The Effect of Internment on Children and Families: Honouliuli and Manzanar

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ABSTRACT

The effect of internment in Hawai'i on children and families is considerably different from the mainland where families were interned together and camps provided schools, activities, and resources for internees. At Honouliuli, only a few children were interned with their parents, and there is limited information on their experiences in camp. The more compelling stories come from the few adults I interviewed who, as children, lived outside of camp under martial law in Hawai'i and visited their fathers and mothers in camp. This qualitative study contrasts interview data and literature on experiences of Nisei, who were teens in Manzanar, with adults of Japanese and German heritage, who were children with one or both parents interned at Honouliuli. Findings indicate that the participant groups share displacement in a time of political turmoil, weakening of the nuclear family unit, and changing women's roles as a result of internment. The foundation of family cohesion was crumbling under martial law in Hawai'i and incarceration on the mainland.

Research on children and families of internment is both a professional inquiry and a personal journey into my family history. As an Early Childhood teacher educator and a researcher of Asian American families in the Midwest, I never expected that my move to Hawai'i would provide me the wonderful opportunity to work with an interdisciplinary team investi-

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gating different aspects of Honouliuli, the Hawai'i internment and prisoner of war site. My family left Manzanar and settled in Wisconsin where I was born in 1947. My mother was a teenager in camp, and my father was a young journalism student who worked at the *Free Press*, Manzanar's camp newspaper. The *Free Press* was the official publication of the Manzanar Relocation Center administration and of the Manzanar Cooperative Enterprises under the editorial leadership of Roy Takeno (Adams 1944). My father, Kishio Matoba, is photographed in Ansel Adams's (1944) book, *Born Free and Equal: The Story of Loyal Japanese Americans*,[1] while my mother is featured in several sports events in her high school yearbook, *Our World 1943–1944 Manzanar High School*[2] (Manzanar 1944). The recently published book, *Children of Manzanar*, by Heather Lindquist (2012) included a variety of quotes from my mother, Chiyeko "Chickie" Hiraoka Matoba. She described camp schools where children sat on the cold linoleum floor while the few available desks were for the teachers. She also commented on how things became more "normal" later on as schools acquired needed educational supplies. I wonder how one comes to judge "normality" when you are removed from your community, rounded up with folks that look like you racially, and relocated to a desert. I wonder if those austere camp experiences helped my parents and grandmother acclimate from sunny California to a cold, unfamiliar postwar life in Wisconsin. I wonder how I ever gained a sense of my own racial, ethnic, and cultural identity growing up in the Midwest with little Japanese community and with the expectation to assimilate and be 100 percent American.

In this article, I contrast the effect of internment on children, left at home in Hawai'i when their parents (mostly fathers for Japanese Americans, but both fathers and mothers for German Americans) were interned at Honouliuli with the experiences of my mother and her octogenarian classmates, who lived in the camp and graduated from Manzanar High School in 1944. These internment sites differed greatly in terms of context as indicated by Burton et al. (2014):

> The first key distinction between the mainland and Hawai'i is that the Hawaiian internment was authorized by martial law, rather than Executive Order 9066. Martial law left little imprint on the landscape, so Honouliuli is a rare physical manifestation of those numerous wartime restrictions, which had a profound effect on all the citizens of Hawai'i.... Unlike the mainland, where the vast majority of internees were of Japanese ancestry, the heritage of Hawaiian civilian internees included Japanese, Okinawan, German, Italian, Austrian, Norwegian, Danish, Russian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Finnish,

> Irish, and British. While 100 percent of Nikkei (Japanese who have located overseas on a permanent basis, as well as their descendents) living on the mainland's west coast were interned, less than 2 percent of the Hawaiian Nikkei were interned.

In Manzanar, the internees were predominantly Issei (first generation Japanese immigrants), Nisei (their American born children), and Kibei (second generation Japanese Americans who were educated in Japan). Falgout (2014) described how Honouliuli also housed more than 4,000 POWs from a variety of ethnic backgrounds including Japanese, Okinawans, Koreans, and Filipinos sent from various locations in the Pacific Theater, plus Italians picked up from the Atlantic Theater. The camp also served as a transition point for those POWs sent to destinations on the US mainland.

