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Nicole VanderMeer April 15, 2015

"The Erasing Power of American Exceptionalism: Exclusion and Silence in the 'Official' American High School Textbook History of the Japanese American Internment"

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An abstract of
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Abstract

"The Erasing Power of American Exceptionalism: Exclusion and Silence in the 'Official' American High School Textbook History of the Japanese American Internment"
By Nicole VanderMeer

With this project I examine twelve of the most widely-used, contemporary high school history books in the United States in an investigation of textbook authors' coverage and portrayal of the Japanese American Internment against the metanarrative of "American Exceptionalism." I contend that authors of American high school history textbooks devote very little attention, critical examination, or emphasis to the history of the Japanese American Internment, erasing much of the history in four distinct ways: (1) engaging in the practice of "mentioning" in their accounts; (2) reducing the World War II story of Hawai'i to the attack on Pearl Harbor; (3) silencing Japanese American voices; and (4) rendering Internment camp experiences benign. The impacts of this pattern of erasure in American high school history textbooks significantly include the continued invisibility and marginalization of Asian American history and issues, as well as a broader lack of critical engagement with the legacy of the Japanese American Internment, especially in light of the treatment of Muslims and persons of Arab descent in the United States following 9/11.

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Table of Contents

Introduction: the Authority of Textbooks in the Production of Historical Knowledge and the Continued Relevance of the Japanese American Internment

I grew up on Bainbridge Island, Washington, one of the first places to round up Japanese Americans and send them to internment camps during World War II. The Internment was always central to my history education, but conversations with my peers and class discussions made me realize that American history classes often skim over Asian American experiences. Historians construct American history as a linear narrative spanning from colonization to modern political achievements, but there is no unified narrative for marginalized groups such as Asian Americans. The present thesis explores this trend in American history education in high schools in the United States—its implications for students and race relations, and how U.S. history textbooks exclude Asian American narratives and voices, specifically in the context of the Japanese American Internment.

My central focus is the extent to which authors of contemporary high school history textbooks provide a limited account of the Japanese American Internment as a blight on the overarching narrative of "American exceptionalism" present in the textbooks. Based on a thorough examination of twelve of the most widely used American history textbooks, I contend that authors of American high school history textbooks devote very little attention, critical examination, or emphasis to the history of the Japanese American Internment, erasing much of the history in four ways: (1) engaging in the practice of "mentioning" in their accounts; (2) reducing the World War II story of Hawai'i to the attack on Pearl Harbor; (3) silencing Japanese American voices; and (4) rendering Internment camp experiences benign.

The Authority of Textbooks

The American education system relies heavily on textbooks as vessels of "official," state-sanctioned national history; as such, the textbook selected by a school is an immensely

influential political tool that shapes the way students come to understand the story of the United States, as well as, more specifically, race relations and political action in the nation. University of Wisconsin professors Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith argue that textbooks develop and reproduce "*particular* ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge."[1] Academic critic and theorist Raymond Williams has termed this presentation of reality "the selective tradition," in which textbooks "help re-create a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really *are*" within the context of what a particular society values and deems legitimate.[2] As a consequence, textbooks do not contain an unbiased representation of the facts of history, but, rather, a carefully cultivated "vision of legitimate knowledge and culture" that inherently privileges the "cultural capital" of some groups, such as white men, over that of others, effectively disenfranchising them in the telling of American history.[3] Educational scholar Christopher R. Leahey concurs, noting that textbooks largely dictate the content and perspective assumed in the history classroom as well as "ultimately, determine what counts as historical knowledge."[4] In this way, textbooks help to "shape our national identity and establish parameters for normative discussion and political action," often through the framework of war because it enables textbook authors to discuss progress and democracy against the favorable backdrop of American heroism and hegemony in response to State Review Boards' demands.[5]

This phenomenon of a politically-crafted narrative handed down is a larger feature of the very structure of textbook narratives, and the templates in which they are generally written—

[1] Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 3.
[2] Apple and Christian-Smith, 4.
[3] Apple and Christian-Smith, 4.
[4] Christopher R. Leahey, *Whitewashing War: Historical Myth, Corporate Textbooks, and Possibilities for Democratic Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2010), 12-13.
[5] Leahey, 12-13.

templates that ultimately determine how students process and come to understand history through their textbooks' narratives:

> The perspective from which the narrative is told, the content that is included and excluded, and the evidence employed to support the narrative direct students' attention to what is considered 'legitimate' knowledge…textbook narratives tell the story of American progress by placing he European American experience and achievements at the center of history while marginalizing minority groups…After repeated exposure to such textbooks through years of schooling…traditional values, perspectives, and experiences become social reality.[6]

Educational researcher and University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh Professor Richard J. Paxton argues that these narrative patterns textbook authors subscribe to in constructing their accounts fundamentally differ from the way history is written for adults such that there is little invitation or space for students to meaningfully and critically engage with the textbook history—a significant obstacle to historical learning and the acquisition of historical literacy, and a process that renders the texts themselves out of sync with the discursive practices of serious historical scholarship.[7] He notes, "[T]extbooks typically focus tightly on facts, events, and people, and not the kinds of questions, decisions, and heuristics historians employ in their day-to-day practice."[8] Textbook authors tend to sift out selective data about the past and situate it within a concealed interpretation that is handed to students as objective and unquestionably accurate—a process at odds with sophisticated methods of historical analysis.[9]

Historical scholarship written for academic or even general adult audiences often prominently features the historian and her interventions within the work through brief biographies, introductory and concluding remarks, endnotes, and obvious and explicit references

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[6] Leahey, 16-18.
[7] Richard J. Paxton, "A Deafening Silence: History Textbooks and the Students Who Read Them," *Review of Educational Research* 69, no. 3 (1999): 317.
[8] Paxton, 317.
[9] Paxton, 318-19.

"to lay bare the fact-finding process."[10] Textbooks rarely include any of this information and regularly omit a thorough bibliography or system of citation.[11] This is especially dangerous for a text provided to students as authoritative, because, lacking sophisticated historical literacy, they are highly unlikely to read multiple texts on an event or seek out and question the sources of information upon which the largely invisible author relies, which encourages them to passively absorb the "facts" of the textbooks.[12] The agenda of textbook authors, often laid out in "themes" at the opening of the books, provides a particular interpretive lens through which students may process the information presented, and far too often these themes mean that the critical work of the history itself "takes a back seat to a history designed to transmit ideas about patriotism and the benefits of democracy."[13] Furthermore, researchers have found that when students are faced with information that contradicts their textbooks, they tend to privilege the authority of their textbooks and trust its account.[14] If, as shown in the present study, textbook authors provide incorrect or skewed information, students trusting these sources will place their faith in such historically problematic facts and interpretations and carry them into the world as knowledge and truth.

In approaching discussions of war overall, textbook authors "minimize controversy, and render war as a manageable, and even desirable, foreign policy option," reinforcing patriotic and pro-military messages students are already exposed to in their daily lives, through media sources like the news and militaristic video games such as the *Call of Duty* series: "Students have been socialized into accepting these messages even before they enter the classroom."[15] Leahey contends that the result is a politically compromised education that fails to inspire critical

[10] Paxton, 320.
[11] Paxton, 320.
[12] Paxton, 321.
[13] Paxton, 325.
[14] Paxton, 327.
[15] Leahey, 102-3.

engagement with historical nuance but rather "becomes an act of socializing students" with state-sanctioned history textbooks that merely "reinforce the myth of war and…prepare students to accept, even support and defend, this myth."[16] As such, critical engagement with history in the classroom is essential to cultivating a citizenry that is neither politically neutered nor silent in the face of injustice.

According to Louisiana State University Professor David D. Perlmutter, textbook authors deliberately construct historical coverage of controversial issues like war in such a way that "images and words are made as vague or bland as possible…Controversy is anathema."[17] Instead of engaging material that fosters critical conversations when students learn about and evaluate key events like World War II, Perlmutter notes that in textbooks, "pretty takes precedence over thought provoking," transforming the textbook into an aesthetic piece instead of the learning tool it should be.[18] Instead of exploring controversy, textbooks shy away from it, offering "conciliatory and limited explanations" and "a neatly sanitized view of events."[19] Historians Crawford and Foster further point out that patriotism is foregrounded in textbooks in place critical inquiry: "It is no coincidence that American textbooks are littered with patriotic symbols such as the eagle, the stars and stripes, or the Statue of Liberty," as these images are consistent with the celebratory message textbooks wish to indoctrinate students in as their "historical" education.[20] Leahey also contends that textbook authors tend to minimize institutional racism, thereby distorting the "historical memory" handed down in classrooms into "historical myth"

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[16] Leahey, 103.
[17] David D. Perlmutter, "Manufacturing Visions of Society and History in Textbooks," *Journal of Communication* 47, no. 3 (1997): 77.
[18] Perlmutter, 78.
[19] Keith A. Crawford and Stuart J. Foster, *War, Nation, Memory: International Perspectives on World War II in School History Textbooks* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2007), 138-9.
[20] Crawford and Foster, 139.

celebrating American "meritocracy" and fostering blind patriotism in students, which functionally renders education a mere process of "political socialization."[21]

It is especially important to consider how education politically socializes young American students by desensitizing them to war in American culture and history, because those who are educated are most likely to influence policy through voting. Indeed, a 2003 study by the National Bureau of Economic Research found "a strong and robust relationship between education and voting in the United States" insofar as "education has social externalities through the production of a better polity."[22] Leahey introduces World War II veteran Andrew Woods, Jr. who argues that this "better polity" has a mythical conception of the "good war" that "promote[s] industrial war…as a legitimate, if not desirable means to vanquish evil and the forces of darkness."[23] As such, Woods continues, the inheritance of the historical myths surrounding World War II has engendered in this contemporary American polity a strong inclination for war, culminating in public support for legislation that has made the United States is the largest military spender in the world.[24] Professor Richard Slotkin at Wesleyan University argues throughout this "American myth… [we] continually invokes the prospect of genocidal warfare…and there is enough violence in [our] history…to justify many critics in the belief that America is an exceptionally violent society."[25]

The tendency for patriotism and myth making gets played out in textbook coverage of World War II, with often little attention given to the Japanese American Internment. Textbook authors construct World War II as the "good war" by minimizing or "forgetting" events that are

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[21] Leahey, 17.
[22] Kevin Milligan, Enrico Moretti and Philip Oreopolous, "Does Education Improve Citizenship? Evidence from the U.S. and the U.K.," *Journal of Public Economics* 88, no. 9-10 (2004): 21-22.
[23] Leahey, 96-97.
[24] Leahey, 96-97.
[25] Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 60-61.

inconsistent with democratic ideals, a process known as "Victor's History."[26] Williams' "selective tradition" once again comes into play, as many Americans view World War II as the beginning of "America's controversial, and self-appointed, mission to act as the world's conscience, savior and policeman," a role that "remains highly evident" in the current "war on terror."[27] Consequently, "The significance of World War II in understanding America's unique place in the world cannot be underestimated," and, as a result, "the war enjoys a prominent position in American history education."[28]

With the Japanese American Internment, a historical event firmly grounded in the context of an oft-celebrated American war, the tendency of the textbook authors is one that seeks to promote "American exceptionalism" and goodness at the expense of erasing or at least significantly marginalizing unfavorable events in the narrative—including the Internment. For example, Gary B. Nash introduces World War II as the conflict "that would make the United States the richest and most powerful nation in the world" through its valor in aiding European allies and fighting off tyranny, thereby couching the war in the context of American heroism and triumph.[29]

