cruz

DO: Well, because I thought they would help tell the story of what my parents had gone through during the concentration period... the camp period. And found that they would do more good than just being stored in a basement or ultimately, you know, given to Goodwill or some place[s] like that. I wanted it to be preserved in a museum setting.

(Ogawa, interview transcript, 2015)

The interview excerpt above demonstrates that Mr. Ogawa hopes his family possessions could help the Amache Museum tell the stories of Japanese Americans at Amache. While the descendants of Amacheans have donated objects in hopes of

educating the public, the behavior of donating family possessions reveals their identity affirmation. Instead of hiding these Amache objects and storing them at home, they decided to present them to the public. They spoke out about their family history, their community history, and American history that they believe all Americans should know; moreover, they hope this kind of difficult history will not be repeated in the future. In other words, the descendants of Amacheans do not feel ashamed of telling these stories and are not confused about who they are. Their goal of educating people about their community history and the national history through their objects and stories indicates that they see themselves as Americans, but also Japanese Americans who have suffered discrimination and oppression in their country.

Memories in the Museum

To Japanese Americans, Amache history is a difficult heritage. Aside from the collective memory of being incarcerated in the camp, the horror of this history also lives in memories. Through the collections, the Amache Museum stores these memories for people to learn and review. I explored these individual memories from a couple of objects through the use of interview transcripts, participant observations, and articles written by the former field school participants. These memories were from the original owners, the donors, and the visitors who had no direct connections with but recalled their personal memories by looking at the objects. By looking at memories that were connected between objects and people, I noticed an identity affirmation that is demonstrated from these connections. In this section, I will start with my participant observations in the Amache Museum. By observing people's interactions with the objects and listening to them, I

have learned some of their memories with the objects. After discovering individual memories through observations, I will go into the interview transcripts to analyze donor's personal stories on the donated objects. Along with direct individual memories of objects, my exploration will extend to memories that visitors recalled through the objects in the Amache Museum.

Seeing objects exhibited in a glass case in a museum usually makes people feel distant from objects and the stories they are telling. However, the field school volunteer, K, did not experience this disconnection when browsing the exhibits because he identified himself in a historical photograph displayed in the case. As K revealed, he was a teenager and joined the Amache Boy Scouts when he was incarcerated in the camp. He further shared that this was his first time to volunteer in the Amache field school and had no idea that he would find himself in the museum. In addition to the Boy Scouts photograph, he also found his report cards in the museum archives. The report cards were donated by his teacher in the camp, and he was very surprised that his teacher still kept report cards after the camp closed (Private conversation, July 2018). Not only K himself but also other field school participants were fascinated by witnessing this moment. The real connections in terms of the memories between objects and a person were presented in front of us. After finding these personal-connected objects and documents, K spent more time in the museum, looked through other documentary archives, and tried to find other objects connected with himself.

Photo albums and yearbooks play an essential role in mediating memories within the Amache Museum. The table where photo albums and yearbooks were displayed was usually the most popular area in the museum. According to my observation, visitors liked

to gather around the table and flip through each page of the albums and books. Some Japanese American visitors took pictures of specific pages or certain people; some of them would point out people they recognized to their friends. This phenomenon indicates that these Japanese American visitors were looking for connections with the museum collections, and these connections related to their memories triggered by these objects. People came to the museum with an expectation of learning and experiencing the history that happened to their families. Therefore, instead of shying away from recalling memories, they seemed to be willing to remember them though this may be a difficult experience for some. In other words, by learning the history and experiencing the memories delivered through or recalled by the displayed objects, the identity of being a Japanese American was affirmed. Along with the individual memories indicated by visitor behaviors, semi-structured interviews revealed more memories from both donors and visitors.



Figure 6.9: Ogawa Family Suitcase. Image Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society

Suitcases were one of the crucial displays at the Amache Museum. The suitcase above (Figure 6.9) is listed as the museum highlight on the museum website. The museum utilized this suitcase to illustrate the memory that people were only allowed to bring a suitcase with limited items. As explained on the object description from the website:

Imagine being told you were leaving for an unknown place, for an unspecified period of time, with no absolute guarantee you would be coming back home. To make matters more complicated, you were told to take, “only what you could carry”. This suitcase symbolizes the struggle in choosing what to take and what to leave behind, when leaving for the assembly centers, and then for Amache. The limited space forced Japanese American families to bring only the most essential items with them, including clothes and personal documentation. One suitcase does not leave much room for nonessential items, and many valued items had to be left behind or sold. This suitcase represents the difficult and long journeys from home to the assembly center, to the internment camp, and finally, to their home after camp (The Amache Museum, accessed Feb 24, 2019).

Along with this collective memory shared by the Japanese American community, this suitcase also contains an individual memory connected with the donor, Dean Ogawa. Ogawa inherited the suitcase from his father and believed that it was used in the camp. Furthermore, he remembered using this suitcase when he was in high school:

Interview Excerpt with Dean Ogawa by Cruz

DO: But yeah, I personally used that suitcase when I was in high school. I remember, to go on a trip.

RC: Is it boy scouts or something like that?

DO: Actually, I think it was when I was a freshman in high school, and we went on a debate trip.

RC: Oh, okay.

DO: And I took it, I had my clothes in it.

(Ogawa, interview transcript, 2015)

The Ogawa's suitcase was displayed with other suitcases donated by other people (see Figure 6.10). The display was at the very beginning of the exhibition in the Amache Museum. Different from his memory of using the suitcase on a trip, the exhibit emphasized the memory of using a suitcase to pack up all personal belongings under strict restrictions. In this case, the suitcases contain an individual memory that Ogawa possesses while also delivering a collective memory shared by the Japanese American community.



Figure 6.10: Suitcases Displayed in the Amache Museum

In addition to Ogawa's memory about suitcases, H has her personal connection and memory with suitcases as well. H is an artist and had an art project on a suitcase before. As H revealed, the suitcase that she worked on was very similar to one of the suitcases displayed. Since her original artwork was damaged, seeing a similar suitcase in the museum reminded her about the project and piqued her interest in redoing it. As she explained in the interview:

H: I'm thinking of maybe doing ... many more books and each suitcase has a different family. And I might be able to... maybe put or recreate some kind of a three dimensions... three-dimensional... piece, and not only images within the book.

Me: Yeah, this sounds so interesting. It includes so many stories.

H: Yes, and then each suitcase would be... like another individual, cuz everybody... every individual was allowed one suitcase.

Me: Oh, so you want to make this project related or connected to the camp's history?

H: Yes, yes.

Me: So, you're kind of inspired by...[Amache]

H: Yes, definitely.