Regarding the Hawai'i context, I examine several key questions. How did traditional Japanese American and German American mothers and other family members for European internees, raise children in an atmosphere of fear and military presence, with no male head of household present? Where did families of Hawai'i internees get resources to live in their communities? How did they help their children gain a sense of "normality" during visitations to the internment camp? What happened to the children when their schools were taken over by the military leaving little space for children to congregate, socialize, or just play together with their friends?

This article is organized by emergent themes from my qualitative study described by and experienced differently by Nisei adults who were children at Manzanar in contrast to Hawai'i adults who had one or both parents in Honouliuli. Emergent themes from both sets of interviews include: the shock of Pearl Harbor, trying to comprehend displacement, the weakened nuclear family unit, and changing women's roles. Some themes will not be comparative, such as children in Honouliuli, visitations to Honouliuli, and support for families of Hawai'i internees.

The Shock of Pearl Harbor

By 11:30 a.m. on December 7, 1941, Governor Poindexter announced that martial law had been declared and the Territory of Hawai'i was under military control. Three hundred forty-five Japanese aliens, 74 German aliens, and 11 Italian aliens were taken into custody by the night of December 8, 1941 (Rosenfeld 2014).

One father who was interned in Hawaiʻi expressed fear and concern about his family members living outside of camp in an atmosphere of scarcity and martial law. After being taken to Sand Island Camp, Ozaki recalled:

> Explosions reverberate against a sky dotted with flickering early morning starts, while at Pearl Harbor the dissipating black smoke reveals the sight of military ships. My thoughts suddenly turn to my family. Worried and anxious—fearful even of the sound of the wind—families no doubt pray for the safe return of their husbands and fathers, their breadwinners and heads of households. (Honda 2012:44)

Ron Tsuchiya, who was four years old, shared his story of that day:

> At the time of the attack, he [his Dad] and his friends were up at the Moanalua Mountains and they saw the planes, and he said he thought it was a maneuver.... Then they heard that there was an attack, so he ended up driving back and coming home to Liliha, where my mom had already heard on the radio about the bomb, the attack. So she took me under the house—I remember that vividly, that we went under the house, and we just stayed there and waited until my father came back. And when my father returned he said that it was an attack from Japan. (Tsuchiya 2011)

Elaine Fukada, who was 14 years old at the time, described her experience of December 7:

> Oh, the Pearl Harbor day was an exciting thing! I was up on the roof of our two story warehouse. We had the shoyu factory.... I was hanging the Sunday wash.... I could see perfectly, we were in Kapalama, that's where we lived. And I could see all the black smoke coming up out of those big boats. And coming up over from the back of the mountain was one of them [a Japanese plane] so low I could even see the pilot. And then, I can't remember for sure, but I think I saw a red *hinomaru,* "sun disc," used to refer to the flag of Japan.... I saw all that going on.... [T]hey had maneuvers all the time. And so here I was watching and saying, "Wow they're doing the real thing today." And my sister downstairs [was] yelling at me, "Come down, come down." (Fukada 2010)

The response of her older sister indicated the seriousness of the situation.

In contrast, two Manzanar internees, who were 15 years old on December 7, recalled hearing about Pearl Harbor in Hawaiʻi being bombed by the Japanese military from their neighbors (they both lived in predominantly white areas of California). Seigo Yoshinaga was out playing ball with his childhood friends while my mother, "Chickie" Matoba, was at home with her family. It was Sunday, a workday for the farmers as they were preparing to take their

produce to market. A Caucasian neighbor, who Matoba had been babysitting for, came over to their house and asked if they were listening to the radio: They were not, but when they did turn it on, they heard about the attack. Both remember being assured by their Caucasian friends that they would be supported and even protected by them from those who were anti-Japanese "if anyone tries to harass you, just let me know" Matoba was told by that neighbor (Matoba 2012).

A more introspective response documented by Lindquist (2012:10) was from their Manzanar classmate, Sam Ono:

> We heard the news on the radio and naturally we thought it was a very terrible thing. I kind of felt ashamed because we were Japanese, and Japan would have the audacity to invade American soil. A lot of my classmates were afraid to go to school the following Monday for fear of reprisals, but I didn't feel that way. I really didn't feel Japanese, if that makes any sense, because the only connection I had was that my [ethnicity] was Japanese.

These 15-year-old Nisei were American citizens, American teenagers.