According to Crawford and Foster, textbook accounts of wartime activities serve as commemorative memorializations of American valor—an act of celebrating the nation and its righteousness and unity in a trying time through the "continued post-war demonization of the enemy" as well as "remembering" all of the good ideals, values, and heroic practices that made the American campaign moral, "even if it was, at best, questionable…or, at worst, a crime."[30] Consequently, events that reflect poorly on the nation's character during the war are censored,

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[26] James Heartfield, *An Unpatriotic History of the Second World War* (Zero Books, 2012), 4.
[27] Crawford and Foster, 125-6.
[28] Crawford and Foster, 125-6.
[29] Gary B. Nash, *American Odyssey* (Columbus: Glencoe/McGraw Hill, 2003), 490.
[30] Crawford and Foster, 3-4.

cleaned up, and often even justified because of the significance of the war as a glorious moment of triumph to the broader national consciousness through what Crawford and Foster term the cultivation of "collective memory":

> Collective memory moves beyond the personal remembrances of individuals to embrace a 'true' and authentic narrative of the past socially constructed…into a familiar and coherent tale that becomes an accepted orthodoxy…the 'art of memory' contains elements of myth, invented and reinvented images, exaggeration, and falsehood where imagination and perception become as controlling and authoritative as reality.[31]

With World War II in particular, the "collective memories" have been shaped by the twin forces of "heroism" and "victimization"—centering the narrative on tragedies like Pearl Harbor and triumphs like the D-Day invasion cultivates "a discourse of wartime unity, heroism, and sacrifice in pursuit of a just 'cause'" in an effort to reconstruct "a past with which [the nation] can live in the present."[32] For textbook authors, this means that instead of grappling with the complexities and moral ambiguities inevitable to war, it becomes not only permissible but necessary in the honor of the nation and its legacy to craft a politicized story of patriotism and "American exceptionalism" out of the myriad realities of the historical record. The effect is that textbooks shape how we as a people remember our past. "By coloring the way we interpret the past, these traditions [in textbooks] shape our national identity and establish parameters for normative discourse and political action"—textbooks fundamentally "determine what counts as historical knowledge" and how the public may appropriately remember the nation's history.[33]

Ultimately, University of Cincinnati Professor Roger Daniels notes, if "a tiny proportion" of students "do some serious research" in Asian American Studies, "the potential impact on this still largely undeveloped field could be enormous."[34] The field is very new—"Asian American"

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[31] Crawford and Foster, 4-5.
[32] Crawford and Foster, 4-5.
[33] Leahey, 12-13.
[34] Roger Daniels, "American Historians and East Asian Immigrants," in *The Asian American: The Historical Experience*, ed. Norris Hundley, Jr. (Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1977), 24.

as a term did not exist until the late 1960s, according to Seattle University Law Professor Robert S. Chang.[35] Key to research in this field is work such as this thesis, which aims for an examination and "reversal of past trends so that the new focus will become the oppressed rather than the oppressors."[36] In addition to updating the literature examining the exclusion of Asian American history in high school textbooks, my thesis is the first textbook survey to include textbooks used across the United States and to examine the consequences of such exclusion in light of 9/11, the "war on terror," and widespread racism directed at Arabs and Muslims in the United States today.

Literature Review

Authors of previous studies examining the presence of the Japanese American Internment in history textbooks nationwide have shown that coverage has been severely limited, and, very often, highly sanitized. According to historian Alvin Wolf, textbooks from the 1960s "seemed to indicate that Japanese Americans had no history until they were interned during World War II," a trend still found in contemporary textbooks.[37] In the 1970s and 1980s, little had improved, according to Wolf: "Asians are not mentioned in some books and receive a maximum of two pages in others," with coverage once again generally limited to Chinese workers on the railroad and the Internment.[38] Indeed, historian Mark Selden writes, "Japan, the Japanese people, and Japanese-Americans enter the pages of American history textbooks only in treatments of World

[35] Robert S. Chang, "Teaching Asian Americans and the Law: Struggling with History, Identity, and Politics," *Asian American Law Journal* 10, no. 1 (2003): 60.
[36] Daniels, 24.
[37] Alvin Wolf, "Minorities in U.S. History Textbooks, 1945-1985," *The Clearing House* 65, no. 5 (1992): 294.
[38] Wolf, 294-5.

War II," as though they have no other significance or history in the development of the American nation.[39]

Activist Lowell Chun-Hoon agrees, "Asian-American history…remains neglected in present secondary and intermediate school curricula."[40] Any mention of Asian Americans, he explains, is severely inadequate: "When Asians in America are discussed at all, they are discussed illustratively or tangentially as examples of particular generalizations which textbook writers may wish to stress" such as "cultural diversity" or the "equity of a social system in which certain Asian minorities appear to have risen above discrimination to success"—the narrow "model minority" trope that homogenizes Asian Americans and overshadows individual accomplishment with racial stereotype.[41] As a result, many Americans view the Asian American and the Asian national as immutable and identical, with limited historical coverage providing no arc of history for Asians in America but rather a series of brief, unfavorable appearances, from Chinese exclusion in the nineteenth century to the Internment and "the hysterical fear of China during the McCarthy Era."[42] Daniels puts it bluntly, "Asian Americans are still largely seen as the objects rather than the subjects of history."[43]

Contemporary analyses of textbook coverage of the Japanese American Internment show it to be brief and inadequate. Sleeter and Grant's study of textbooks in the early 1990s found that textbook authors discuss Asian Americans "only briefly, mainly as immigrants in the work force that developed the railroad," and provide no reasons as to why they even immigrated to the

[39] Mark Selden, "Remembering 'The Good War': The Atomic Bombing and the Internment of Japanese-Americans in U.S. History Textbooks," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* (2005): 1.
[40] Lowell Chun-Hoon, "Teaching the Asian-American Experience: Alternative to the Neglect and Racism in Textbooks," *Amerasia Journal* 3, no. 1 (1975): 40.
[41] Chun-Hoon, 40.
[42] Chun-Hoon, 54-55.
[43] Daniels, 2.

United States in the first place.[44] Overall, Sleeter and Grant conclude that Asian Americans are portrayed "mainly as figures on the landscape with virtually no history or contemporary ethnic experience, and no sense of the ethnic diversity within [the] group is presented."[45]

Romanowski's 1995 study found that textbooks

> …failed to provide students with complete descriptions of the camps, adequately address the loss of personal property, hypothesize a variety of possible motives for the internment, problematize the government's role…present the topic of restitution…or raise the issue of whether or not the United States government's actions were democratic.[46]

A 2000 study by Harada described depictions of Asian Americans in textbooks "as a group successfully assimilated into the mainstream culture, and as a model minority."[47] Unsurprisingly, the textbooks have not improved. In 2004, Ogawa evaluated several textbooks adopted in Idaho, and they "still lacked an explanation of other possible motives for internment, such as ethnocentrism, discrimination, and racism."[48] Additionally, "textbooks failed to address the fact that more acts of violence and terrorism were committed against Japanese Americans at the end of WWII than at the beginning."[49] Overall, Ogawa's study of textbooks indicated that many "lacked personal accounts of the internment" and "failed to develop students' critical thinking skills and critical knowledge of United States history," therefore "neutralizing" the Internment in the American high school history classroom, and reducing Asian Americans to the stagnant "model minority" stereotype.[50] Finally, according to Hawkins' and Buckendorf's 2010 study, many textbooks treated the issue of Internment in less than half a page to a single page,

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[44] Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant, "Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Current Textbooks," in *The Politics of the Textbook*, ed. M.W. Apple and L.K. Christian-Smith (New York: Routledge, 1991), 83.
[45] Sleeter and Grant, 97.
[46] Jeffrey M. Hawkins and Michael Buckendorf, "A Current Analysis of the Treatment of Japanese Americans and Internment in United States History Textbooks," *Journal of International Social Studies* 1, no. 1 (2010): 35.
[47] Hawkins and Buckendorf, 35.
[48] Hawkins and Buckendorf, 35.
[49] Hawkins and Buckendorf, 35.
[50] Hawkins and Buckendorf, 35.

inaccuracies were present, and "descriptions were perfunctory."[51]

While a clear consensus about the neglect of Asian Americans in high school history textbooks exists among a limited number of previous studies, this thesis will examine textbooks used nationwide. Additionally, publishers have created new textbooks since Hawkins' and Buckendorf's study, so this thesis updates the body of literature.

Methodology

The State Education Policy Center has a database of textbook adoption policies in every state.[52] I reviewed the State Department of Education websites for each of the nineteen states that had an adoption policy[53] and compared the most recently adopted textbook lists for those states with a list of textbooks recently analyzed by Dr. Kate Shuster at the Southern Poverty Law Center in her research on blacks and violence in textbooks, as well as a list put out by the American Textbook Council, and selected the twelve most frequently mentioned textbooks in the three lists for my analysis.[54]As such, they constitute a fairly representative sample for several reasons. First, they are all widely listed on state adoption lists, and therefore likely also voluntarily selected by schools in non-adoption states. As such, these textbooks are popularly taught and considered authoritative voices in conversations of American history. Second, the textbooks represent the publications of eight of the largest textbook publishers in the United States and the United Kingdom. These same publishers likely follow the same general template with each of their various textbook series, which leads the textbooks to be immensely similar in narrative, organization, and structure, produce many other textbooks used.

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[51] Hawkins and Buckendorf, 37-39.
[52] The State Educational Policy Center, "Instructional Materials," *State Education Technology Directors Association*, 2014, http://sepc.setda.org/topic/instructional-materials/
[53] States that do not have textbook adoption policies leave textbook selection up to local educational authorities such as counties or school districts.
[54] Dr. Kate Shuster provided her list to me directly via email. I am eternally grateful for her support with this project.

After acquiring the textbooks, in consultation with a subject librarian and a number of Emory professors, I compiled a thorough secondary reading list of books on the significance of textbooks, Asian American historiography, and the history of World War II in the Pacific to help frame my analysis. I then completed a background reading from the secondary materials in order to ground myself thoroughly in the history of the Japanese American Internment about which there is a general consensus. Next I examined the introductory sections and thematic organizations of the textbooks to provide my analysis with the framework under which the textbooks were written, and therefore the authors' approach to and politics of the Internment. Subsequently, I completed a series of close readings of the textbooks' passages on Internment and coded the texts for important information about the Internment that they either include or exclude in the narratives.