(H, interview transcript, 2018)

As revealed in the interview, H was inspired by Amache and was planning to integrate Amache history in her art project. In the interview, she also shared that the original suitcase was purchased in a store, so she has no family or Amache memories attached to the suitcase (interview transcript, 2018). Therefore, she was very surprised to see a similar one in the museum. This unexpected connection between an object and a person revealed an indirect interaction among donors, museums, and visitors. Mr. Ogawa

donated the object and hoped it helps tell the story of "what my[his] parents had gone through" during the camp period (interview transcript, 2015); the Amache Museum displayed his suitcase with other suitcases to show the collective memory of how Japanese Americans came to the camp; H saw the displayed suitcases, and it resonated with her personal memory of the art project and further thinking of redoing the project with Amache history.

These different memories are all related to suitcases and align with my discussion in chapter three, that interpretations vary due to different personal backgrounds and resonate with the identity of interpreters. For H, she recalled the memories that resonated with her personal background as an artist as well as a person who is interested in a social issue. In her interview she discussed starting her project with Amache and conducting different types of artworks. She then extended the theme of the project to an universal scale. She integrated different contemporary social issues, such as the children who are separated from their parents and people who are in prisons. She further revealed, "all of these things is what goes into my artwork now, but I always can go back to... referencing... Amache" (H, interview transcript, 2018). In other words, her experience of creating artworks and her intention of redoing her project indicate her identity of being a Japanese American. Additionally, as I previously mentioned, H learned her family history by herself. She said, "I wanted to know more what made... my mother, as she is today. I wanted to find out what I am about... so that's ... and then I interest in social issues, so combing all of those things. I'm here to learn" (H, interview transcript, 2018). This statement indicates that her identity is affirmed by learning more about who she is and applying these to her artwork.

Along with H's case, I explored more personal experiences with the museum collections from the former field school participants. These participants are the descendant of Amacheans. They revealed their identity affirmation by looking at the museum objects and participating in various museum works. Riki Eijima, the participant of the 2016 field school, shared her experience of cleaning and documenting the nurse's cape for the museum. As she wrote:

Recently, I discovered that the nurse's cape I had cleaned and documented in the museum was worn by Fran Kirihara, one of the few Japanese American women to serve during the war. I also learned that she was a good friend of my grandparents. I felt the fullness of community, the commitment to service in the face of discrimination, the connection between generations, the ties that bind. What an honor to have worked with such an important American artifact. Through these experiences, my distant history was no longer so distant (Eijima 2016).

The nurse's cape (see Figure 6.11) that Eijima (2016) talked about was bought and donated by Bob Akaki. Although this object was not on display, the museum website provided a brief introduction about its stories of the original owner. Eijima (2016) revealed that, in addition to the amazing history of the owner's stories, the fact that this woman was a friend of her grandparents made her feel more connected to the object and more related to the community. Based on the context of her article, the word "community" that Eijima (2016) used refers to the community of Japanese Americans. By unexpectedly learning about her family connections to the owner of the cape, she felt closer to this history. The emotions revealed from her words indicate an identity affirmation of feeling proud of being a Japanese American because her community member committed herself to her country even though she was treated unjustly by her country.



Figure 6.11: Nurse's Cape. Image Courtesy of the Amache Preservation Society

This unexpected connection between the object and the family met the Akaki's intention of buying and donating objects to the museum. As he revealed his intention in the interview: "the thing that what my real motivation is, is that people that had family in the camps or even in the camps themselves will be the ones that will see that collection" (Akaki, 2015). According to his perspective, giving the Amache objects to the museum would maximum their values rather than storing them at home. He is willing to buy Amache objects from the owners who do not show interest in them; if the museum is interested in those objects, then he would donate them to the museum (Akaki, 2015). In addition to the educational purpose for the general public, Akaki (2015) attempts to make Amache objects available to people who have relations with Amache history. In the case of nurse's cape, identity affirmation seems to be rare, as it is infrequent to find out a

direct family memory from museum collections. However, looking back to the case of Ogawa's suitcase, individual memory has a more extensive range. Identity affirmation does not necessarily occur through the direct individual memories with the objects; instead, any kind of recalled individual memories would indicate an identity affirmation. Therefore, the identity affirmation through the individual memories on museum objects would be more common.

Another identity affirmation within the Amache Museum is indicated in the article written by Tomi Eijima (2018), who participated in the 2018 field school and whose grandparents were in the camps. Based on her article, the sense of community is not revealed from the objects, but from the children activity she helped. As she wrote,

During a museum session, I showed Anne Amati, a museum registrar with the university, how to make an origami crane. I noted that this was something I did while attending a Japantown after-school program. Growing up around other Japanese Americans allowed me to easily inherit such traditions. Anthropologists call this "intangible cultural heritage." Living expressions such as these provide communities a sense of identity and continuity. Going to Amache provided the setting for me to pass these customs and values on to others. Seeing Anne's happiness upon successfully completing her crane was unexpectedly rewarding. As small as this may be, it helps build a kindred society (Eijima 2018).

As Eijima (2018) mentioned, in addition to tangible cultural heritage such as physical objects, intangible cultural heritage is another crucial element that has an impact on identity affirmation. In the case of folding origami cranes, this is a common activity for the Japanese American community but not familiar to people from other communities. The knowledge of making an origami crane and being able to teach people provided Eijima a sense of community and identity. Revealed from this case, the identity affirmation within the Amache Museum is not only connected to the collective or

individual memories that people contain or intrigued by objects but can also be through the recognition of the Japanese traditional cultures.

Conclusion

Identity affirmation within the Amache Museum is practiced by donating objects to the museum and is revealed through the memories recalled by the tangible and intangible heritage within the museum. By exploring object biographies and the intentions of donating Amache objects, I identified donating objects as a way of revealing the donor's identity affirmation. Compared to the previous generations Issei and Nisei, the descendant generations who do not have strong memories of the camp experience are more actively involved in preservation works. Instead of avoiding facing this difficult history or being unwilling to look at the objects that were used in the camp, their willingness of facing and learning this difficult history can be considered as a practice of identity affirmation. Furthermore, donating objects and sharing family histories to the public is also considered a way that indicates their identity affirmation of being Japanese Americans.

Collective memories and individual memories are the other two indicators of identity affirmation that I identified in this section. The interpretive plan and the narratives in the Amache Museum utilize collective memory. As demonstrated by the four primary interpretive themes as well as the museum exhibits: the panel of terminology discussion, the exhibit Americans Seeking an Answer, and Life at Amache, the identity of being Japanese Americans and American citizens is highlighted within in the museum. In addition to the collective memory constructed by the museum, identity

affirmation is also revealed by individual memories that were recalled by looking at tangible materials such as museum collection or through the experience of learning and teaching an intangible knowledge of Japanese culture.