Chiyeko Hiraoka Matoba, Seigo Yoshinaga, and Sam Ono at 2007 Manzanar Reunion. Courtesy of Seigo Yoshinaga.

When considering both contexts, Hawai'i and California, children faced uncertainty knowing that their ethnic heritage (which the military lumped together under the designations of "Japanese," "German," and "Italian") matched that of enemies of the United States. War had become a reality, though still incomprehensible. Their family life would change drastically and they had no control over what would happen to them and their families after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Irrational fear was rampant. Matoba recalled that the father of her best friend was told by his Caucasian buddy that the government would gather up all of the Japanese, incarcerate them, and open a dam flooding the desert killing all the Japanese people. The father, fearful of what might happen, became distraught and drank himself to death. This death affected the entire community by instilling trepidation, followed by the arrest of the Japanese schoolteacher, who was taken the next day. Matoba and her friends began writing letters to their teacher, unaware that everyone would be evacuated (Matoba 2012).

Trying to Comprehend Displacement

Trying to understand why her parents were being questioned and taken away in Hawai'i, Doris Berg Nye, who was 11 years old at the time her parents were interned, shared her constant fear that her parents were no longer alive. As a youngster, she did not consider her German ethnicity as a problem or

Doris Berg shortly before her parents were taken away. Courtesy of Doris Berg Nye.

perceived her family as being the German "enemies." In her words, "You see, I heard about the Nazi in Germany at that time, but my parents were not bad. I did not know who they were, or what they were, (or) why they were picked up. I didn't know anything about that" (Nye 2009).

I asked Nye whether accommodations were made for children after parents were taken away. She replied, "No, they [the soldiers] were very hard-nosed.... [E]very kid had to take care of themselves" (Nye 2009). She recalled a soldier with "kind eyes" who probably went against orders to allow her older sister, who was in Moloka'i, to call and check on them. She believed he "could not stand the fact that we were left, screaming little kids..." (Nye 2009). According to Nye, there were orphanages and she felt the soldier in charge wanted the children to be taken there, but allowed the older adult sister to make arrangements instead.

As a young child of four, life changed for Ron Tsuchiya when his father was taken away and he went to live with his aunt. Tsuchiya did not remember much about that day, but he did recall when his mother was hospitalized dying of cancer, and when his father was taken away after her funeral. He remembered how he felt:

> I recall that the military people [were] there, and... I cried because I remember that my dad was going to be taken away, and my mom had just passed away... I was so upset that I kind of ran, just kind of sat down and hid and cried by the house.... And I remember sitting down and crying because my mom had already passed away, and then my dad was being taken away. (Tsuchiya 2011)

This was raw emotion of a small child expressing incomprehensible loss.

Lindquist's (2012) book, *Children of Manzanar*, describes children in camp as not really understanding the enormity of what was happening, fearful about where they were going based on rumors of desert scorpions and snakes, and feeling sadness about leaving their belongings and friends. In the book, Sam Ono explained the major loss of displacement that many Japanese families experienced:

> I think the most difficult things to leave behind were memorabilia of family.... Apparently there were some unscrupulous people that backed up a van (up to the community center where we stored our things), and they just loaded the van up and took off.... Everything of my childhood memory went with them. It was of no value to them, so I presume it's probably buried in some dumpsite now. (Lindquist 2012:13)

It was clear that children of internment experienced loss in many different ways. There was change in family caregiving, uncertainty about their daily life, and physical displacement, whether by relocation to camp or by changes in living arrangements outside of camp. But perhaps, most devastating was the fear of not knowing what would happen to them and to their family members. As Nye explained, she did not know whether her parents were dead or alive once taken away so abruptly.

Children in Honouliuli

US National Archives II, College Park, Maryland, records indicate 10 names of children at Honouliuli. In a memo from John A. Fitzgerald (1944), 1st lieutenant to provost marshal, the daily report of internees and detainees from July 12 to July 13, 1944, includes 163 men internees, 4 women internees, 0 internees admitted during the past 24 hours, *and* 10 children totaling 177 internees. This is only one of many daily reports so it is unclear when the 10 children arrived, whether they were family members of the 4 women, or when they left. The children ranged from 2 to 14 years old. There appear to be five surnames so I am assuming they were siblings. The following table provides information on the children taken from several daily logs and daily physical checklists; therefore, there are different spellings of names and different ages for some children. Citations on the geographic locations of the families have been lost.