Precedent for My Analytical Framework

I categorized this analysis into four areas of concern in the textbook narratives of the Internment: textbook authors (1) tend toward "mentioning" in their accounts of Internment; (2) reduce the World War II history of Hawai'i to Pearl Harbor; (3) silence Japanese American voices; and (4) render Internment camp experiences benign. I use these four areas of concern to frame my points of analysis in the work that follows. I derived my methodology from those of previous studies on the treatment of periods of war in high school history textbooks. First, I read textbooks and recorded page numbers of relevant passages.[55] Second, I read relevant passages to develop categories of analysis[56] and guiding questions,[57] and to derive the central themes and overall assumptions of the textbook authors.[58] Third, I condensed the content to be analyzed to

[55] Adapted from Brown and Brown, Crawford, Foster and Nichols, Ogawa, and Romanowski.
[56] Adapted from Foster and Nichols, and Ogawa.
[57] Adapted from Foster and Nichols, Ogawa, and Romanowski.
[58] Adapted from Brown and Brown, Crawford, Foster and Nichols, Ogawa.

that which most relates to the guiding questions that will drive the analysis under my thesis.[59] Fourth, I coded passages for relevant terms—which key terms are used / excluded? How are they used / excluded? How does this affect the narrative account of the history presented in the textbook?[60] Fifth, I highlighted specific examples to illustrate analysis under each guiding question and for all terms coded.[61] And sixth, I arranged and displayed my data in the present paper.[62]

Overview of World War II on the Homefront in the Textbooks

Across the twelve textbooks, authors organize their chapters and subsections on World War II on the homefront around five broad themes. The most prominent theme is production and employment opportunities, discussed in eleven of twelve textbooks, with a heavy emphasis on women in the workforce.[63] Authors of four textbooks specifically quote President Roosevelt's declaration that the US will be the "arsenal of democracy" in this context.[64] The second most common theme is patriotism and sacrifice, which the authors detail with examples like victory gardens, clothing, food, and oil rations, and propaganda like Hollywood films supporting the war.[65]

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[59] Adapted from Romanowski.
[60] Adapted from Romanowski.
[61] Adapted from Brown and Brown.
[62] Adapted from Romanowski.
[63] Joyce Appleby, Alan Brinkley, Albert S. Broussard, James M. McPherson, and Donald A. Ritchie, *The American Journey* (Columbus: Glencoe/McGraw Hill, 2008), 815-16; Joyce Appleby, Alan Brinkley, Albert S. Broussard, James M. McPherson, and Donald A. Ritchie, *The American Vision: Modern Times* (Columbus: Glencoe/McGraw Hill, 2008), 729-30; Daniel J. Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley, *A History of the United States* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2007), 675-77; Andrew Cayton, Elisabeth I. Perry, Linda Reed, and Allan M. Winkler, *America: Pathways to the Present* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2007), 596-97, 628-29; David M. Kennedy and Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Spirit: United States History as Seen by Contemporaries, Volume II* (Stamford: Cengage Learning), 384-85, 387-91; Nash, 527, 530-31, 535-37; Gary B. Nash, John R. Howe, Peter Frederick, Allen F. Davis, Julie Roy Jeffrey, Allan M. Winkler, Charlene Mires, and Carla Gardina Pestana, *The American People: Creating A Nation and A Society* (Vango Books, 2008), 619-20, 623-24; Mary Beth Norton, Carol Sheriff, David W. Blight, Howard P. Chudacoff, Fredrik Logevall, and Beth Bailey, *A People and A Nation: A History of the United States, Volume II: Since 1865* (Stamford: Wadsworth Publishing, 2012), 742-44, 747; James L. Roark, Michael P. Johnson, Patricia Cline Cohen, Sarah Stage, and Susan M. Hartmann, *The American Promise, Combined Volume* (New York: Bedford, Freeman and Worth, 2012), 838, 843-44; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, *History Alive! Pursuing American Ideals* (Rancho Cordova: Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 2008), 450, 456-57; *The Americans*, (Chicago: Holt McDougal, 2012), 770-71, 773-74.
[64] Boorstin and Kelley, 675; Norton et al., 742; Roark et al., 830; *The Americans*, 758.
[65] Appleby, et al., *The American Journey*, 816-17; Appleby et al., *The American Vision*, 734-35; Cayton et al., 598-99; Nash, 525026, 528-29; Nash et al., 620-21, 624-25; Norton et al., 745-47; Roark et al., 845; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 449-51; *The Americans*, 772, 774.

Third, authors of six of the textbooks discuss racial conflicts, civil liberties and civil rights, and the "Double V" campaign. Authors of five of the six textbooks only discuss racial conflicts in the context of the Detroit and "zoot suit" riots, with authors of the sixth briefly mentioning riots in New York as well.[66] Authors' framing of civil liberties issues is generally positive, as Norton et al. note, "For the most part, America handled the issue of civil liberties well."[67] Similarly, in *The American Vision*, Joyce Appleby et al. title their section discussing civil rights "Women and Minorities Gain Ground."[68] Nine of the textbooks cover the "Double V" campaign and describe, often briefly, African American service and activism during the war.[69] While the coverage of Japanese Americans and the Internment will be discussed below, it is worth noting that three textbooks discuss Mexican Americans briefly,[70] and three include anywhere from a sentence to two paragraphs on the experiences of American Indians.[71]

The fourth organizing theme textbook authors use to structure their discussions of the homefront is scientific development. Authors of three textbooks discuss the development of the atomic bomb and the Manhattan Project—what Mary Beth Norton et al. describe as "the weapon that would change the world."[72] In *American Odyssey*, Nash focuses instead on "medical breakthroughs" developed by American scientists during the war, dedicating a two-page special section to the topic.[73] Fifth, authors of four textbooks examine Americans' reactions to the Holocaust and the experience of Jewish Americans as the terrifying tragedies of Hitler's policy of extermination came to light.[74]

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[66] Appleby et al., *The American Vision*, 731-32; Cayton et al., 624, 626; Nash, 537-38; Nash et al., 622-23; Norton et al., 748-49; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 459, 462-63.
[67] Norton et al., 749.
[68] Appleby et al., *The American Vision*, 728.
[69] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 817-18; Boorstin and Kelley, 676-77; Cayton et al., 624-25; Kennedy and Bailey, 385-87; Nash, 543; Norton et al., 752-53; Roark et al., 844-45; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 458-59; *The Americans*, 771-72.
[70] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 818-19; Cayton et al., 625-26; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 462.
[71] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 818; Cayton et al., 626; Nash et al., 623.
[72] Norton et al., 743; Roark et al., 846-47; *The Americans*, 773.
[73] Nash, 550-51.
[74] Kennedy and Bailey, 405-414; Norton et al., 753-54; Roark et al., 848; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 460-61.

Overall, textbook authors utilize these five general themes to construct an image of a unified homefront ready and willing to contribute to the war effort. Emphasizing civil rights gains over struggles, authors underline America's status as the egalitarian hero and harbinger of democracy in the World War II story. Framing the homefront narrative in a patriotic, productive, and scientific manner, with America as the "arsenal of democracy," paints a very positive image of a nation committed to fighting tyranny overseas. In doing so, however, authors paint an incomplete and overly harmonious picture of the conditions faced by Americans of color at home. Authors understand that the Japanese American Internment—a clear narrative of prejudice, violence, and immense breaches of civil liberties--poses the greatest threat to this favorable construction of race relations at home. In order to make the Internment story fit into this larger narrative of cooperation and prosperity, textbook authors had to write a censored version of the Internment, tucked neatly between episodes of civil rights gains, that glosses over the Internment without considering its place in the homefront story critically.

"Mentioning" in Textbook Accounts of Japanese American Internment

In six out of the twelve textbooks examined in this study, authors engage in the practice of "mentioning," which Apple and Christian-Smith define as limited coverage of, and essentially glossing over, historical events that are not central to the themes of a particular textbook.[75] Apple and Christian-Smith note, "very little tends to be dropped from textbooks. Major ideological frameworks do not get markedly changed. Textbook publishers are under considerable and constant pressure to include *more* in their books."[76] As a result, historical items not compatible with the broader arc of "American exceptionalism," such as the Internment, "are perhaps

[75] Apple and Christian-Smith, 10.
[76] Apple and Christian-Smith, 10.

mentioned…but not developed in depth" by textbook authors.[77] Specifically, "mentioning" manifests in textbook account of the Japanese American Internment in two primary ways: first, authors devote little attention or physical space in the textbooks to discussion of the Internment; and second, where authors do devote space to the Internment, they treat the Internment as anomalous and resolved in order to fit the story into a broader framework of American goodness. Overall, textbook authors present the basic facts of the Internment without engaging in much critical analysis or historical contextualization.

Nash and James L. Roark et al. each cover the Internment in three pages, *The Americans* does so in four, and David M. Kennedy and Thomas M. Bailey provide the most physical space in their textbook for the Internment with five and a half pages.[78] Eight of the twelve textbooks analyzed feature between a few sentences to a maximum of a page and a half on the Internment.[79] In 120 pages on World War II, William J. Bennett, author of *America: The Last Best Hope* devotes six brief sentences to the Japanese American Internment.[80] The first four provide cursory information, as they deem the Internment "one of FDR's worst mistakes," name the executive order and number of Japanese Americans interned, provide the generational labels for "second- and third-generation Japanese Americans" (notably omitting the Issei), and stating that "Fully 64 percent" of those interned "were American citizens."[81] The last two sentences merely serve to distinguish the camps from their approximate counterparts in Europe, noting that: "In no way can such camps be fairly compared with Nazi death camps or Stalin's *Gulag*," and ultimately concluding that the Internment is simply "an ugly blot on our nation's

[77] Apple and Christian-Smith, 10.
[78] Kennedy and Bailey, 390-95; Nash, 546-48; Roark et al. 834, 836-37; *The Americans*, 800-803.
[79] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 819; Appleby et al., *The American Vision*, 732-33; William J. Bennett, *America: The Last Best Hope, Volume II: From a World at War to the Triumph of Freedom* (Chicago: Holt McDougal, 2007), 199-200; Boorstin and Kelley, 677; Cayton et al., 626-27; Nash et al., 621-22; Norton et al., 751-52; Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 454-55.
[80] Bennett, 199-200.
[81] Bennett, 199-200.

conscience."[82] In twenty-six pages on World War II in *The American Journey*, Appleby et al. squeeze four small paragraphs into a subsection called "Japanese Americans" at the end of the section "On the Home Front."[83] The paragraphs gloss over the actual events of the Internment, focusing instead on the fears of unnamed "[m]ilitary and political leaders" in the wake of Pearl Harbor, and the federal government's reparations in 1988.[84] Andrew Cayton et al. devote one and a half pages out of sixty-four on World War II in *America: Pathways to the Present* to "Japanese Americans" during the war.[85] The emphasis is placed on the demographic information of the Japanese American population, a brief, general overview of the governmental actions that led to Internment, the reparations, and Japanese American military service.[86] Tellingly, the "Reading Check" question for the section underlines this emphasis away from Japanese American experiences and the Internment camps themselves by asking students, "What was the record of Japanese American soldiers in World War II?"[87]

Additionally, textbook authors treat the Internment as a discrete exception in a larger pattern of American political development and social progress. Only five of the textbooks mention longstanding prejudice against Japanese Americans prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor, and only one textbook, *The Americans*, raises the possibility that the Internment is still an open problem with implications for the present by asking students, "What do you think can be done today to address this terrible mistake?"[88] This means that authors of seven of the textbooks do not consider existing racial prejudice as a factor that led to the Internment and authors of eleven of the textbooks do not feel that the Internment has significant implications beyond reparations in the late 1980s. As a result, the consensus among textbook authors seems to be that the

[82] Bennett, 199-200.
[83] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 819.
[84] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 819.
[85] Cayton et al., 626-27.
[86] Cayton et al., 626-27.
[87] Cayton et al., 626-27.
[88] *The Americans*, 803.

Internment was a unique byproduct of the circumstances that arose following Pearl Harbor, and prevented a temporary lapse in judgment on the part of the American government that was sufficiently remedied half a century after the war and need not be discussed further today.