This section is focused on the identity affirmation of Japanese Americans based on the content of the Amache Museum. Although identity construction can be seen as one of the elements of a community museum, the exploration of the local opinions about the museum is also essential to discuss which community the Amache Museum represents. Recognizing the connection between local Granada residents and the physical environment connections rather than the museum contents, I utilized a questionnaire to find out how much local people know about the museum and how important the museum is to them. This will be discussed in the next section.

Thoughts from the Japanese American and Granada Community

In order to answer the question about which community the Amache Museum represents, the thoughts of community members are essential to explore. In this section, I focus on the Granada community and the Japanese American community to learn about their thoughts towards the Amache Museum. Few people would deny the importance of the Amache Museum for the Japanese American community. However, by noticing the museum location and the essential role that APS members play in the museum, I was also curious about the attitudes of other Granada residents towards the museum. The first part of this section investigates the thoughts of local Granada residents by utilizing the questionnaire. I interpreted the survey results and developed a generalized understanding of the local people's thoughts. Besides, I included the perspectives of John Hopper, the

leader of APS, and Tarin Kemp, a former APS member. By learning their insights accumulated from their direct involvement in the museum, I was able to understand the local community viewpoints comprehensively.

The second part of this section explores the thoughts of the Japanese American community towards the importance of the Amache Museum to their own community and Granada people. As I mentioned in the previous chapters, the Amache Museum is telling the stories of Japanese Americans at Amache while it is maintained by local Granada students. Seeing this distinct collaborative strategy of having a local community help the source community to preserve its heritage, I addressed the thoughts of my Japanese American interviewees to learn their opinions on the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada. Building on the explorations of the thoughts of Japanese Americans and Granada residents, the third part of this section investigates the use of the two different names of the museum — the Amache Museum and the APS Museum. I noticed these different names in the conversation with Kemp. The use of these two different names discloses the museum's history and provides a background to the distinctiveness and complexity of the museum.

Thoughts from the Granada Community

Samples of the Questionnaire

Among twenty-nine collected responses, twenty-eight of them agreed to participate in the survey. I separated these responses into two categories: one is people who have relationships with the Granada area while the other one is people who live in other places and have no identifiable relationship with the Granada area. As shown in

Table 6.1, seventeen people, which is over half of the survey takers, live in other places rather than in Granada or Bristol. Additionally, seven of them reveal that their family members have been involved in the Amache Museum or worked with APS; ten of them reveal that they do not have family members involved in the Amache Museum.

According to my short conversation with the survey takers, some of them indicated that they were born and raised in this area, but have moved to other places. Therefore, I included the seven responses in my analysis because they have relationships with the Granada area, although they are not living there. Following this thought, I did not include those ten people in my research analysis. Although they could originally come from this area, little information was revealed in the questionnaire to help identify their relationships with the Granada area. In other words, my analysis was focused on the eighteen people who have relationships with the area.

		Q2. I live in			
		Granada	Bristol	Others	Total
Q3. Has any of your family members volunteered or at the Amache Museum or worked with the Amache Preservation Society?	Yes	7	1	7	15
	No	2	1	10	13
Total		9	2	17	28

Table 6.1: Survey taker's relationship with the area

The Importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans and Granada People

The analysis of these questions is based on the survey questions: to what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans and to what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for Granada people. Table 6.2 provides a general view of their thoughts. Thirteen people strongly agree the Amache museum is important to Japanese Americans while five out of eighteen agree with this statement; fifteen people strongly agree the Amache museum is important to Granada people and Granada town while three out of eighteen people agree with this statement. As shown in the table, the survey takers generally agree that the museum is important for both Japanese Americans and Granada people, but their agreements were to different degrees.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Feeling	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q8. To what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans?	13	5	0	0	0	18
Q9. To what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for the Granada community?	15	3	0	0	0	18

Table 6.2: Thoughts of the importance of the museum for Japanese Americans and Granada

Noticing the different degrees of the agreement, Table 6.3 and 6.4 reveal whether people’s understandings of the Amache Museum would affect their thoughts on the importance of the museum for their own community and the Japanese American community. As shown in Table 6.3, fifteen out of eighteen survey takers previously knew the content of the Amache Museum is dedicated to Japanese Americans; among these fifteen people, thirteen of them strongly agree that the museum is vital for Japanese Americans while two of them agree with this. On the other hand, three out of eighteen people did not know the Amache Museum preserves the history of Japanese Americans during WWII, and these three people still agree that the museum is important to Japanese Americans but not with a strong agreement. These results indicate that the contents of the museum would instinctively make people agree with the statement that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans even if they did not know this information before.

		Q8. To what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans?					
		Strongly Agree	Agree	No Feeling	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q7. Did you know that the content of the Amache Museum is dedicated to Japanese Americans' experience during WWII?	Yes	13	2	0	0	0	15
	No	0	3	0	0	0	3
Total		13	5	0	0	0	18

Table 6.3: Relationship between survey takers’ understanding of the museum’s content and their attitudes toward the museum

According to Table 6.4, it shows that the survey takers all know that the museum is maintained by APS. Fifteen out of eighteen people strongly agree with the importance of the museum for the local community, while three of them agree with the statement in a lesser degree. Compared with the results from Table 6.3, local Granada residents are more familiar with the museum information that is directly related to them. To be more specific, since the APS members are all from the Granada community, the family members of these APS students would know that the museum is run by APS. Furthermore, as revealed in Table 6.5, the local people know about this information even if none of their family members is involved in APS. According to these presenting results, it seems like the physical location of the Amache Museum is the key factor that makes local residents acquire museum information; however, this information might just be limited to issues directly related to themselves. In other words, as revealed in Table 6.6, the content of the museum might not be available information even if some of their family members are involved in APS. According to Table 6.6, three out of eighteen people did not know the content of the Amache Museum; two of them have family members involved in APS while one of them has no relationship with APS. This result also indicates that even if one does not have a relation with APS, local residents still have a channel to receive information about the contents of the museum. Therefore, according to Table 6.5 and 6.6, the local residents might be more interested in or have more accesses to the information that is directly related to them, in terms of the relations with the physical location.