The two Yoshida children's parents were in Japan and they were under the care of Tomi Naha, ISN-HJ-981-CI (Memo 1944). In addition, at 14 years old, Hisako Yamamoto was listed with a camp ID, ISN-HJ-994-CI (Fitzgerald 1944). It appears that after age 14 ID numbers were assigned since in other accounts Hisako is listed at 13 years with no ID number. Also, an older sister Umeko Yamamoto, sent from Saipan, had been listed with a camp ID as 25 years old (Fitzgerald 1944). The Sakamoto parents, Ryohei (father) and Kii (mother) along with the children were brought to Honouliuli from Saipan, Mariana Islands. The family unit was listed in a letter to the Swedish vice consul, dated February 5, 1945, requesting repatriation to Japan.

A memo from 1st Lieutenant John Fitzgerald to his commanding officer indicated that clothing, shoes, and diapers (cloth diapers, I assume) were needed for children of these women in the camp. An interesting note on this request states that a Captain Reilert suggests that ten [diapers] (for Sakamoto) and 15 [diapers] (for Naha) for their one-year-old babies be allotted since the

babies were "partly broken" (Morning Report 1944). From a parenting or early childhood perspective, this terminology I assume, is code for "potty trained."

My research notes from National Archives and Records Administration II included a variety of information on families and children, but unfortunately, I do not have the specific citations. I share the general information without details to identify areas of further study. In examining some of the Military ID pictures I noticed that the teenaged girls had shaved heads. In discussing this with my fellow researchers, one possibility emerged as a rationale; prevention against an infestation of lice. I also found an account of caregiving of children while parents were interned. One letter from a Japanese woman to parents in camp promised to care for their children until they were released.

Table 1
Children at Honouliuli

Name	*Gender*	*Age*	*Address*	*Other Information*
HANASHIRO, Masako	Female	13	Rota, Marianas Island	
SAKAMOTO, Fumiko	Female	2	Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan	Ryohei Sakamoto (father) and Kii Sakamoto (mother)
SAKAMOTO, Nobuko	Female	10	Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan	Ryohei Sakamoto (father) and Kii Sakamoto (mother)
SAKAMOTO, Shozo	Male	7	Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan	Ryohei Sakamoto (father) and Kii Sakamoto (mother)
SAKAMOTO, Ioshio (Yoshio)	Male	5	Ishikawa Prefecture, Japan	Ryohei Sakamoto (father) and Kii Sakamoto (mother)
YAMAMOTO, Hisae (Fusaye)	Female	13	Saipan, Marianas Island	Umeko Yamamoto (25 years) older sister
YAMAMOTO, Hisake (Hisako) (ISN-HJ-994-CI)	Female	14	Saipan, Marianas Island (25 years) older sister	Umeko Yamamoto
YATSU (Tanizu), Makio	Male	9 (7)		
YOSHIDA, Kimiko	Female	2	Shizuoka, Japan	Tomi Naha, caregiver
YOSHIDA, Takashi (Takahashi)	Male	4	Shizuoka, Japan	Tomi Naha, caregiver

Source: Morning Report (1944).

Likewise, there was one account from an extended family member of a soldier stationed in Hawai'i promising to care for his children on the mainland because the military zone under martial law was too dangerous. Pearl Harbor had been bombed and therefore Hawai'i was no place for children to grow up. Unfortunately I have not been able to find any records of policies regarding children at Honouliuli.

Children Visiting Parents at Honouliuli

Several study participants described their visits to Honouliuli, although there was not a lot of detail about their experiences. Elaine Fukada described her visit in the following way:

> The bus would be at the Kamehameha statue where the old post office and federal building was. I guess any member of the family [could go]. I can't remember whether there were military restrictions for the number of people going. My mother, myself, and my kid brother would go. Of course my sister had to stay back to run the store. It was Sunday and the store got busy on Sundays.... Just getting into the camp was quite a drive too. There were so many guard gates. Soldiers would come on the bus and check everybody's name.... It was frightening when you are on military grounds. (Fukada 2010)

Even though there was a military presence in all of O'ahu, the procedures for getting into Honouliuli required many clearances. I imagine the tension was great for all visiting family members.