Specific examples from textbooks reinforce this point. In *History Alive!: Pursuing American Ideals*, the Teachers' Curriculum Institute concludes its one and a half pages on the Internment by emphasizing what in reality were limited numbers of Japanese allowed to leave the camps over the course of the war, Nisei military service, and what the authors construct as an abrupt end to the policy of Internment on the part of a newly-enlightened government:

> As early as 1942, while the camps were still filling up, the government realized that the threat of a West Coast invasion had passed. Officials began allowing certain groups of Japanese Americans to leave the camps… In 1944, the government began letting the remaining internees return to the West Coast. Within the next year, all were free to leave the camps.[89]

While *Korematsu* is mentioned in passing, no attention is given to the aftermath of the Internment: the prejudice and bleak conditions faced by Japanese Americans returning home, any of the other Supreme Court cases related to Internment or their lasting precedents, the reparations, or any continued relevance the Internment has today.[90] The section on Internment in Nash's *American Odyssey* concludes with a subsection titled, "Judicial Rulings Support Relocation," suggesting that the Supreme Court's considerations of Internment during and after the war were unanimous, universally concluded in favor of Internment, and served as the final word of the Internment conversation.[91] Only one dissenting justice is namelessly quoted as having deemed the Internment the "legalization of racism," but Nash notes that this was irrelevant because at that point "the camps were being closed down by then."[92] The section concludes on a strangely optimistic note: after mentioning that Fred Korematsu won the

[89] Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 455.
[90] Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 455.
[91] Nash, 548.
[92] Nash, 548.

Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1998—only a few sentences below stating that the Court upheld Internment in his 1944 case—Nash wraps up the chapter with a small paragraph about "gains and losses in civil rights and liberties," which he ends by stating, "As the war ended, Americans could only hope for a more just, prosperous, and peaceful postwar world."[93] No further mention of the Internment or its legacy is made. Finally, in *The American Promise*, Roark et al. abruptly end their brief section on "Home-Front Security" (read: "The Internment") two sentences after introducing the Internment camps themselves:

> Although several thousand Japanese Americans served with distinction in the U.S. armed forces and no case of subversion by a Japanese American was ever uncovered, the Supreme Court, in its 1944 *Korematsu* decision, upheld Executive Order 9066's blatant violation of constitutional rights as justified by 'military necessity.'[94]

Not only does this conclusion fail to acknowledge the consequences of Internment for the Japanese Americans, let alone the nation as a whole, it omits discussion of additional Supreme Court cases, the legacy of the *Korematsu* decision, dissenting opinions, reparations, and, perhaps most importantly, critical analysis of the Court's decision. The section effectively tells students that the Supreme Court said the Internment was okay and that was that, without doing any work to engage with the decision or the precedent it has set.

Decontextualizing the Internment further, none of the authors of the twelve textbooks examined discuss the continued prejudice, violence, and other challenges faced by Japanese Americans leaving the camps to return home. In doing so, textbook authors reinforce the idea of the Internment as an isolated event, when, in reality, it would have consequences for Japanese Americans for decades to come. In reality, even after the end of the war, Japanese Americans on the West Coast faced intense racial hatred and threats in their former hometowns: "anti-Japanese rallies in Brawley, California, and Bellevue, Washington; shots fired at Japanese homes in

[93] Nash, 548.
[94] Roark et al., 834-35.

Livingston, California; gasoline fires at a San Jose home; and the boycott of a Japanese farmer in Portland."[95]

In Hood River, Oregon, where hostilities were particularly intense, the mayor announced, "Ninety percent are against the Japs! We must let the Japanese know they're not welcome here."[96] Newspapers printed full-page advertisements featuring the signatures of "hundreds of community residents" that "warned 'So Sorry Please! Japs Are Not Wanted in Hood River.'"[97] Additionally, a veterans' group "proposed a constitutional amendment" to revoke citizenship from Nisei, and Hood River residents—like those of eight other cities—erased the Nisei veterans' names "from the downtown community honor roll."[98] Businesses closed their doors to Japanese American customers in attempts to pressure them to leave the community.[99] Other storeowners forced Japanese Americans to purchase goods secretly through backdoor entrances, and only at night, in order to avoid being caught selling to Japanese Americans.[100] Former internees and Japanese American veterans alike found "their homes and orchards ravaged" upon returning—arsonists had burned their property, others had killed their pets and shot their buildings and vehicles, many robbed their homes, and, in one particularly sinister case, "hung dripping bacon in [a] home, leaving a permanent, acrid smell in the soaked floors."[101] Tragically, the treatment faced by Japanese Americans returning home to Hood River was far from exceptional, and certainly entails a significant continuation of the Internment story. However, authors of the twelve textbooks I examined universally failed to provide this chapter in the story, leaving the Internment—besides the reparations story— at the gates of the camps.

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[95] Linda Tamura, "'Wrong Face, Wrong Name': The Return of Japanese American Veteran to Hood River, Oregon, after World War II," in *remapping Asian American history*, ed. Sucheng Chan (Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2003), 115.

[96] Tamura, 115.
[97] Tamura, 107.
[98] Tamura, 108, 115.
[99] Tamura, 116-17.
[100] Tamura, 116-17.
[101] Tamura, 117.

Essentially, by engaging in the practice of "mentioning" in their accounts of Internment, textbook authors provide a conciliatory and de-historicized account of both the events of the Internment and Japanese American experiences more broadly. Taking the Internment out of its larger historical context means that textbook authors "cannot convey the complexity of a historical moment which encompasses both victimization and agency and which raises critical questions for all Americans about the fragile nature of democracy."[102] In omitting connections between the Internment and American politics today, textbook authors fail to acknowledge the continued relevance of the Internment and the mythical status of the United States' consistent trajectory toward tolerance. In the post-9/11 era, understanding the Japanese American Internment has renewed significance in the history classroom as a frame of reference for discussing and debating questions about the war on terror and the treatment of Arab and Muslim Americans. Seattle University Law Professor Margaret Chon observes that post-9/11, "discrimination has been manifested primarily against people of Middle Eastern descent" and that "Unmistakable historical parallels can be drawn to the prejudice and discrimination experienced by Japanese Americans during World War II" from that experienced by Arabs and Muslims today.[103] Chon concludes, "we have a lot of work to do to make these and other links visible, to re-frame dominant narratives so as to better address the heterogeneous nature of our identity politics…and to interrupt the circulation…of toxic cultural memes."[104] Even former President George W. Bush acknowledged the link, referring to the War in the Pacific as he told U.S. military servicemen, "Once again, we face determined enemies who follow a ruthless ideology that despises everything America stands for," implying that the Imperial Japanese of

[102] David Yoo, "Captivating Memories: Museology, Concentration Camps, and Japanese American History," *American Quarterly* 48, no. 4 (1996): 695.
[103] Margaret Chon, "Remembering and Repairing the Error Before Us, In Our Presence," *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 8, no. 2 (2010): 644-5.
[104] Chon, 645.

World War II and the Muslim terrorists of today have constituted comparable, if not identical, threats to the United States.[105]

The federal government's loyalty screening program during the Internment "condemned more than one out of every four" Japanese Americans—it remains the most significant and suspicious government targeting of a racial group in American history.[106] However, in the wake of 9/11, the possibility for a repetition—this time targeting Arab and Muslim Americans—is possible: University of North Carolina Law Professor Eric L. Muller cautions, "we have not yet heard calls for mass loyalty screening of citizens. But there is no telling what the future holds."[107] In fact, Muller argues, the situation is arguably already more severe, as "in the wake of the attack, American citizens…have been convicted of providing support to terrorist organizations…a worrisome contrast with World War II, when no person of Japanese ancestry was ever convicted of pro-Axis spying or sabotage."[108] Muller highlights a 2006 Gallup poll that found that 40% of Americans "admitted to feeling at least some prejudice against Muslims" and "supported the idea of requiring all Muslims—U.S. citizens and aliens alike—to carry a special identification card."[109] Additionally, Muller notes that the poll found that 33% of Americans "reported believing that Muslims in the United States are sympathetic to al-Qaeda."[110] These results parallel the fears and paranoia surrounding attitudes toward Japanese Americans during WWII—the very suspicions and xenophobia that led to the Internment in the first place.

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[105] Heartfield, 443.
[106] Eric L. Muller, *American Inquisition: The Hunt for Japanese American Disloyalty in World War II* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1.
[107] Muller, 4.
[108] Muller, 4.
[109] Muller, 146-7.
[110] Muller, 147.

Reducing the World War II History of Hawai'i to Pearl Harbor

The authors of all twelve of the textbooks discuss Hawai'i in their sections on World War II only in their descriptions of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Consequently, textbook authors do not explore the unique situation of Hawai'i during the war—erased from the narrative are the extremely harsh conditions under which Japanese Americans in Hawai'i lived, including martial law, immense anti-Japanese prejudice, and other significant restrictions imposed on Japanese Americans on the islands. Furthermore, as a result of this reduction, eleven out of the twelve textbooks presently examined fail to mention the occurrence of an Internment in Hawai'i. In *The Americans*, the only textbook that discusses the Internment in Hawai'i, the authors offer little more than a conservative estimate of the number of Japanese Americans interned on the islands.[111] Ogawa's 2004 study of high school history textbooks found a similar pattern of absence and inaccuracy regarding the situation with Japanese American experiences in Hawai'i during World War II, observing most textbooks excluded Hawai'i altogether, while others misreported that the Internment did not affect the islands.[112] Historian Greg Robinson problematizes the exclusion of Hawai'i from the Internment narrative, writing that a

> …troubling problem with the conventional narrative is that it discusses…the treatment of Japanese Americans only within fixed spatial and national boundaries, as part of internal (and mainland) American history. Yet the confinement policy fits into a wider international…pattern of official treatment of people of Japanese ancestry, and it is imperative to study other areas in order to understand in-depth the experience of West Coast Japanese Americans.[113]

Writing Hawai'i out of the Internment story narrows the frame through which students understand the federal government's actions and policies toward Japanese Americans

[111] *The Americans*, 800.
[112] Masato Ogawa, "Treatment of Japanese-American Internment During World War II in U.S. History Textbooks," *International Journal of Social Education* 19, no. 1 (2004): 40-42.
[113] Robinson, 5.

surrounding World War II, and reinforces ideas about the Internment—and anti-Japanese (or, more broadly, anti-Asian) prejudice—as anomalous in American history.

Furthermore, the textbooks fail to acknowledge that the white American public, as well as representatives of the federal government and military officials, variably sought a full-scale Internment policy like that of the West Coast in Hawai'i. Much of the white public's discomfort was rooted in the history of Hawai'i as an area largely populated by persons of Japanese descent—a frightening challenge for a nation that saw itself first and foremost as white. In the following paragraphs, I will provide a "corrective" to the erasure of Japanese American history in Hawai'i leading up to, and including, the Internment that took place there, in order to illustrate the significance of this history in framing students' understanding of anti-Japanese prejudice, Japanese American history, and the history of the Internment.

Japanese immigrants had been coming to Hawai'i since 1868, originally drawn to the islands by indigenous people in need of a larger labor supply.[114] With the arrival of whites in the following years, the plantation industry grew rapidly, exploding the demand for laborers.[115] As a result—and despite the exploitative and harsh labor conditions—Japanese immigrants arrived on the islands in the thousands, with their numbers reaching a height of roughly 127,000 at the turn of the twentieth century.[116]

As tensions with Japan over control of the Pacific heightened, public anxieties about Japanese immigrants grew—and, in Hawai'i, nearly 40 percent of the population was Japanese by the 1920s.[117] A labor strike on a sugar plantation in 1920 led to the *haole*[118] characterizing the

[114] Chun-Hoon, 46.
[115] Chun-Hoon, 46.
[116] Chun-Hoon, 46.
[117] Robinson, 19.
[118] *Haole* are the whites, traditionally elites, in Hawai'i.