		Q9. To what degree do you feel that the Amache Museum is important for the Granada?					
		Strongly Agree	Agree	No Feeling	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Total
Q6. Did you know that the upkeep and the maintenance of the Amache Museum is by the Amache Preservation Society (APS), whose members are mostly Granada High School students?	Yes	15	3	0	0	0	18
	No	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total	15	3	0	0	0	18

Table 6.4: Relationship between survey takers' understanding of museum maintenance and their attitudes toward the museum

		Q6. Did you know that the upkeep and the maintenance of the Amache Museum is by the Amache Preservation Society (APS), whose members are mostly Granada High School students?		Total
		Yes	No	
Q4. Has any of your family members volunteered at the Amache Museum or worked with the Amache Preservation Society?	Yes	15	0	15
	No	3	0	3
Total		18	0	18

Table 6.5: Relationship between having a APS member in family and survey takers' understanding of museum maintenance

		Q7. Did you know that the content of the Amache Museum is dedicated to Japanese Americans' experience during WWII?		Total
		Yes	No	
Q4. Has any of your family members volunteered at the Amache Museum or worked with the Amache Preservation Society?	Yes	13	2	15
	No	2	1	3
Total		18	0	18

Table 6.6: Relationship between having a APS member in family and survey takers' understanding of the museum's content

Along with the general thoughts from Granada residents, the insights from APS members are essential to develop a comprehensive view. I interviewed John Hopper, the Director of APS, and Tarin Kemp, a former APS member, to acquire their thoughts on

the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans and the local Granada community. In order to compare with the data from the questionnaires, I asked Hopper and Kemp to rate their thoughts on the importance of the Amache Museum. One is low, which can be compared to “strongly disagree” on the questionnaire while 5 is high, which is aligned with “strongly agree.” For the question of the importance of the museum for Japanese Americans, Hopper and Kemp both hold a positive attitude as other Granada residents. As revealed in the interviews:

Me: How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? Why?

JH: 5 would be the ratings. Japanese American families come to find information of their families that were in Amache and the site in general. Having the museum adds much more to the experience than just visiting the Amache site. (John Hopper, interview transcript, 2019)

TK: I would say 5. Because anytime we have Japanese Americans come back, we had people cry, and just say like, thank you so much that you're honoring our families, and you're educating people, and you're showing people that that was wrong. And so like some of the most powerful moments in my life have been witnessing when we have um people come back that they were interned at the camp and have their families come back. And, I do think it's important, because all we get is gratitude that we are basically highlighting this topic and educating people about it and not letting it get lost in the history. (Tarin Kemp, interview transcript, 2019)

According to the interview excerpts, Hopper and Kemp both recognize that the Amache Museum provides great resources for Japanese Americans to learn their family history and Amache history in general. Hopper (2019) further points out that the museum is a plus for Amache visiting experience. He considers that seeing objects which were used in the camp, as well as research results about the camp life, may improve the visiting experience. Kemp (2019) describes how Japanese American visitors would sometimes be emotional in the museum, and reveal their gratitude to the APS members for all the work

they have done for preserving this history and educating the public. Along with the importance of the museum contents, Hopper (2019) and Kemp (2019) also indicate that the Amache Museum plays a role in the connection between Japanese American visitors and their family members and histories. Therefore, they strongly agree that the Amache Museum is important for the Japanese American community.

Contrary to their consistent opinions about the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans, Hopper (2019) and Kemp (2019) hold different perspectives on the importance of the museum for local residents and community. As revealed in the interviews:

Me: How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people? Why?

JH: 5 Keep the history of what happened just outside of this town alive. The people of Granada are happy that we are restoring and maintaining a museum for Amache.

(Hopper, interview transcript, Feb 2019)

TK: I would say... honestly, that's probably lower, maybe like a 3. Because I feel like in the town of Granada, you get like make sure that people are incredibly passionate about it and they are really happy that we educate it. And then you have people that... they either just don't care, or they remember it in a different light. So like you have a lot of... say soldiers that don't want it to be highlighted, that don't wanna to be talked about. Because they remember it as they were like...as Japanese Americans were wrong... as they deserved to be... basically imprisoned in the camp. So, you do have a mixture of it and when we're trying to get it[Amache] to become a national park. That was actually one of the battles that we faced. We have a lot of people that didn't want the government involvement in it, that didn't want to highlight it, because you know Japanese Americans were wrong that they should been imprisoned there, and so you do fight half and half, that some people in Granada are like, wow the work that you do is awesome and we're so proud of you, and we are so glad that this is here, and then you have the other half that it's like you shouldn't even be talking about this. (Kemp, interview transcript, Feb 2019)

According to the interview excerpt with Hopper, he strongly agrees that the Amache Museum is important for the local Granada community by the recognition of museum location. As revealed from his words, the importance of the museum for Granada is built on physical connections between the museum and the local community. Hopper (2019) considers the Amache Museum as one of the most important aspects of the town of Granada because the museum is preserving the U.S. history that people do not wish to see it happen again. Additionally, he also reveals the happiness of local people that they are able to have a museum in town to preserve Amache history. However, Kemp (2019) reveals that this kind of support is not shared by all Granada residents.

Different from Hopper (2019) and the survey results, Kemp (2019) gives a 3 to the importance of the museum for the Granada community. Her viewpoint is developed from her observations on the attitudes of general local residents. As she reveals, some residents are very passionate and happy that APS can maintain the Amache Museum and highlight the Amache history to educate more people; however, some residents do not want APS or the government to highlight this history. This kind of opinion was also indicated in a private conversation with a survey taker. This survey taker revealed that her brother does not like Japanese Americans, but she was positive about the importance of the museum for Japanese Americans. This conversation demonstrated the different attitudes occurring within the town. Based on this division, Kemp (2019) was therefore not strongly positive about the importance of the museum for the Granada community.

Following the discussion of this division, a generational difference of collective memory is revealed. The veterans who have direct memories and experiences during the war may hold a negative attitude towards Amache preservation and the Amache

Museum; the next generations who have no direct memories have learned this history from different perspectives. As proposed by Misztal (2009), memory is social and cannot be removed from social contexts; in other words, the social contexts of where people grew up are different, and therefore lead to the generation difference of remembering Amache differently.

This generational difference not represented in the survey results might be due to two reasons: survey samples and age distribution. The survey samples did not reach over half of Granada population, which is around 250 people; therefore, some opinions were not able to be included in the discussion. Age distribution of the survey, as shown in Table 6.7, shows that the survey takers were mostly born after the war. In other words, most of them do not have direct memories about the war, which also indicates that their memory of WWII comes from textbooks or other resources that are illustrated with the emphasis on what the government wants people to remember.

In the case of Amache, the history of Japanese American internment camps is not well-understood by all U.S. residents. A certain portion of people does not know the existence of the camps. Recognizing this phenomenon, the Amache Museum aims to let more people know the history through collaboration between various communities. This phenomenon also indicates the complexity of the Amache Museum in terms of the mission statement and the goal that it wants to achieve. I will illustrate this complexity in detail in the next section. Before getting into the discussion of which community the Amache Museum represents, the next part will present the thoughts of my two Japanese American interviewees about the importance of the Amache Museum for their own community as well as Granada.