Ron Tsuchiya recalled visiting his father in a tent where the families sat at a table across from the internee and there was no partition. He described the interaction as "structured" and devoid of social interaction. "I don't think I ever remember him hold me, or hug me, or love me. It was like my dad was on that side. You know like you go to prison ... they're on one side of the table and you're on the other side" (Tsuchiya 2011).

On some of her visits to Honouliuli to see her parents, Doris Berg Nye noticed that another German American couple had a three-and-a-half-year-old son, Kurt Moderow Jr., with them in camp since they did not have relatives in Hawai'i to care for their child. Apparently he was given permission to stay with his mother, though he was not officially registered as an internee (Nye 2009; Rosenfeld 2014). Nye also recalled that the German section at Honouliuli was smaller and there was less for a young teenager to do while there. She enjoyed visiting the Japanese section of the internment camp because there was a store and it was more developed (Nye 2009). I have wondered where

the Jaspanese children were housed in Honouliuli since there was a men's section and a women's section, and separate accommodations for POWs. It was unclear how this German American family and those Japanese families from Micronesia were accommodated within Honouliuli.

Support for Families of Hawai'i Internees

Official Government Policy

In a draft document dated March 31,1942, entitled, "Statement of Procedure in Connection with the Providing of Welfare Service to the Dependents of Internees and Detained Persons," the major objectives for the mobilization of community resources were "to prevent suffering and want among such families and or dependents through sympathetic consideration of their needs, and to build a morale of these persons to help them maintain a useful place in the civilian community" (Statement of Procedure 1942). It is unclear how the second objective on morale and citizenship would be facilitated. This document clearly states "It is therefore recognized that the American Red Cross will act as the official liaison organization between the Military Government and the community agencies in connection with the provision of assistance for the dependents of internees" (Statement of Procedure 1942). The Red Cross Home Services Department played the major role for meeting most needs except financial assistance, which was referred to the Territorial Department of Public Welfare.

Hawai'i's Red Cross

My research of Hawai'i Red Cross documents at the National Archives II in College Park, Maryland, also found that their wartime purpose was to assist families of service personnel and internees with household needs in Hawai'i and to assist in uniting families. Most relocating families needed supplies like clothing for colder climates and some needed diapers for infants. Red Cross volunteers were recruited to be nannies or nurses traveling with women who had young children or for larger families.

Red Cross personnel often traveled with wives who had young children, on ships to the mainland to join their interned husbands. For example, one description indicated that: "Mrs. Yamada and her children have been living on savings … they do not need relief … they are looking toward a relocation center on the mainland" (Red Cross 1942). General statistics on relocation from Hawai'i indicated that, "Nearly all citizens, composing 416 family units

were evacuated to mainland relocation camps between Nov. 1942 to Mar. 1943" (General Statistics on Relocation 1943).

Office of the Swedish Vice Consul in Hawai'i

I had the privilege of interviewing a 94-year-old Japanese American woman, Shim Kanazawa (2010), who became the executive secretary of the Swedish vice consul in Hawai'i. Kanazawa's responsibilities included assisting Japanese American wives whose husbands had been interned. She described her job during World War II as the liaison between the Japanese population in Hawai'i and the military government. Some of the women needed income so she facilitated jobs such as sewing, doing "piece work" for a shirt factory to earn some money for their children. She spoke of women crying on her shoulder everyday since many did not have the skills to work outside the home. Kanazawa explained, "Sometimes I wanted them to go to the department of social services to get help, but the Issei women did not want help." With a sense of humor, Kanazawa concluded that some of them were "hard headed" (Kanazawa 2010). This attitude could have been caused by a sense of *haji* (Japanese shame) that caused the women to avoid official assistance.

Kanazawa also taught skills like check writing and helped the wives secure financial resources since some family bank accounts were frozen during the war. There was a time when Kanazawa had to transport a six-month-old baby to its grandmother and she had no idea how to provide for it. Even though Kanazawa got advice from a doctor friend on how to care for the child, she remembered that it cried all the way. Her job also took her on board a ship carrying Japanese prisoners of war to make sure the Geneva Convention rules were being implemented.