Japanese workers as untrustworthy, greedy, and plotting to take over the island.[119] In the years that followed, the provisional government of Hawai'i passed a series of laws that imposed taxes and fees on Japanese schools in the island with the aim of forcing them to close their doors, and simultaneously segregated the public schools by implementing an English language requirement that Japanese laborers' children could not hope to pass.[120] The Hawai'ian Sugar Planters Association, which had previously supported Buddhist and other cultural facilities for Japanese laborers in the hope that it might appease them, similarly pulled funding.[121]

From the moment of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, such animosity and suspicion from the public toward Japanese Americans in Hawai'i only continued to grow, with many prominent businessmen advocating for the relocation of persons of Japanese descent to remote islands like the former leper colony Moloka'i or even to the mainland for mass incarceration.[122] Community leaders across the board—educators, journalists, lawyers, and businessmen—fueled these broad fears by fabricating charges of espionage, subversion, sabotage, and presumed disloyalty among all Japanese Americans in Hawai'i.[123] While none of these charges were substantiated or proven, the damage had been done and the *haole* came out firmly against Japanese Americans, deciding that without exception, their "Americanism" and therefore their loyalty was "hyphenated" and that as such they were fundamentally Japanese—enemies above all.[124] Effectively, Hawai'i was ground zero for Internment policy, and as such, when textbook authors write the islands out of the Internment history, students are left with an incomplete understanding of the historical context from which the Internment emerged.

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[119] Robinson, 19-20.
[120] Robinson, 20.
[121] Robinson, 20.
[122] Robinson, 115.
[123] Robinson, 115.
[124] John W. Dower, *Cultures of War* (New York: W.W. Norton / The New Press, 2010), 63.

The government was no less generous in their assumptions, largely pressured by the wholesale, public condemnation of the Japanese Americans to take an aggressive stance in securing the nation's defense and perceived security. In the years preceding the war, American politicians largely shot down the possibility of Hawai'ian statehood with arguments rooted in anti-Japanese appeals, given the demographic makeup of the island and its sizeable Japanese population.[125] In particular, southern Democrats opposed the question of Hawai'ian statehood because, as Mississippi Senator James Eastland put it, Hawai'ian representation in the Senate—likely in the form of Japanese senators—would lead to "two votes" for socialism and against segregation, as well as "two votes against the South" overall.[126]

Textbook authors additionally leave out the lengthy history preceding Internment in Hawai'i of the US federal government preparing for securing the nation in event of conflict with Japan. Indeed, the federal government developed plans for dealing with what they believed would be disloyalty on the part of the considerable number of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i in the two decades leading up to the war, and included Internment, surveillance, exclusion from employment in military areas, and martial law because of widespread concerns among *haole* and mainland white leaders about the size of the Japanese population on the islands.[127] Espionage rumors in May, 1941 led to the arrest of eighty mostly Issei Japanese American fishermen in Hawai'i, whose boats were seized "on charges of false registration."[128] Soon thereafter, on November 4, 1941—just over a month *before* the attack on Pearl Harbor—Secretary of War Stimson recommended that military leaders in Hawai'i declare martial law in order "to prevent subversive activities" that might occur because of the substantial "enemy alien" population.[129]

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[125] Howard, 59.
[126] Howard, 60; Robinson, 28.
[127] Robinson, 32-33, 48.
[128] Robinson, 47.
[129] Robinson, 48.

Following Pearl Harbor, the period of martial law under General Emmons saw the implementation of 181 general military orders that created curfews, rationing procedures, mail screening, and censorship, among other restrictions.[130] Though technically applied universally to the population in Hawai'i, "it was widely understood that [the orders] existed in large part to control the local Japanese," and many provisions targeted the Japanese American population specifically, such as the seizure of Japanese American owned buildings and the closure of their schools.[131] Other targeted restrictions made it so that Japanese Americans could not enter certain areas of O'ahu, despite the fact that many lived and worked in these vicinities.[132] Given no time or opportunity to retrieve personal belongings or visit their homes, roughly 1,500 Japanese Americans were required to leave the Iwilei district of Honolulu overnight.[133] Furthermore, General Emmons "discharged without warning" the 317 Nisei serving in the local military and created a formal body of *haole* and native Hawai'ians to monitor local Japanese Americans.[134] Textbook authors' erasure of this portion of the Internment history of prejudice and suspicion toward Japanese Americans eliminates the challenging realities martial law presented in its restrictions on Japanese Americans in Hawai'i—a significant and unique layer of anti-Japanese prejudice in the World War II story.

In early 1942, Navy Secretary Frank Knox voiced support for the containment of Japanese Americans on Moloka'i in Internment camps.[135] General Emmons, the military governor of Hawai'i under martial law, had concerns about the feasibility of the mass removal of 100,000 Japanese Americans, but authorized the relocation of 172 "troublemakers" interned at Sand Island—Japanese American individuals who had been rounded up and detained

[130] Robinson, 65.
[131] Robinson, 66.
[132] Robinson, 66.
[133] Robinson, 66.
[134] Robinson, 66.
[135] Robinson, 116.

immediately following Pearl Harbor—to the mainland nonetheless.[136] The Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed J.C.S. 11 to deal with the immediate concern of detaining the nearly 20,000 "most dangerous" Japanese Americans, either by "instituting a *concentration camp* on one of the Hawai'ian Islands" or "transferring the Japanese population to a *concentration camp*" on the mainland.[137] By this point, the West Coast Internment had begun, and logistical concerns about possible plans for Internment on the islands prevented a significant policy of mass removal from manifesting there.[138] Curiously, Secretary of War Stimson expressed concerns over the legality of forcibly relocating Japanese Americans from Hawai'i to the mainland because it involved moving citizens outside an area under martial law and confining them there indefinitely.[139] Assistant Secretary of War McCloy worried such a policy might only "further inflame" the tensions and fears on the West Coast insofar as it would mean bringing more potentially disloyal Japanese Americans to the mainland.[140]

Economic concerns raised by business and plantation owners further precluded the possibility of a full-scale Internment of the Japanese Americans in Hawai'i, as "the absence of a majority-Japanese workforce would have ground the island economy to a halt."[141] It was estimated that over $100 million of sugar, coffee, pineapple, and other luxury exports were at stake, and the Japanese Americans provided the necessary labor force to sustain the immensely lucrative white plantations operating in the islands.[142] Therefore, pressure from business elites in the face of such a dire economic tradeoff led government and military officials to overlook the

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[136] Robinson, 117.
[137] Robinson, 117, emphasis original.
[138] Robinson, 118.
[139] Robinson, 118.
[140] Robinson, 118.
[141] Matthew M. Briones, *Jim and Jap Crow: A Cultural History of 1940s Interracial America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 51.
[142] Briones, 51.

security concerns of America's Pacific front—an area that had already endured a devastating attack from the Japanese at Pearl Harbor and continued to house the Pacific fleet.[143]

However, 1,466 Japanese Americans were interned in Hawai'i, and an additional 1,875 were transferred to camps like Jerome on the U.S. mainland, where they were folded into the West Coast Internment process.[144] Many interned in Hawai'i at Sand Island had been arrested within hours of the attack on Pearl Harbor, or had been monitored by the government as suspicious in the time preceding the war.[145] Sand Island internees "were subjected to continual strip searches, kept busy on mindless labor jobs, and denied contact with families" as well as becoming the targets of most of the anti-Japanese hostility.[146] On the mainland, camps like Jerome in Arkansas—of which nearly 10 percent of the interned population came from Hawai'i—saw conditions consistent with the broader West Coast Internment experience, though heightened tensions from Hawai'ian constituencies removed so far from their families and homes culminated in exceptionally high rates of resistance to loyalty questionnaires at these camps.[147]

I propose two possible explanations for the gross exclusion of this significant chapter in the Japanese American Internment narrative: (1) textbook authors sidestep the complexities of World War II Hawai'i, in order to avoid dealing with the reality that the territory was under martial law, by excluding discussion of the Internment there on the basis of the technicality that it did not happen under precisely the same system or on the same scale as on the mainland; (2) the problem of textbook authors' erasure of the Internment in Hawai'i is further complicated by a spatial problem: Hawai'i exists on the periphery of the national geography and imagination of the United States and its history and is therefore seen as anomalous and nonessential to the

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[143] Briones, 51.
[144] Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Race Relations in Hawai'i during World War II: The Non-internment of Japanese Americans," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2000): 117.
[145] Robinson, 113.
[146] Robinson, 113.
[147] Howard, 88.

narrative provided by a survey textbook. Essentially, textbook authors construct Hawai'i such that it exists almost universally in the textbooks only *as* an annexed territory and subsequently as Pearl Harbor.

The first explanation, that textbook authors simplified the Internment story by excluding Hawai'i because of the differences between the experiences of Japanese Americans in the islands and those on the mainland, suggests the erasure of Hawai'i from the textbook narrative is due to the different ways in which anti-Japanese policy manifested in Hawai'i and on the mainland, which offered the authors an opportunity to streamline and condense their historical accounts. The textbook authors failed to provide the full context of the Japanese Americans' Internment and discriminatory treatment during World War II—a significant moment in the larger history of anti-Asian fear and prejudice in the United States. This oversight, contingent on the fact that Hawai'i was, according to Robinson, "[t]he only area with a sizable ethnic Japanese population that escaped mass removal," reflects a larger tendency of textbooks to relate narrow, watered down versions of historical events to students instead of providing them with opportunities to critically engage the nuance and complexity of such situations.[148] This begs the question of what the purpose of textbook history might be: to educate students with some of the basic facts packaged as the entire story so that they inherit a proud legacy or to create opportunities for them to grapple with the tensions and controversies that have shaped the United States so that they inherit a meaningful sense of the historically-rooted problems the American nation faces? While excluding Hawai'i from the Internment pages of the textbooks makes for a more digestible narrative, it obscures the reality of the wide range of discriminatory experiences Japanese Americans faced on the mainland and beyond during World War II. It may be convenient to leave out Hawai'i because the events that unfolded there in the Internment era do not perfectly

[148] Robinson, 153.

align with the story on the continent, but it is only telling part of the Internment story when textbook authors ignore the experiences of a subset of the Japanese American population under a different set of discriminatory policies—fueled nonetheless by the same anti-Japanese fears and prejudices that motivated the Internment on the mainland. In order to fully appreciate and comprehend the pervasiveness of anti-Japanese policies and sentiments during World War II—and their effects on the lives of Japanese Americans—it is important to consider the full Internment story, of which Hawai'i is undeniably a crucial component.