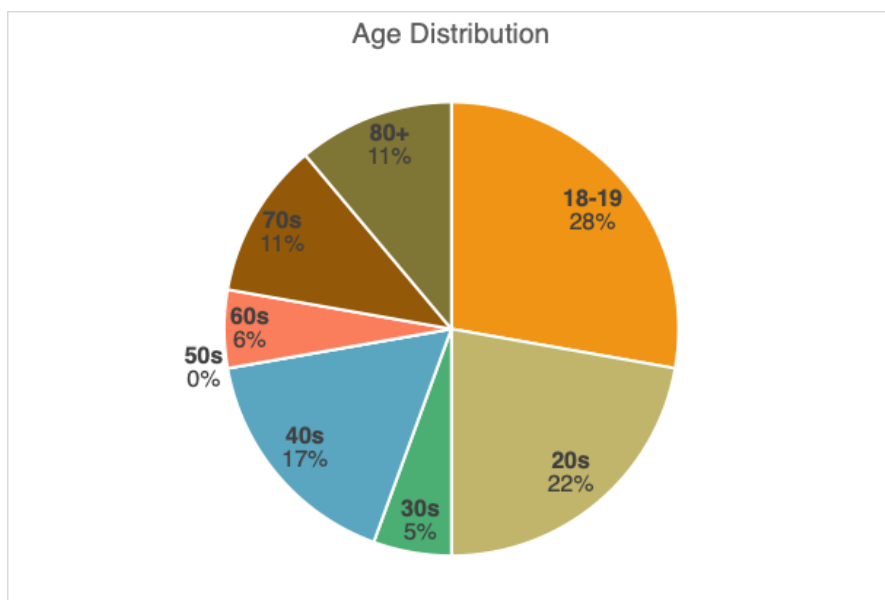


Table 6.7: Age Distribution of the Survey (18 samples in total)

Thoughts from the Japanese American Community

In order to have a comprehensive discussion of whose community museum the Amache Museum is, not only Granada but also Japanese Americans' opinions are essential to be included. This part of the analysis explores the thoughts of my two Japanese American interviewees on the importance of the Amache Museum for their own community and Granada community. These two interviewees, G and H, are both the descendants of Amacheans. During the interviews, they both revealed their strong agreements that the Amache Museum is important for both Japanese Americans and the Granada community. As shown in the interview excerpts:

Interview excerpt with G

Me: How would you rate, from 1 to 5, the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? I mean 1 is the lowest and 5 is the highest.

G: Well, in terms of people coming and enjoying and learning about their families because that is a large um... one of the main objectives and they are able to do it by looking at the directories and past, letters, and photographs, I would say 5.

Me: How would you rate, the same question actually, from 1 to 5, the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people?

G: Oh, I think it's equally important for the local people. Because many of them have grown up here and many of them can come over and see, you know, what their friends were like. You know, it will bring back memories of some of the people who were here in the camp, knew some of the local residents but then they return to their home states and obviously it's difficult for them to still experience that friendship, but having things at the museum that are connected to their old friends would be very meaningful. They could come over to look at those things.

(G, interview transcript, 2018)

Interview excerpt with H

Me: How would you rate, from 1 to 5, the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? so 5 is the highest and the 1 is the lowest.

H: I think it's five. I think it's a great learning tool. I love going to museums, all kinds of museums, including Amache. I think people can take their time, and make sense of what's in the museum by themselves. It's a one-to-one personal interaction. I think it's great. I'm just really pleased.

Me: How would you rate, from 1 to 5, the same question, but the importance of the Amache Museum for the Granada people and the town of the Granada?

H: Again, I think it's number 5, I think any type of experience that you get more information and it broadens your view. For whoever, whether you have ties to Amache, or whether you live in the area, it's just another vehicle to educate yourself.

(H, interview transcript, 2018)

According to the responses from G and H, they both strongly agree that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans. They both mention the educational function of the museum, in terms of learning about Amache history as well as

their family histories through the exhibits and objects. H further considers the learning process within the museum as a personal practice that people would consume the information in a way that fits into their own understandings and their own family histories. Aligned with the strong agreement on the importance of the museum for the Japanese American community, G and H hold the same positive attitude towards the Granada community, but different reasons. For G, she recognizes the connecting power of the Amache Museum that enables the local people to remember their Japanese American friends. Although most of the internees went back to their hometown when the camp closed, a few of them stayed in Granada, attended the local high school, and built a friendship with local people. G shared her conversation with a local Granada woman, who passionately showed her the photographs that were taken with her Japanese American friends. As shown in the interview excerpt:

After the war, a lot of the ... a few of the Japanese Americans stayed in Granada and attended the high school there. And this woman [Granada woman] was very proud of telling us about her friendships with some other the camp people, and then she took us to this big wall of photographs, and they have this revolving kind of panels that show their friends that who were Japanese Americans. I was very moved by that. I didn't have any idea that that many Japanese Americans stayed here and that they were just a part of the community just like anybody else they were not ostracized; they were not discriminated against; they were totally accepted by the high school and part of their... presentation (G, interview transcript, 2018).

Although this conversation happened at the local high school, G believes that the same thing would apply to the museum. The objects and photographs in the museum would remind local residents of their old memories and their friendship with Japanese Americans. In other words, G believes that the Amache Museum serves as a memory-storage place not only for Japanese Americans but also for local Granada people.

Different from G, H emphasizes educational benefits that the Amache Museum could bring to the Granada community. Her strong concern on the educational function might come from her personal backgrounds. As mentioned in the previous section, H learned about her family and Amache history by herself since her mother never told her and her siblings about this internment experience. She noticed that she and her siblings were born in different states, but she could not find an explanation for it. This inkling had been buried in her mind, and it was not until a conversation with her older sister, who was born in Colorado, that she finally knew the answer (H 2018). The conversation with her sister directed H to read and research more about Amache by herself. According to H's experience, it reveals that information could be found everywhere through books, magazines, and internet; however, a museum like the Amache Museum, where information and different stories are formed in a complete narrative, helps people to learn about Amache in a complete and cohesive way. Therefore, noticing that local people can easily visit the museum, H considers the Amache Museum is important for them to be able to educate themselves.

The Amache Museum or the APS Museum

The Amache Museum is a commonly used name for the museum. Though I have used this name throughout this thesis so far, the APS Museum is another name for the museum which stands for the Amache Preservation Society Museum. I noticed the use of these two different names during my contact with my interviewee who was a former APS member. In our emails, she indicated the museum as the APS Museum. With this notion in mind, I also noticed that this name was used in the APS newsletters and the

publications written by Dr. Bonnie Clark (2012). By noticing that people use these two names back and forth, I was therefore curious about the difference between these two terms, especially for APS members.