One of the fascinating pieces of information Kanazawa shared was that some of the women whose husbands had been taken away by the military police were ostracized by neighbors. There was irrational fear that if any neighbor associated with those wives, the same fate would come to their husbands. It was sad to hear that when the wives of internees encountered neighbors, the women crossed the street to avoid interaction, making the wives feel socially isolated, unable to talk with anyone. There was too much fear for others to offer compassion and support. This kind of negative social treatment may have caused some of the wives to volunteer to join their husbands in mainland internment camps. Facing the challenge of traveling to the mainland with their young children was preferable to being socially isolated in their own community.

In her capacity to assist the wives of internees who had been sent to the mainland, Kanazawa knew when the ships were sailing, which was classified information; therefore, she could not inform her own family when she was to leave to accompany these wives. On a trip to the internment site at Crystal City, Texas, she did not tell her mother where she was going, realizing that her phone was tapped. Kanazawa explained,

> So, I didn't tell my mother anything, but somehow [through] mental telepathy she sent me $5,000 of the hard earned money she earned selling vegetables to the Marines. So, that was my extra money that I had to (use) because every time these families had to stay over for a few days, or a week… they had to go to a cold country, they don't have clothes. I had to use my money—my personal money—to buy them clothes… and food for them to stay with me. That's the kind of thing I did without anybody knowing about it. (Kanazawa 2010)

As the wives who were helped returned to the community where Kanazawa lived, some stopped by to thank her mother for her gift (for "what your daughter did").

It was also interesting that in her official capacity representing the Swedish vice consul of Hawai'i, Kanazawa could accompany the wives to the internment camp but was not allowed to enter the camp. For her efforts, Kanazawa was rewarded with a trip through 37 states in three months. She was also counseled to wear a Red Cross uniform so she would not be harassed as a Japanese woman, a sign of the postwar racist American landscape.

The Weakened Nuclear Family Unit

In Manzanar, where Japanese American families were interned together, "communal living weakened family ties and undermined parental authority" (Lindquist 2012:25). My mother, Chickie Matoba, is quoted as saying, "As children we all ate separately with our friends…. My older brother worked in the mess hall. My younger brother worked as a dishwasher someplace, so our family never ate together. That was a sad, sad thing about that" (Lindquist 2012:25). Along with these daily changes of life in Manzanar, "they [the children] saw their parents become powerless, witnessed systemic injustice, and faced an uncertain future" (Lindquist 2012:25–26). Other accounts concur that, "Parental discipline tends to break down in the centers; the family, as such, is robbed of its traditional function" (Adams 1944).

Issei fathers were no longer breadwinners and saw their sons and daughters employed in camp since they were American citizens, not aliens, like themselves. Lindquist (2012:26) adds: "Once respected patriarchs, many Japanese and Japanese American men saw their roles as provider and authority figures usurped by the government, camp administrators, and WRA rules and regulations." My mother, Chickie Matoba, shared her analysis, "It ruined the family structure. Parents were no longer in charge of their children.... There was no more family feeling anymore," (Lindquist 2012:26). This is particularly sad for me since both of my grandfathers died of cancer in camp, about a week apart. I suspect that it was more than the physical disease that ended their lives. These proud Issei men had been denied their traditional Japanese male roles and responsibilities.

Issei mothers in Manzanar also found their traditional maternal role weakening as their teenaged children ate with their friends, rather than family, and had their own school activities and social events. I recall my mother's story of my maternal grandmother standing in line to eat by herself, then returning to the line to get her sick husband's dinner to take back to their barracks (Matoba 2012). Certainly sharing living quarters with other families, having communal bathrooms (with no stall partitions), and having free time to socialize with other Issei women changed the dynamics of the Japanese family in camp.

Japanese American and German American families in Hawai'i who were physically separated from their interned loved ones, living without a male "head of household," also experienced a weakening of the nuclear American family. Extended family members had to fill the parental gap and families of internees in Hawai'i often had to move in with relatives to survive. German American study participant, Doris Berg Nye described the fear she and her younger sister shared when their parents were taken away. They wondered when their older sister, who lived on Moloka'i, could come and care for them. In this case, there was no nuclear family left so the children had to fend for themselves, as well as maintain the family boarding house (Nye 2009).

Wives chose to unite with their husbands in mainland internment camps for a variety of reasons, including inability to financially support the family in Hawai'i, lack of extended family to live with and for support, and decisions to repatriate to Japan with their spouse. Travel to the mainland provided hope of

strengthening the nuclear family but was a difficult transition. "The transfer of Hawai'i internees to mainland camps started in February 1942. Over 1,000 wives and children did just that [reunited with spouses and fathers], many of them ending up in camp in Crystal City, Texas, while others ended up in War Relocation Authority administered camps in Tule Lake, California or Jerome, Arkansas" (Niiya 2010:3).