The second explanation, that textbook authors, like historians and the American public at large, continue to place Hawai'i on the margin of the national imagination, and, consequently, the periphery of U.S. history, reinforces ideas about Hawai'i as an exotic paradise at the edge of the nation and therefore of little importance to its historiographical narrative. In fact, "Hawai'i itself was marginal in American consciousness at the time" of World War II, notes Dower, with it not even holding the military significance that would be Pearl Harbor until May, 1940, when the Pacific Fleet moved to Hawai'i from its previous home in San Diego as a signal of the American government's disapproval of Japan's recent advances in the South Pacific.[149,150] Japan targeted Hawai'i in December of 1941 primarily because of the newly relocated fleet there, not because of any psychological significance it might have held for the American public—Hawai'i as a place, especially an *American* place, weighed little on the American mind in the years leading up to Pearl Harbor, a logic reproduced in textbook authors' deletion of Hawai'i from the Internment story.[151]

Even today, Hawai'i is still understood as existing on the periphery of the American expanse as a place of exotic difference—an idea so fundamentally linked with the islands that

[149] Dower, 27.
[150] Dower, 45.
[151] Dower, 27.

even the school system there constructs Hawai'i as such: official state textbooks on Hawai'i's history strikingly resemble tourism pamphlets and emphasize "Hawai'ian hospitality," according to a 2000 study by Kaomea.[152] Organized by destinations and points of interest in a manner typical of tourist guidebooks, the textbooks treat Hawai'i solely as a paradise even for the students who live there.[153] Indeed, the final sections of the textbooks even include Hawai'ian phrases and pronunciations as well as "local" festival calendars, reinforcing the status of Hawai'i as exotic and removed from the larger American experience and nation.[154]

Textbook authors' marginalization of Hawai'i is consistent with this discourse of "the exotic," which isolates it entirely from a larger American context as well as from any sense of its history, transforming it from a unique and important place in the American story to "a sort of ahistorical paradise defined by 'exotic festivity for foreign consumption.'"[155] Many Hawai'ian "histories" begin with the almost mythic arrival of Captain Cook, signaling that Hawai'i, as a non-West "discovered" by the West, had no proper history before the white man—a phenomenon widely reflected in the historiographies of many places of white "discovery," including, ironically, the continental US, and relegating the experiences and narratives of indigenous groups to the category of "prehistory" and "myth."[156] For example, Nash only mentions Hawai'i in a section on American imperialism, calling the islands a "Pacific prize" for the United States.[157] As such, published accounts of Hawai'i, like textbooks, come out of the West and impose a Western lens of benign imperialism on all interpretations and observations of the islands that perpetuate its conceptualization as an "exotic paradise."[158] Any inclusion of the

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[152] Julie Kaomea, "A Curriculum of Aloha? Colonialism and Tourism in Hawaii's Elementary Textbooks," *Curriculum Inquiry* 30, no. 3 (2000): 325.
[153] Kaomea, 325-26.
[154] Kaomea, 331.
[155] Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 4.
[156] Buck, 12.
[157] Nash, 221.
[158] Buck, 12.

"prehistory" and "myths" of the indigenous Hawai'ians is done in a manner that produces "timeless, ahistorical, anthropological descriptions" merely imagining "precontact" life—what anthropologist Johannes Fabian has termed "allochronic discourse."[159] The result is a "historical" narrative driven by the imperial actors and events that brought Hawai'i into "civilized modernity" as a vacation hotspot.[160] On the other hand, an alternative "history" may similarly paint Hawai'i as exotic and peripheral through the use of another set of common imperialist historiographical tropes: "romanticized Hawai'ians" and "exploitative whites"—a cast of characters that, among other problems such as stark historical inaccuracies, leaves little room for agency among the indigenous groups.[161] The historical tendency illustrated here, then, suggests that the authors of the textbooks presently examined are no exception to this pattern, only reinforcing the historical invisibility of Hawai'i in American classrooms.

Additionally, that textbook authors took the convenient out offered by the reality that Hawai'i only had territorial status during World War II, suggests an unwillingness to grapple with America's imperial history in Hawai'i in favor of telling a simplified "states only" version of the Internment. Interestingly, this decision parallels the political debates surrounding the question of Hawai'ian statehood during the first half of the twentieth century, with many government leaders similarly wanting to write Hawai'i out of the picture because its territorial status, immense diversity and geographic remoteness lent well to the task of political marginalization.[162] Lynching and other acts of white violence against people of color occurred with frequency in Hawai'i, and, like with the racial violence in the South, white nationalists framed it as an issue of remoteness, attempting to literally distance such deeply embedded racism and its gruesome consequences from "the American national project" of "nation-building and

[159] Buck, 13.
[160] Buck, 13.
[161] Buck, 14.
[162] Howard, 57.

empire building" by shutting down conversations about the possibility of Hawai'ian statehood.[163] By refusing to incorporate Hawai'i into the center of the American narrative, historically, textbook authors, like the *haole* and mainland politicians of the era, could hold such racially motivated violence an arm's length away, in a literal and figurative sense, from the American continental core and its imagined "American exceptionalism."

While emphasizing the "civilizing" liberties and values of the US, core components of "American exceptionalism," only by obscuring the imperialistic realities of the American presence in and annexation of Hawai'i, politicians and historians for decades have engaged in perpetuating a skewed narration of Hawai'i's lengthy battle against statehood that de-links the islands from the tenuous and appropriately uncomfortable historical memory rarely presented to the American public: Hawai'ian annexation was only possible because of sheer "imperial force and power" on the part of the US.[164] International political representatives such as UN Rapporteur Miguel Martinez have raised questions over the legality of Hawai'ian annexation in more recent decades, condemning the annexation as violating international law and "recommend[ing] to the United Nations that Hawai'i be placed back on the list of Non-Self-Governing-Territories" as recently as 1998.[165] Erased from the story of political triumph resulting from the US flexing its robust Pacific reach are the many indigenous and other residents of Hawai'i who vehemently opposed the annexation, pointing to the 1893 coup as the beginning of American strong-arming in the islands.[166] Indeed, lasting tensions surrounding the 1893 deposing of Queen Lili'uokalani by agents of the United States military with the coup that culminated in the annexation of Hawai'i under the guise of protecting "American lives and

[163] Howard, 51.
[164] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawai'i Statehood" (dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009), 2-3.
[165] Saranillio, 4.
[166] Saranillio, 5.

property" has led to ongoing questions of whether or not the US federal government is legally responsible, and by extension owes, Hawai'i reparations for "loss of land or sovereignty."[167] While the federal government maintains that the actions were not sanctioned and therefore no obligation exists, the issue remains a sore spot in Hawai'ian history, and an overlooked one in the broader arc of American history.[168]

Historian Dean Itsuji Saranillio labels this historical forgetting as a "systemic and deliberate" tailoring of the statehood narrative by government actors "responsible for normalizing support" who "actually repressed and intimidated Hawai'ian opposition" throughout the process.[169] The result is that the government-endorsed narrative of a smooth, albeit lengthy, transition to statehood has come to define Hawai'i in American history, and frame it in "particularly American" terms: as "a narrative of western settlement and the linear evolution of the primitive into the modern."[170] Removing the historical reality of East Asian settlement prior to, and in greater initial volume than, white settlement from the US, this narrative relegates the collective Asian role to helping to cultivate a cultural and ethnic "melting pot" far in the Pacific Ocean.[171] Saranillio contends that this articulation of Hawai'ian statehood "as a liberal anti-racist civil rights project" seeking to bring the light of the US to a remote yet diverse and harmonious community isolated in the Pacific has "facilitated and normalized projects of colonialism and empire" for the American public.[172] Consequently, this historically "official" narrative of Hawai'ian statehood paints a complicated and distorted picture of Hawai'i prior to 1959, therefore making it easier for historians concerned with the period between 1893 and the Cold War to ignore the nuances and imperial ugliness of the battle over the islands' governance and

[167] William Imperatore, "The Deposing of the Hawaiian Monarch: The Changing Narrative in Textbooks," *The Social Studies* 83, no. 6 (1992): 261.
[168] Imperatore, 261.
[169] Saranillio, 5.
[170] Saranillio, 8.
[171] Saranillio, 8-9.
[172] Saranillio, 32.

status. In light of this, and because Hawai'i existed as a territorial holding during World War II, textbook authors feel justified in excluding it from their accounts of the Internment in the history of the United *States*—which, conveniently, allows them to avoid having to grapple with the complicated issues related to the political circumstances and questions surrounding Hawai'ian statehood.

Indeed, textbook authors' construction of only *as* an annexed territory and subsequently as Pearl Harbor, therefore legitimizes my claim of its marginality and perceived insignificance to, or perhaps incongruence with, the larger narrative of continental American history. Not only is Hawai'i peripheral to the dominant narrative handed down to students through their textbooks, but the justifiably unsettling issues of Hawaiian autonomy and non-Western "prehistory" are written out of the story. A visible gap I discovered in the literature surrounding the question of Hawai'i's place in national narratives and understandings of American history highlight this as an important area for future study.

Additionally, the exclusion of Hawai'i from the textbook Internment narrative is rather ironic due to a number of important issues related to the Internment at large that it could easily raise for students. First, the attack that prompted the Internment—along with the American entrance into the war more broadly—*happened in Hawai'i*, where, in a further ironic twist, Japanese Americans did not face Internment as an entire population. Second, the justification for not interning the Japanese American population in Hawai'i of prioritizing economic vitality with the maintenance of the plantation system over military concerns makes the Internment as a whole seem absurd considering the mainland Internment was justified and legally upheld as a precaution of "military necessity," making the limited Internment in Hawai'i inconsistent with the legal framework under which the Supreme Court allowed the Internment to stand. Thus, the

textbook authors' presentation of the mainland Internment as a "military necessity" begins to fall apart, revealing a justification in line with the economic concerns in Hawai'i: much of the political momentum on the West Coast that led to the Internment there was fueled by white farmers who felt threatened by the economic successes of Japanese competitors—the white farmers played into growing racial antagonism toward persons of Japanese descent in seeking to control the agricultural market and saw the Internment as a way to easily remove their Japanese counterparts from the picture.[173] Consequently, textbook authors missed the opportunity to explore a great irony of the history of Internment. Third, the economic need of business and plantation owners to leave Japanese Americans largely un-interned in Hawai'i rested on their status as "indispensable" citizens because of their economic contributions to the capitalist system, thereby begging the question of whether, because there were no economic objections to the mass Internment of mainland Japanese Americans, they were historically considered "dispensable" because they composed so small a proportion of the population of the West Coast? Considering that most Japanese Americans faced immense barriers in attempting to even immigrate to the continent insofar as a variety of laws enacted by the federal government in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made East Asian immigration to the US difficult if not entirely impossible, an added irony exists.[174] Fourth and finally, the civic efforts of the 169 Nisei who supported the industrial war efforts in Hawai'i through participation in the "Varsity Victory Volunteers," combined with the 10,000 who volunteered for combat duty in a segregated unit—the 442nd Regimental Combat Team—reflect significant efforts on the part of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i to mobilize for the war and demonstrate their patriotism.[175]

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[173] Robinson, 86.
[174] Daniels, 2-4.
[175] Franklin Odo, *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai'i during World War II* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 164, 218.

Ultimately, the Hawai'ian chapter of the Internment story is essential for framing the complex policies and prejudices that affected the lives of Japanese Americans during World War II. Treating Hawai'i only *as* Pearl Harbor erases this rich and complex history, and presents an oversimplified account of the Internment devoid of the nuances of Internment era policies on the lives of Japanese Americans before, after, and outside of the camps. Failing to address or even acknowledge the intense political situation surrounding Hawai'ian statehood, and related questions about the legitimacy of American imperialism, makes the exclusion of Hawai'i from the textbooks, particularly at the moment of Internment, completely unacceptable. Instructing students in the complex history of the islands, and the unique situation of the Japanese Americans and other groups there, would add great depth and detail to the existing one-dimensional narrative of Hawai'i as a paradise, and would encourage critical thinking as students are forced to wrestle with related American actions in the Pacific. Hawai'i is an important place in history for students to engage in conversations about American imperialism, racial history, and economic development, and should be thoroughly covered in the curriculum instead of merely relegated to the brightly colored pages of tourism pamphlets.