According to the interviews with Hopper (2019) and Kemp (2019), they both revealed that there is no difference between these two names for them. As shown in the interview excerpts:

JH: The names of either Amache Preservation Society or Amache Museum does not matter to us. However, for visitors that are coming through it must be Amache Museum for they will not know who the Amache Preservations Society is. (Hopper, interview transcript, 2019)

TK: Honestly, one of them is just like it's the Amache museum. The other one is just [the] Amache Preservation Society, which is what our group is called. And so to say... like to avoid saying Amache every time a lot of the time, we'll just call it the APS Museum because the museum does belong to the Amache Preservation Society. So there's no difference in the names at all or anything. (Kemp, interview transcript, 2019)

As explained by Kemp, she has no preference in using either name. However, since the museum is owned by APS and it is easier for her to say APS museum rather than saying Amache every time, she sometimes would use the APS Museum to describe the museum. For Hopper, he would prefer to say the Amache Museum instead of the APS museum in front of visitors because the former name provides direct museum information to them. This reflects his respect to the source community, in terms of the Japanese American community, of the museum. Additionally, Hopper (2019) shared the museum history which explains the use of the name for the museum. The establishment of the current museum was for Granada and Amache; however, since few local people donated their objects to the museum and APS kept receiving more and more Amache objects from the

Japanese American community, the museum was therefore named as the Amache Museum (Hopper 2019).

According to this museum history, the name of the Amache Museum was used because of the recognition of the source community. A large portion of the museum collections was donated by Japanese Americans; furthermore, the museum narratives are also dedicated to the Japanese American community. Therefore, the Amache Museum has become a widely used name. In contrast, the APS Museum as the name that refers to the ownership of the museum and is seldom used because most people might not know what APS stands for. Although Hopper (2019) and Kemp (2019) are comfortable with either name, most people use the Amache Museum more often because they do not know the other name and the relationship between APS and the museum. These different names of the museum disclose the complexity of the Amache Museum, especially on the question of whose community museum the Amache Museum is. If standing aligned with the source community, the museum could be a community museum for Japanese Americans; however, if recognizing the ownership as well as the location of the museum, the Amache Museum could be a community museum for local Granada people. Therefore, instead of suggesting that the Amache Museum only represents a single community, this research project presents that it represents multiple communities.

Conclusion

Recognizing the straightforward connection between the Japanese American community and the Amache Museum, this section also brought a discussion of what the community members think about the importance of the museum for the local Granada

community since the museum is part of the town and is maintained and owned by APS. Through the questionnaire results and the interviews with community members, it shows that the community members agree with the importance of the museum for the Japanese American community in similar reasons; however, their opinions on the importance for the local community are different. Some people recognized the geographical connection between the museum, the town, and the camp's site; some people recognized the educational function which would benefit the local residents; still others see the generational difference on residents' attitudes towards the museum. The investigation of the different names for the museum also revealed the distinct but sophisticated phenomenon of the Amache Museum, that the source community and the owner community are different communities.

Whose Community Museum Is It?

Based on the previous analysis, this research proposes a view that the Amache Museum represents multiple communities. In researching this project, this question of whose community museum it is turned to be complicated because of the different and interweaving concepts involved. The complexity primarily comes from two aspects: the floating idea of a community museum and the distinct community collaborations of the Amache Museum. In an effort to understand this elaborate question, I researched different community museum concepts, investigated identity affirmation, and explored the thoughts from the Granada community towards the museum. Although I have investigated these elements separately in the previous sections, in this section, I will bring

them together to develop a comprehensive discussion in the context of the Amache Museum.

Recognizing the absence of the constant involvement of museum professionals, the Amache Museum is a bottom-up community museum initiated by APS, a Granada-based organization. In some literature (Fuller 1992; Gordon 2005), the source and establishing communities of a bottom-up community museum are usually the same. However, in the case of the Amache Museum, the source community is made up of Japanese Americans while the establishing community is Granada residents. The museum contents are about one of the Japanese American internment camps in WWII, and the museum collections are mostly donated by Japanese Americans. However, the Japanese American community is not the owner of the Amache Museum, nor the maintaining community of the museum; the APS from the local Granada community is. All these communities collaborate in order to preserve Amache history within the museum. In other words, the case of the Amache Museum raises a question about the prevailing concept of a community museum: if establishing and maintaining community is different from the source community, could the Amache Museum still be considered as a community museum? Considering the distinct community collaborations within the museum, there is no denying that Japanese Americans have continuously been involved in the theme established and museum development; furthermore, the museum's contents are highly connected to the Japanese American community. Comparing these phenomena with the general idea that the source and represented communities are the same, the Japanese American community is represented in the Amache Museum since their opinions and identities are involved and presented in the museum. However, since the

Amache Museum is located in a small town, a strong physical relationship makes it hard to separate the museum from the Granada community. Additionally, the ownership of the museum indicates that the Amache Museum represents the Granada community. Seeing these sophisticated relationships among the Amache Museum and the Japanese American and Granada communities, the concept of ecomuseum can provide another perspective to understand these interwoven relationships.

The ecomuseum is a concept that puts emphasis on place. Instead of seeing museums and communities as separate entities, an ecomuseum looks at the relationships between community and environment, and between museum and environment (Davis 1999, 32). Following this thought, the Amache National Historic Landmark can be a means through which to understand the complex relationships between the Japanese American and Granada communities and the Amache Museum. As a recognized heritage site, the Amache National Historic Landmark includes both tangible and intangible elements, such as the remaining barrack foundations and memories attached to this specific environment. Furthermore, by looking at the historical dimension of the heritage site, the town of Granada was part of Amache history due to their geographical connection. The local residents were able to interact with the internees including through the agricultural industry, though this part of Amache history is seldom mentioned in the museum. In light of the concept of ecomuseum, the Granada community and the Amache Museum have tangible and intangible relations regarding location and memories from historical perspectives.

Understanding the relationship between the communities and the Amache Museum from the ecomuseum perspective discloses the historical layer of the place.

Instead of seeing the museum on a local scale, it could be broadened to a national scale that encapsulates the whole American society as a community. Considering the future-oriented goals, in terms of educating the public to avoid similar things repeating in the future, the Amache Museum can also be understood as a community museum for American society.

Being related to a national heritage site makes the Amache Museum hard to perfectly fit into the models of community museum and ecomuseum, because the idea of community in these two concepts refers to a local community and its heritage. In other words, the Granada community is not the most connected community with Amache though it is physically related to the camp's site. It is vital to consider the implication of the Amache Museum on a national scale because the community members work to make this history available to everyone.