In Hawai'i, as family members who remained outside the camp tried to survive in an environment of martial law, there was growing concern about delinquency of the children in the community. Without strong parental discipline, living in multifamily households, there was concern about the social well-being of children in Hawai'i. Letters from community leaders reported that child delinquency was reaching an alarming degree due to lack of recreational facilities, working parents, and limited playground space. There was overcrowding in the Damon Tract housing area possibly due to additional children from the military base and the army was taking space for a garden and bomb shelter. The response to these letters was that the Automatic Weapons Battalion Headquarters needed the land (Huffman 1945). Children and families were subject to military priorities. It is possible that as families of internees moved in with relatives, children spent more time unsupervised on the streets or at the playgrounds.

One well-documented account regarding a Japanese internee held briefly at Kilauea Military Camp, Honolulu Immigration Station, and Sand Island Detention Camp and then sent to several mainland camps, illustrates the trauma of separation and desire for family unification (Honda 2012). Initially wives and families had little information about their interned husbands and fathers. But communication between Ozaki and his wife indicated constant fear and uncertainty as they tried to become united as a family. Letters included information about family members' well-being, as well as the activities of the children as they developed and grew throughout the years of separation.

Repatriation to Japan was an issue in which Ozaki, who was a Japanese language teacher and "one of several individuals who functioned as agents for the Japanese Consulate in Hilo to service Japanese friends and neighbors," wished to return to Japan while his wife, a Kibei, born in the United States but educated in Japan, preferred to settle in Hawai'i after the war (Honda 2012:xviii).

Changing Japanese Women's Roles

As described in previous sections of this article, Japanese wives in Hawai'i whose spouses were interned had to learn new skills, assume leadership roles, maintain child-care responsibilities, and even in some cases, become employed to provide income for the family. As difficult as it may have been, they had to assure the well-being of their children by creating a stable environment in a time of turmoil. Nishigaya and Oshiro (2014) describe how wives of Buddhist priests in Hawai'i took over practices once their husbands were interned. When the Reverend Komagata was interned he left a newly constructed temple on the edge of downtown Honolulu with a congregation of several hundred followers. In his absence, his wife oversaw the temple and conducted Buddhist services (wedding and funeral) as did the Reverend Kodo Fujitani's wife.

Another example of the changing roles of Hawai'i women was when the daughter of an interned *shōyu* factory owner tried to get her father released to save the family business. Hatsuko Terada, older sister of study participant Elaine Fukada, took over the family business and appealed to have their father, Kyuzo Terada, furloughed because of his expertise to brew *shōyu*. Her request was denied because, according to authorities, it would require three furloughs of a month's duration, the process could be taken over by another company (which was untrue since other competitors in the *shōyu* business were unwilling to assist), and another case of release to attend to property matters had been denied (Fukada 2010). This is an example of the responsibility adult children of internees had to assume due to internment of one or both parents.

In the mainland camps, Issei women's roles changed considerably especially for those who came from rural areas and who had had heavy duties with child rearing, cooking, and working in the fields with their husbands. Once in camp, they did not need to cook (everyone ate in the mess halls) or work outside the home (Issei were aliens, not citizens like their Nisei children who could work) and enjoyed the social company of other Issei women. In Manzanar, where my grandmothers were interned, social connections between Issei women grew as they had more leisure time to play cards and share stories of their families and life in Japan. In fact, my paternal grandmother connected with a woman from Wakayama, the same prefecture in Japan where her family resided, and our families became lifetime friends, across generations. As a picture bride of a tenant farmer in northern California, my grandmother had no female friends in her daily life. Farmwork and child care had dominated her

prewar life so internment brought relief from a life of daily toil and isolation. I believe this life path made her decide not to go to work outside the home during the postwar years, when she was still in her fifties. Instead, she chose to be the matriarch in her firstborn son's home causing generational conflict in our Midwestern Japanese American household.