Silencing Japanese American Voices

By failing to include firsthand accounts from Japanese Americans in the textbooks, ten out of twelve authors treat Japanese Americans as voiceless, historical objects instead of agents with valuable perspectives on the lived experiences of the Internment. Additionally, only one of the two textbooks that does include a meaningful and substantial reflection from a Japanese American, *The American Spirit*, includes the accounts in the main body of the text: a one and a half page reflection from internee Yamato Ichihashi and a one and a half page story from draft

resister Frank Seishi Emi on his decision.[176] In the other, *The American Promise*, Roark et al. relegates the excerpted paragraphs of internee Charles Kikuchi's diary to a special section outside of the textbook narrative and simply tagged on to the end of the Internment section.[177] In *The American Promise*, Roark et al. also made the decision to include as the sole quote from an internee in the narrative a brief statement from Kango Takamura noting that the food in the camps was good.[178] The remaining ten textbooks fail to provide any trace of Japanese American reflection or narration in a substantial or meaningful form: four textbooks include no Japanese American's perspectives whatsoever, two briefly quote unnamed internees saying nothing about the camps or the Internment experience, and the other four minimally quote internees in passing, with sections from poems and short statements that lack context and do not provide much if any insight into the Internment experience. The absence of Japanese American voices in the textbook narration of this significant and tragic event in American history is a missed opportunity for students to have exposure to primary source texts and to receive unfiltered, authentic accounts of the Internment. Instead, students are left to read a dry, watered down narrative.

Paxton argues that critical engagement with texts fosters healthy skepticism and historical literacy in students, is significantly heightened when texts feature a clear authorial presence and voice.[179] Textbooks, however, that feature a disembodied and anonymous authority penning the interpretation in a supposedly disinterested but inevitably politicized manner merely encourage students "to simply scan the page for what they perceive as the important facts, engaging in little mental dialogue and showing scant evidence of author awareness or independent thought," about the subject at hand, Paxton notes.[180] The result is what Paxton terms a "deafening silence" in the

[176] Kennedy and Bailey, 389-95.
[177] Roark et al., 837.
[178] Roark et al., 834.
[179] Paxton, 329.
[180] Paxton, 329.

form of a critical communicative gap between a historically irresponsible authorial force and a historically illiterate student population.[181] Indeed, historical work is never neutrally crafted or positioned, a fact to which students are rarely exposed, especially in high school classroom environments at which the textbook takes an authoritative center and governs the curriculum with an invisible yet highly political hand.[182]

Compounding the problems of authorial and political invisibility in textbook narration is the tokenism employed to ensure that "diversity" is present in the textbooks' accounts by sprinkling representations of people of color and women into the larger narrative arc of the achievements of white men. The consequences, besides limited coverage of people of color and women, misrepresentation of such individuals, imposed silence and voicelessness in the task of historical narration on these groups, and the authorial transformation of non-white persons into historical objects instead of subjects, is a reproduction of "the unequal relations of power that structure other spheres" and ultimately organize our society.[183] The transmission of these existing inequities and injustices within the textbook framework of standard tellings of history re-entrenches their existence in the classroom and constructs them as seemingly inevitable facts throughout the American story.

Emphasizing the Internment, seen as a blight on this triumphant tale, becomes impossible for the textbook author, as it presents an image of a racist and fearful nation inconsistent with, for example, the valiant image of brave soldiers planting the American flag at Iwo Jima. The result is a retelling of the Internment that minimizes the effects, harms, and horrifying conditions of the camps and the broader experience for Japanese Americans, and ultimately excludes the internees' perspectives, as they might reveal something ugly and

[181] Paxton, 333.
[182] Crawford and Foster, 7.
[183] Apple and Christian-Smith, 10-14.

uncomfortable about the state of the nation at this pivotal moment. Textbook authors control the popular narrative of the Internment, most especially in their primary realm of influence, the schools, by controlling its narration, and leaving no space for authentic, first-person reflections from Japanese Americans in a bland and conciliatory account of the Internment that leaves it an anomalous blip on the historical radar.

Because of the authority of textbooks as harbingers of objective knowledge and truth in the state-sanctioned environment of the educational system, the historical narratives contained within the textbooks often attain the status of being the "official" versions of the historical events, widely, albeit naively, accepted as correct and unbiased. The textbook account of World War II, including the narrative of the Japanese American Internment, has a dangerously authoritative hold on the American public, despite the fact that it "is so profoundly ideological that it violently misrepresents almost all aspects of the war."[184] Textbooks are particularly prominent vehicles of this "official memory" insofar as they bring together "public and popular collective memories with scholarship and ideological and cultural imperatives" such that "history textbooks never simply tell the story of what happened," despite the fact that they are handed to unwitting students as if they do.[185] The consequence is the emergence of historical hegemony: an effort in which "the dominant culture tries to 'fix' the meanings of…representations to provide a common worldview, disguising relations of power and privilege through the organs of the…state apparatus such as schools."[186] This careful management of the legacy of the American nation by state actors and others who stand to benefit from the maintenance of a white-male-driven account of history that proves to be unwavering in its celebration of the nation's glory utilizes the schools

[184] Heartfield, 448-49.
[185] Crawford and Foster, 8-9.
[186] Crawford and Foster, 3-4.

and their curricular materials (namely textbooks) indoctrinate in students a proud cultural legacy and sense of American identity.[187]

As famous historian and cultural critic Howard Zinn articulates, "Unless we wrench free from being what we like to call 'objective,' we are closer psychologically…to the executioner than to the victim" in forwarding the historical perspectives of the privileged, white, male voices and silencing those of the marginalized and oppressed.[188] Placing historical narration solely in the hands of a chosen few, as textbook publishing inevitably does, leads to the exclusion of the voices of authentic historical actors whose lived experiences might prove insightful to the challenges of the present day through their instructive views on the wrongs of the past.

Otherwise, Americans are left with a whitewashed history in terms of the centering of white, male actors as the doers and tellers of history. One study found that more than 70% of pictures in eight textbooks examined featured white people, and that whites "dominate the story" irrespective of the era or event.[189] When events that might reflect badly on white actors come into the narrative, "the language is muted and the description sanitized," and textbook authors generally ignore the achievements, contributions, and roles of people of color by inserting them "only during time periods or events of particular concern to Whites."[190] Furthermore, textbook authors portray people of color as incapable of solving the problems they have historically faced, relying instead upon the benevolence and wisdom of white actors moving endlessly toward progress.[191]

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[187] Leahey, 12-13.
[188] Howard Zinn, *The Indispensible Zinn* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 86-101.
[189] Sleeter and Grant, 85-86.
[190] Sleeter and Grant, 85-86.
[191] Sleeter and Grant, 85-86.

By contrast, "Asian Americans are still largely seen as the objects rather than the subjects of history."[192] Instead of being featured prominently or even consistently throughout the textbook narratives, they are relegated to minimal sections concerning discretely Asian American events: Japanese Americans appear nearly exclusively in the context of the Internment, Chinese Americans in that of the construction of the Pacific railroad and possibly Chinese Exclusion.[193] Asian Americans in textbooks thus become "figures on the landscape with virtually no history or contemporary ethnic experience," as well as fundamentally homogenized.[194] Legal scholar and attorney Lowell Chun-Hoon writes about the lack of textbook coverage of Asian Americans:

> The omission of Asian Americans…in these books can only inform the reader that this group of people is marginal and irrelevant, if not absolutely expendable…these books indoctrinate rather than educate the student, and by excluding Asian Americans from serious consideration or by treating them insensitively, they can only lay the foundation for the growth and perpetuation of anti-Asian attitudes.[195]

He adds that in order to begin to understand events in Asian American history like the Japanese American Internment "the perspective of those who were interned" is a necessary component of a complete historical narrative.[196] He cautions that excluding such voices from conversations about the Internment history creates a false sense of neutrality that "all too often merely neutralize[s] the real significance of events themselves" in attempts to present the facts impartially.[197] The alternative, misrepresenting and ultimately misunderstanding the diverse experiences and identities of persons of Asian descent in American history, "has had tragic consequences" historically,

> …whether we consider the hysterical fear of China during the McCarthy Era…the images of backward and diseased China that colored the perception of Asian immigrants to American and provoked the anti-Chinese movement in the nineteenth century, the

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[192] Daniels, 2.
[193] Selden, 1.
[194] Sleeter and Grant, 97.
[195] Chun-Hoon, 42.
[196] Chun-Hoon, 42-43.
[197] Chun-Hoon, 42-43.

> transference of aggression from Imperial Japan to Japanese Americans in World War II, or the problems of the solitary Asian American child whose psyche and sense of self is irreparably warped by the internalization of an education that degrades and maligns his cultural identity.[198]

Educational materials such as textbooks are uniquely poised to "inject counter-narratives to dominant models and stories in circulation," as well as fill in narrative gaps with first-person accounts from the people who lived the historical experience, such as the Japanese Americans interned during World War II.[199] Including previously silenced voices in the dominant narratives "repairs past harm in the sense of addressing structural damage resulting from…the omission of important narratives."[200] Additionally, authentic voices from the past are pedagogically valuable insofar as they "bring life to history, making it easier for students to relate to and/or identify with the historical persons who occupy very different subject positions" along lines of class, gender, national origin, race, and religion, as well as provide evidence of "active resistance" and agency that underlines the role of marginalized groups as historical subjects doing the work of history.[201] Evidently, the inclusion of authentic first-person narratives, a task at which the textbooks presently examined fail immensely, is a significant part of crafting an educationally valuable historical narrative of events like the Japanese American Internment that presents students with diverse perspectives and sources as well as encourages students to critically engage with the texts, thereby increasing their historical literacy, and do the work of interpreting history for themselves.

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[198] Chun-Hoon, 54-55.
[199] Chon, 647.
[200] Chon, 647.
[201] Chang, 59-60.

Rendering Internment Camp Experiences Benign

The authors of all twelve textbooks examined significantly censor the Internment story by omitting from their descriptions all instances of violence committed against Japanese Americans in the camps. Additionally, only Kennedy and Bailey in *The American Spirit* briefly address Japanese American dissent and protest within the camps in an anecdote from draft resister Frank Seishi Emi.[202] Authors of the eleven other textbooks leave such details out, reinforcing ideas about Japanese Americans as objects instead of agents by rendering them docile and passive in the face of Internment.

Textbook authors provide generally cursory and limited descriptions of the camps themselves that further emphasize a narrative that renders the camps benign, and, in some cases, even pleasant. In *A History of the United States*, besides mentioning the fact that the internees were "watched by armed guards, and treated as if they were dangerous," Boorstin and Kelley provide no information about the camps whatsoever.[203] Appleby et al. in *The American Vision* do not describe the camps at all, only mentioning them in passing and showing a photograph of women socializing in the Heart Mountain camp.[204] In *A People and A Nation*, Norton et al. oddly focus their description of the camps on enumerating the amenities available to internees in their barracks, and conclude the paragraph by stating that "people nonetheless attempted to sustain community life" and referring in name only to the "sports leagues" and "consumer cooperatives" internees established.[205] While Norton et al. does include very specific details such as the "single bare light bulb" in each barrack, these details do not meaningfully convey the experience of the camps and remove Japanese Americans from the description altogether, instead constructing the

[202] Kennedy and Bailey, 393-95.
[203] Boorstin and Kelley, 677.
[204] Appleby et al., *The American Vision*, 732-33.
[205] Norton et al., 751.

image of a barren scene.[206] In *The American Journey*, Appleby et al. provide the blunt and vague "Conditions were harsh," supplemented only by the mention that the "camps were crowded and uncomfortable" in their depiction of the Internment.[207] In *The American Promise*, Roark et al. mentions that the camps had barbed wire and armed guards, but otherwise only describe the climate around one camp and that the food served, while "not the gourmet stuff," was apparently pretty good.[208] Nash, in *American Odyssey,* describes the camps almost entirely in terms of the weather and environment, noting that temperature changes would have been hard.[209] Nash includes one sentence that mentions the furnishings of the barracks, but then a lengthy paragraph is spent making the camps sound like they were a lot of fun by listing all of the social activities Japanese Americans participated in while interned, including "Boy Scout groups" and "trumpet and tap dancing lessons" as well as growing "flower and vegetable gardens," disturbingly making the camps sound almost idyllic.[210] The Teachers' Curriculum Institute constructs the camps similarly in *History Alive!*, going so far as to make it sound as though Japanese Americans simply started over and built fully-functioning, normal towns "with schools, libraries, hospitals, and newspaper offices."[211] The combined effect of textbook authors eliminating instances of dissent and violence as well as the exceedingly harsh realities of the camps makes Japanese Americans seem more than resilient—something that was certainly true—but rather uncomfortably paints them as superpatriots willing to endure abominable conditions for love of country. Ultimately, textbook authors fail to provide students with meaningful descriptions of the camps and their conditions, or any substantial insights into the lived experiences of interned Japanese Americans. As consequence, textbook authors engage in perpetuating ideas of

[206] Norton et al., 751.
[207] Appleby et al., *The American Journey*, 819.
[208] Roark et al., 834-35.
[209] Nash, 547.
[210] Nash, 548.
[211] Teachers' Curriculum Institute, 455.