In regard to difficult heritage as well as a national heritage, the case of the city of Nuremberg can provide a way to understand the relationship between the Amache Museum and the local Granada community. The city of Nuremberg was given the name "City of Nazi Party Rallies" by Hitler in 1933; however, the city has transformed to a "City of Human Rights" which has supported all kinds of issues related to human rights (Macdonald 2009, 129). In light of the idea of cosmopolitan memory proposed by Macdonald, Nuremberg's local history "can be deterritorialized, universalized and future-oriented" (2009, 132-33). By utilizing the geographical connection to the Nazi heritage, the exhibits about Nazi history provide an in situ connection to visitors. Furthermore, the city extends its concern, based on recognizing difficult heritage, to broader ideas of human rights. Similar to the case of Nuremberg, the town of Granada has a geographical

relationship with a national difficult heritage. This small town therefore serves as the place carrying the burden of this national disaster. Some Granada residents recognize this relationship and suppose that this is the importance of the museum in Granada. In addition to preserving the Amache heritage, the goal of the museum, as stated both in the interpretive plans (Ellis 2004; NPS 2007) and on the APS website, is to stop a similar tragedy from occurring again in the future. Amache history is part of the local history but at the same time, it is cosmopolitan memory related to WWII. Bearing in mind that the Japanese American internment history is not well-understood across the U.S., the geographical location can help the Amache Museum provide an in situ experience to visitors. Based on this discussion, the Amache Museum is not only a local community museum delivering the local heritage, but also it is a museum delivering a cosmopolitan memory within a local community.

In addition to understanding the Amache Museum through the museum concepts of community museum and ecomuseum, my explorations on identity affirmation and the community members' thoughts provided a view of the sophisticated relationships among the communities and the museum. As Crooke states,

to understand how community is constructed and the meanings it holds for its members, it is necessary to consider how a sense of community contributes to identity formation and the creation of a sense of place, and the role of sentiment, emotion and nostalgia in the formation of group identities (2007, 31).

My exploration of museum narratives indicated the identity formation for Japanese Americans occurred within the Amache Museum. Furthermore, through the interviews with two Japanese Americans and two APS members, and the questionnaire results, positive attitudes were expressed toward the importance of the Amache Museum for the

Japanese American community; these data support that the Japanese American community is the represented community to the Amache Museum. In addition to the Amache Museum being important for Japanese Americans, it is also vital for Granada residents since the museum location provides a sense of place for them. Some of the Granada residents who took the survey did not know the museum contents are dedicated to Japanese Americans; whether or not they know, the survey takers all agree that the Amache Museum is important for local residents. Although these community members gave different reasons for the importance of the Amache Museum for each community, there is one reason that my interviewees agreed upon — they hope that the museum can educate more people and do not want history to repeat itself.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This project started off with the research question of which community the Amache Museum represents, and it ends up presenting the complicated relationships between the museum and the communities. In researching this complicated phenomenon, I used community museum and ecomuseum as the backbones that provide a theoretical foundation to the discussion of “whose community museum is it.” These two concepts are fluid with flexible spaces that let the Amache Museum fit across these two concepts; meanwhile, this flexibility also indicates that the Amache Museum is a special and cross-disciplinary case in museum studies. The museum can be seen as a bottom-up community museum of the Granada community; however, based on its source community, the museum can also be considered as a community museum of Japanese Americans. Furthermore, the Amache Museum is also a museum for American society if considering the museum’s contents and its future-oriented goals.

In researching this project, I have tried to balance the theoretical and practical perspectives. Not only looking into the different works of literature to understand the museum concepts and explore the connections between heritage, memory, and identity, I also collected memory and thoughts of community members to explore their connections with the museum and how important they suppose the museum is for their own community or the other community. This research shows that both the Japanese American and Granada community generally agree that the museum is important to both

communities; however, this research also discloses the generational difference of the collective memory which affects people's attitudes toward the Amache Museum. Some people are happy and suppose it is important to have a museum in the town since Amache is an important history of the United States and it is so close to the town, but some people do not want to highlight this history and they remember this memory in a different way. This divided situation reflects why some people, no matter if Japanese Americans or Granada residents, have dedicated themselves diligently to preservation work. As shared by Kemp, "we speak to change people's minds who wanna be changed. If they don't wanna be changed, then obviously you can't, but if we at least change one mind in the real, then we're doing okay if we educate one person and we consider that successful" (interview transcript, 2019). It might be hard to change people' minds if they already have their own direct experience and memory regarding this history; however, this phenomenon also reveals that the museum is a means to educate the next generation about this history so that the same thing will not happen again.

Following this thought, this research also presents a view of the Amache Museum as a community museum encapsulating the whole American community. Amache history is a national difficult heritage, and the community members work collaboratively to make more people know about it. This indicates that the museum is not only about community history or heritage, but a national history that people, including the Japanese American and Granada community, DU Amache Project team, and other various organizations, have attempted to preserve. These different communities and organizations work together to preserve Amache and make this history available to everyone.

Additionally, this research also presents a way to understand the relationships between the Granada community and the Amache Museum by exploring the case of Nuremberg. Considering that the Amache Museum is preserving a national history related to WWII, this national history, as well as collective memory, are presented and preserved within the local community. Moreover, the physical connection between the museum and the town provides an in situ visiting experience for visitors. As mentioned previously, the internees used to come to the town to buy some daily necessities. Therefore, encouraging visitors to travel between the site and the town could highlight this historical relationship between the internees and the local residents.

One of my goals of this research project is to present the distinctiveness of the Amache Museum, that it is a community-based museum preserving difficult national heritage. A variety of complicated relationships between the communities and museum have developed based on the community-based collaboration. Recognizing the museum's distinctiveness and the potential involvement of a governing agency, this research also hopes to provide an overview of the Amache Museum for the future.

Limitations of This Project and Recommendations for Future Research

This research project has a limited sample. Although I looked into the thoughts of community members, I did not acquire many responses from the questionnaire. Furthermore, the in-depth interviews with community members could have been conducted in a better way, in terms of having more interviewees to share their thoughts. Having more interviewees and questionnaire responses would give a much more comprehensive understanding of the Amache Museum.

Since the Amache Museum is a special case in museum studies, I believe there are still many other ways to interpret it. I chose to study it through the lens of a community museum. Furthermore, the museum might be facing big changes in the future since there are plans to move it to a new building (Hopper 2019). They might also receive more help from the National Park Service. These potential changes will be likely to appeal in new and different ways. Therefore, a future study of the Amache Museum can look at these changes.