Concluding Remarks

Only recently since Lindquist (2012) wrote *Children of Manzanar*, highlighting the voices and perspectives of children and families on internment, have there been specific accounts of how internment affected the lives of children, both inside and outside of camp. Many internees never spoke about their experiences in camp, or of their family relationships as a result of incarceration. Current support for qualitative research and oral histories of internees has raised awareness of the lived experiences of internees across all internment sites. In Hawai'i, oral histories recorded by the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i contributed to the documentary *The Untold Story: Internment of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i*. In addition, oral history researchers, Warren and Michiko Nishimoto at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, along with our University of Hawai'i–West O'ahu Multidisciplinary Honouliuli research team are actively creating a rich mosaic of voices and perspectives on internment and imprisonment.

Differing accounts and interpretations of internment develop as researchers, historians, journalists, artists, and political activists tell varied stories in print and media. One controversial representation of internment is the recent musical *Allegiance* produced by George Takei (actor of *Star Trek* fame), which depicts a political and activist interpretation of internment, portraying the role of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), and its leader Mike Masaoka, at the time of Executive Order 9066, requiring the evacuation of 120,000 Japanese Americans on the mainland. *Allegiance* won the Outstanding New Musical 2012 Craig Noel Award (Takei 2012). I mention this because my California study participants Yoshinaga and Matoba mentioned their distaste for an activist interpretation of internment, indicating that as teenagers in camp, they recall a positive, joyful time of growing up with dances, sports, and peers. Takei was four years old in camp and now tells a political story with his musical, while these Nisei octogenarians were teenagers and social interactions in their camp high school dominated their fond memories. There are many lenses by which internment can be viewed.

Another creative play on internment, *Shikataganai (It Can't Be Helped)* by playwright and activist Kendra Arimoto, depicted the life of families as they encountered cramped living arrangements in camp barracks and adjusted to life behind barbed wire. Each character portrayed a personal context of internment often shared among others (Arimoto 2010). The play, performed as live theater, was presented at the 2011 Hawai'i International Conference on Arts and Humanities and received the 2010 James Baldwin Fund Prize for Multi-cultural Playwriting.

There are so many lenses we can take as we listen to the voices of diverse internees, with generational, regional, educational, military, and religious differences. Hawai'i under martial law and mainland incarceration from major cities in California to rural communities across the West Coast contributed to a collage of rich experiences and diverse interpretations of internment during World War II. I am attempting to capture the stories through the eyes of children, reflected upon years later as adults.

In summarizing my study findings, it is clear that the two participant groups experienced displacement in a time of political turmoil, a weakening of the nuclear family, and changing women's roles as a result of internment. For the Manzanar teens in my study, displacement meant relocation into internment camps with their families, while displacement for Hawai'i participants meant the dismantling of the nuclear family with parents, for Japanese mostly fathers, in camp and the rest of the family left to survive under martial law. Some moved to live with relatives, but all faced a hostile environment in which there was an implicit perception of wrongdoing if the head-of-household was arrested, detained, and interned. Everyone lived in fear and uncertainty in a society of which they had no control.

My research on the effect of internment on children and families in Hawai'i will continue as I attempt to find out more about the 10 children who were at Honouliuli. In addition, more research needs to be done on the life of all children in Hawai'i under martial law. How did parents of Japanese, German, and Italian heritage explain internment to their children? How did military personnel explain martial law to their children? How was parenting impacted by the war? How did families affected by internment rebuild their lives once the internees returned? And, importantly, were parents' voices silenced as they tried to rebuild their communities and their lives? There are many questions for future studies. ❖

Notes

1. The original 1944 Ansel Adams photo journal, *Born Free and Equal*, was edited by Wynne Benti and published by US Camera. Adams was friends with Manzanar Camp Director Ralph Merritt and was invited to document the internees and life at camp between 1943 and 1944. The original collection of photos was considered controversial (he photographed the guard towers) and in 1965 Adams donated his camp photos to the Library of Congress where they languished for years. In 2001 Spotted Dog Press in Bishop, California, redesigned and republished *Born Free and Equal* and in 2002 produced it in hardcover.
2. The camp yearbook, *Our World 1943: 1944 Manzanar High*, was published in 1944 under editor-in-chief Reggie Shikami. Reggie is a retired former CEO of a manufacturing company, resides in the Chicago area, and maintains contact with his 1944 classmates, including two of my study participants, Chickie Matoba and Seigo Yoshinaga. Chiyeko Hiraoka Matoba passed away February 17, 2014.

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