"American exceptionalism" and patriotism by minimizing both governmental responsibility and the hardships endured by Japanese Americans as they faced immense oppression and violence during the Internment.

Conclusion

In the years following the Internment, many Japanese Americans who lived through the camps did not speak openly about the war, choosing instead to try "to bury the past" and "protect their children from the stigma of the camps," according to historian David Yoo.[212] Many Nisei continued the education that had been interrupted by the war, and gradually found white collar work opening up to them, allowing them to begin to re-secure their future in the United States.[213] However, the culture of suspicion that permeated American society during the Cold War further discouraged Japanese Americans for speaking up critically about their Internment experiences, Yoo notes, "since they knew too well how disastrous the label of disloyalty could be."[214] In this vacuum of silence, Yoo argues, the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) "dominated the public voice of Japanese America," and effectively "contributed to the erasure of the camps from public memory" by openly endorsing the Internment as early as 1942 as an opportunity for Japanese Americans to prove their loyalty and patriotism.[215] As the JACL narrative remained unchallenged in the early years after the war, few critical conversations about Internment happened until the Asian American Movement in the late 1960s saw a surge of Asian American activism and the beginning of critical Asian American scholarship.[216] With the tide of this new activism, stories of dissent and resistance emerged from the woodwork, including those of

[212] Yoo, 681.
[213] Yoo, 682.
[214] Yoo, 682.
[215] Yoo, 682.
[216] Yoo, 683.

interned draft resisters and the infamous "no-no boys."[217] Yoo states that Japanese Americans broke their silence further in 1981 when the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) held hearings at which many Japanese Americans spoke "publicly for the first time about their journeys" and offered diverse and moving testimony about their experiences with Internment and the war.[218]

Ethnic Studies Professor Keith Osajima at the University of Redlands attributes such patterns of silence—notably which he still observes among Asian American students in particular today—to an internalization of oppression in which Asian Americans overall "internalize an identity that mirrors or echoes the images put forth by the dominant group."[219] In the case of Internment, this internalized oppression manifested in the years immediately following World War II by making it difficult for Japanese Americans to objectively reflect on "the structural conditions" that constituted Internment and, simultaneously, easy for them to believe that their Japaneseness itself lay at the heart of the problem—the resulting alienation leading them to seek to distance themselves from that part of their collective identity.[220] As a result, silence and assimilation, as disempowering as they were, emerged as the way forward for many Japanese Americans, who, according to Osajima, "adopted a passive, quiet, conforming behavior as a means to survive racial hostilities" because it was "safer not to rock the boat than to call attention to oneself."[221] Japanese Americans, seeking to survive in a Cold War climate with the larger American public still sensitive to the events of World War II and certainly hostile toward them, had little opportunity to confront the trauma of Internment without finding themselves in the crosshairs. Without Internment survivors leading the conversation, and with

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[217] Yoo, 683.
[218] Yoo, 683-84.
[219] Keith Osajima, "Internalized Oppression and the Culture of Silence: Rethinking the Stereotype of the Quiet Asian-American Student." in *Race and Racism in the United States*, ed. Charles A. Gallagher and Cameron D. Lippard (Westport: Greenwood, 2014), 153.
[220] Osajima, 153-54.
[221] Osajima, 154-55.

the JACL's continued endorsement of the event, Americans felt the Internment to be a settled matter about which they had little desire to talk.

Furthermore, the lack of critical engagement with the Internment on the part of textbook authors in the postwar years is sadly part of a much larger trend on the part of American historians to ignore—if not deliberately write out—Asian Americans from the national narrative. The result, according to Asian American activist and spoken word artist Thien-bao Phi, is that "Asian Americans are the most invisible" racial group in American history.[222] The general American public's "lack of knowledge and awareness of Asian American history and issues," according to Phi, means that Americans "fail to understand the specific ways [Asian Americans] suffer from racism" and have faced oppression historically.[223] Instead of appreciating the unique experiences and status of Asian Americans as a group of color in the United States, Phi claims Americans increasingly "lum[p] Asian Americans in with whites," making them invisible in history and political thought.[224]

And yet, paradoxically, students continue to perceive Asian Americans as immutable and unassimilable—never truly American or capable of becoming so—in an eerie pattern of racial discrimination reminiscent of 1940's America's inability to distinguish between Japanese Americans and Japanese, culminating in the Internment.[225] Chuh elaborates:

> …the historical and legal record leading to Internment and…Supreme Court decisions…show…the conversion of the threat of Japanese empire into Japanese (American) racial difference by government and legal apparatuses of U.S. nationalism through…a 'transnationalization' of Japaneseness. That conversion into a 'Nikkei transnation' enabled the justification of Internment as necessary to contain that threat…what Neil Gotanda (1999) has described as the process of *Asiatic racialization*, that U.S. nationalism has repeatedly denied or 'nullified' political citizenship by creating

[222] Thien-bao Phi, "Yellow Lines: Asian Americans and Hip Hop," in *Afro Asia: Revolutionary Political and Cultural Connections between African Americans and Asian Americans*, ed. Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 296.
[223] Phi, 296.
[224] Phi, 297.
[225] Kandice Chuh, *imagine otherwise: on Asian Americanist critique* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 59-60.

> 'Asians' as different from 'Americans'…Asiatic racialization defines Asianness as ineffably foreign and inassimilable to America.[226]

Just as "DeWitt and Stimson imagined as *Nikkei transnation* out of a belief in the essential and delocalized sameness of Japanese regardless of borders, nativity, or citizenship" at the time of the Internment, contemporary Americans continue to project the idea of Asian transnational identity onto Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans today.[227] When the Cold War ended, Chuh argues, the United States lost its "ideological Other" and subsequently looked inward for a new enemy: legal scholars Keith Aoki and Robert Chang contend that because the modern United States "is not at much risk of literal invasion…its cultural identity and national sovereignty may be at greater risk of 'invasion' by immigrants" and other unassimilable groups (read: Asian Americans) within the nation.[228]

The compounding effects of the continuation of this belief on the part of the greater American public since the early days of Asian immigration to the United States in the nineteenth century, states historian Ronald Takaki, is the endurance of the stereotype of Asians as "perpetual foreigners," a marginalizing label that renders persons of Asian descent marginal to, if not entirely outside of, American culture, history, and society.[229] Takaki elaborates that the distinct differences in culture, language, and appearance between Asian immigrants and their European counterparts made white Americans hesitant to integrate persons of Asian descent into the American mosaic insofar as Asians "could not become 'mere individuals, indistinguishable in the cosmopolitan mass of the population" in the same way white immigrants gradually did.[230] Takaki advocates that, instead of continuing to see Asian Americans as fundamentally distinct

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[226] Chuh, 59-60.
[227] Chuh, 65.
[228] Chuh, 83-84; Chang and Aoki, 321, quoted in Chuh, 83-84.
[229] Ronald Takaki, "The Centrality of Racism in Asian American History," in *Major Problems in Asian American History*, ed. Lon Kurashige and Alice Yang Murray (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2003), 10-11.
[230] Takaki, "The Centrality," 11-12.

from the larger population and its history, "We need to 're-vision' history to include Asians in the history of America."[231] Educational psychologists George T. Endo and Connie Kubo Della-Piana argue that, in the status quo, many textbooks "perpetuate stereotypic beliefs about Asians and Asian Americans," resulting in little challenge to such harmful ideas in the classroom, which means that, in the view of students, "Japanese Americans are still perceived as the foreigners because little or no distinction has been made between the two" in their schools' curriculum.[232]

Unfortunately, a growing push among conservative Congressmen to maintain control over a textbook version of American history that, at the cost of inspiring critical reflection in students, forwards a patriotic and whitewashed narrative, leaves little room for extended discussion of Internment and anti-Asian racism. Oklahoma state representative Dan Fisher introduced a bill in February of this year to cut funding for AP US History because, according to Fisher, the curriculum focuses on "what is bad about America" and fails to properly illustrate "American exceptionalism."[233] Also in February, state legislators in Georgia "introduced a resolution that rejects a new version of the AP U.S. History course for presenting a 'radically revisionist view of American history'" and deemphasizing the Founding Fathers and Christianity in America, according to *New York Magazine* writer Margaret Hartmann.[234] Hartmann further reports that North and South Carolina as well as Texas have also recently considered similar measures, and in Colorado in late 2014, "a school-board member said [AP US History] should be modified to promote 'patriotism' and discourage 'civil disorder, social strife, or disregard of the law.'"[235] In 2013, one retired history teacher, Larry S. Krieger, complained specifically about the fact that the curriculum "mentions U.S. internment camps" rather than focusing the World War II

[231] Takaki, "The Centrality," 10.
[232] George T. Endo and Connie Kubo Della-Piana, "Japanese Americans, Pluralism, and the Model Minority Myth," *Theory Into Practice* 20, no. 1 (1981): 48-49.
[233] Margaret Hartmann, "Why Oklahoma Lawmakers Voted to Ban AP U.S. History," *New York Magazine* (2015): n.p..
[234] Hartmann, n.p.
[235] Hartmann, n.p.

narrative on "the valor or heroism of American soldiers," Hartmann notes.[236] Consequently, the political possibility of expanding critical examination of controversial issues such as the Internment seems increasingly slight, Hartmann concludes, especially since the Republic National Committee "called on Congress to withhold funding from the College Board until it presented a revised version of the exam that 'accurately reflects U.S. history without a political bias'" and is cognizant of the conservative leanings of particular states.[237]

While, as Yoo argues, politics will always have a hand in shaping national memory and narratives of American history, the whitewashing of history by political actors in an effort to promote a wholly positive view of the nation is incredibly problematic: "The real danger lies in a failure to think critically and to be self-critical about our history, rendering it increasingly vulnerable to those who would sacrifice careful analysis in an effort to promote self-serving agendas."[238] As shown in the present study, textbook authors' erasure of much of the history of the wartime Internment of Japanese Americans—as well as of Asian American history more broadly—leaves little room in history classrooms for meaningful contemplation of, and conversation about, the Internment, its legacy, Asian Americans, or the larger challenges posed by war and racism in a democratic society.

[236] Hartmann, n.p.
[237] Hartmann, n.p.
[238] Yoo, 696-97.

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