Reflections for Future Management

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the Amache Museum is a special case in the museum field. However, its distinctiveness, in terms of Granada as the initiating and maintaining community to the Amache Museum, is its challenge at the same time. Since the Amache Preservation Society (APS) is a volunteer-based group of people, they do not have enough people to take care of the museum all the time. Furthermore, APS has been losing people from their organization (Kemp 2019). This indicates that they would need more help from NPS to maintain the museum if they would like to expand the museum scale and make it more accessible to visitors. In the 2018 field school season, the NPS' staff visited the field school and had a seminar with all field school participants, including the Japanese American community members. We talked about future management for the Amache Museum. Some community members said they hope the museum would have more space for collection in the future; other people mentioned they hope more people could visit the museum so that more people would know about Amache history. The involvement of the governing agency seems to be a necessary step

for future management, and this conversation shows that the NPS cares about the thoughts of community members. However, we still do not know in what way the governing agency would come into the museum. Recognizing this uncertainty, I suggest that the local Granada community should continue to be involved even if the National Park Service incorporates the museum in the future.

The Amache Museum is the result of community collaborations; it organically became the way it looks like now. As Otto states, “these individuals realize the importance of this endeavor, working together with a joint commitment to preserve the physical site and the memories associated with Amache” (2009, 136-37). Although the museum has received generous support from different organizations in the past few years, it continues to be based within the communities that originally began it and were involved in the museum project. Furthermore, recognizing the change of attitudes among the Granada residents due to the efforts from APS students (Otto 2009; Kemp 2019), the involvement of the Granada community is a special and valuable component of Amache preservation and should be continued.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Guide

Interview Guide: John Hopper

1. I have read that the location of the museum has been changed. Could you share the development history of the Amache Museum? For example, when was it established? Who suggested to have the museum? Who or which groups have been involved in this development?
2. What collaborative works have you and your students done with other communities or groups for the Amache Museum?
3. What changes to the museum you think are important/ memorable?
4. I noticed that sometimes people would indicate the museum as the APS museum instead of the Amache Museum. What do you think about these two different names for the museum? What is your preference?
5. Could you share your thoughts or ideas about the Amache Museum, in terms of having this museum preserve Amache history in Granada?
6. What kind of impacts, in your opinion, have the Amache Museum brought to Granada people?
7. What are your expectations for the Amache Museum in the future?
8. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? Why?
9. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people? Why?

Interview Guide: Tarin Kemp

1. Could you share your museum jobs when you were still part of the APS?
2. What collaborative works have you worked with other communities or groups in the Amache Museum?
3. Would you describe your feelings about doing these works in the museum?
4. What is the difference between the name of Amache Museum and APS Museum?
5. What do you think about these two different names?
6. What is your preference?
7. Could you share your thoughts or ideas about the Amache Museum in terms of having this museum to preserve the history in Granada?
8. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? Why?
9. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people? Why?

Interview Guide: G

1. Where is your birthplace?
2. How old were you when you were in the camp?
3. How many times have you been involved in the field school?
4. What brings you back to the field school so many times?
5. Is there any specific thing, like experiences, thoughts that you are expecting to get from the field school this year?
 - a. If do, do you get those expectation?
 - b. If not, is there any experiences you've got unexpectedly?
6. Could you share what you have done for your museum project in the past two weeks?
 - a. Is this your first time being involved in the museum project? If not, what did you do for the past field seasons? If do, what do you feel about being involved in the project this time?
 - b. Would you expect to be involved in the museum project for the next field school season?
7. What objects in the museum have left an impact on you? Why?
8. Could you share your thoughts or ideas about the Amache Museum?
9. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? Why?
10. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being low and 5 being high), the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people? Why?

Interview Guide: H

1. Where is your birthplace?
2. Is this your first time to be involved in the Amache field school?
3. Is there anything, like experiences, thoughts that you are expecting to get from the field school?
 - a. Do you feel you've got what you expect now?
4. When was your first visiting to the Amache Museum?
5. What objects in the museum have left an impact on you? Why?
6. Would you like to share your experiences that impressed you at the Amache Museum? (the project you have done, or you see other people were doing?)
7. Could you share your thoughts or ideas about the Amache Museum? (the display/ their cooperation with the Japanese American community)
8. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being high and 5 being low), the importance of the Amache Museum for Japanese Americans? Why?
9. How would you rate, from 1 to 5 (1 being high and 5 being low), the importance of the Amache Museum for Granada people? Why?

Appendix B: Questionnaire Format and Questions

Survey Name	Whose Community Museum Is It? Collaborative Strategies and Identity Affirmation in the Amache Museum
Introduction	<p>The purpose of this research project is to explore how the Amache Museum affects the identities of the community of Japanese Americans and the community of Granada residents and how these communities cooperate with other communities of different identities in the process of collection management and exhibition curation.</p> <p>This survey is anonymous and the results will only be accessible to the researcher. The purpose of this survey is to have an understanding of how the residents feel about the Amache Museum. Your response will help the researcher gather data and also help plan the future development of the museum.</p> <p>Before you begin, please note that the data you provide may be collected and used by Qualtrics as per its privacy agreement. This research is only for U.S. residents over the age of 18. Please be mindful to respond in private and through a secured Internet connection for your privacy. Your confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology used. Specifically, no guarantees can be made regarding the interception of data sent via the Internet by any third parties.</p>
Conclusion	We thank you for your time spent taking this survey. Your response has been recorded.
Conducted date	2018/06/15

Q1		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Do you agree to participate in the study and understand your responses will be recorded for the research?	<p>A1 Yes, I agree to participate</p> <p>A2 No, I don't want to participate</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Next: Q2</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Next: Conclusion</p>

Q2		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Age	A1 18-19	Next: Q3
	A2 20s	
	A3 30s	
	A4 40s	
	A5 50s	
	A6 60s	
	A7 70s	
	A8 80+	

Q3		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
You live in	A1 Granada	Next: Q4
	A2 Bristol	
	A3 Other	

Q4		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Do any of your family members volunteer or participating at the Amache Museum?	A1 Yes	Next: Q5
	A2 No	

Q5		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Have you ever been involved in any Amache Museum event or affair?	A1 Yes	Next: Q6
	A2 No	

Q6		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Did you previously know that the upkeep and the maintenance of the Amache Museum is by the Amache Preservation Society (APS), whose members are mostly Granada High School students?	A1 Yes	Next: Q7
	A2 No	

Q7		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Did you previously know that the content of the Amache Museum is dedicated to Japanese Americans?	A1 Yes A2 No	Next: Q8

Q8		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
To what degree you feel that the Amache Museum is important for the Granada?	A1 Strongly Agree A2 Agree A3 No feeling A4 Disagree A5 Strongly Disagree	Next: Q9

Q9		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
To what degree you feel that the Amache Museum is important for Japanese Americans?	A1 Strongly Agree A2 Agree A3 No feeling A4 Disagree A5 Strongly Disagree	Next: Q10

Q10		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
Have you been to the Amache Museum?	A1 Yes A2 No	Next: Conclusion Next: Q11

Q11		*Answer Required
Question Text	Answers	
After today's event, will you plan to visit the Amache Museum in the future?	A1 Yes A2 No	Next: Conclusion