

Metaphor And Identity In An Internment Camp

Dan T. Molden

Introduction

In February 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing the military to designate certain geographical areas off limit to people on the basis of "military necessity." The order was primarily understood to limit the movement of people of Japanese descent and, by October 1942, all but a handful of persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast had been removed to internment camps. The camps quickly became little communities. Within the barbed wire enclosing the camps, the internees struggled to restore some sense of normalcy to their lives.

Among the other things that the internees did to pass the time was to publish small newspapers. The camp located at Manzanar, California, was no exception. The first edition of the *Manzanar Free Press* was printed on Saturday, April 11, 1942. It was four pages long and typed on a typewriter with hand drawn illustrations and masthead. The *Manzanar Free Press* represented a community outlet: An opportunity for discussion in the camp. Such a voice, whether written or not or sanctioned or not, was probably necessary because of the threat that internment posed to the identities of the interned.

Internment represented a threat to the identities of those interned in countless ways. The two most obvious threats were the actions of the government as understood by the internees and the loss of "redundant" belongings necessitated by the sudden move. Orrin Klapp argued that the refusal to treat people as they expect to be treated (as in rounding them up and sending them into camps surrounded by armed guards and barbed wire) threatens those people's identities:

Social identity rests on a pragmatic relationship, success in dealing with others on the basis of the identity claimed. Should people deny such identity, refuse to treat a person as he expects, it is a severe crisis, say an insult as a shock to dignity. (161)

That there were concerns about the reasons for internment can be simply demonstrated by the various possible explanations for it. The people of Japanese descent might have been responsible for internment because of some misbehavior on their part or the government might have intended the move to threaten the government of Japan (and, of course, the internees). William Hohri argued in his book *Repairing America*, for example that the camps allowed the U.S. government to have the option of reprisals against the interned.

When "any and all persons" turns out to mean all persons of Japanese ancestry—and only those persons—the intent becomes clearly racial. Then, when these persons are sent to concentration camps in remote, isolated,

unheard-of places, penned in by barbed wire and armed guards, the intent becomes dark and foreboding.

It is hard to imagine that in a hot war, with many lives at stake, the highest government officials would make empty threats of reprisals. If the threats were to be effective, they had to be credible. In these remote camps, if the threats failed, reprisals could have been carried out with minimum public notice or opposition. (24).

One simple explanation for internment, then, was that the internees were to be used as hostages—not a very positive identity to say the least. As such, the reasons behind internment became an important aspect in the search for an identity for the interned.

The possible motives of the government were not limited to the fears expressed by Hohri of course, but they also took less extreme forms. One author expressed the belief that the traditional safeguards against biased government action were no longer easily supported.

Evacuation was a staggering blow to the Nissei's deeply ingrained belief in democracy. We had unquestioningly believed in the textbook axiom, "regardless of color, creed, or previous condition of servitude..." Now in the narrow confines of Manzanar, many are wondering. ("Let Us Have Faith." 2)

In some ways, the identity of a group suffering from discrimination might seem less difficult than that of a hostage, but it can also be thought of as more problematic. The war would eventually end, but the internees might remain forever "alien."

The concerns about the physical place of Manzanar are also easily demonstrated. In the editorial, "Police Out To Enforce Peace," for example, there is an ironic and, at least in retrospect, humorous reference to the camps:

Sergeant Kiyoshi Higashi of the local police force issued a warning that gang fights and brawls will not be tolerated and that participants would be severely punished by being sent to internment camp or confined to their quarters. (3)

"Internment camp" was clearly something to be avoided. To be sent to internment camp was a sign of behavior that had not to be tolerated and it was a "severe punishment." Again, it became important to understand where the internees were to understand who they were.

The most obvious threat to identity, then, came from the lack of acknowledgement given to the internees. They were not treated as citizens or even as trustworthy people. They had all been labeled as untrustworthy criminals. There were other threats, however. In moving out to the desolate areas that would become the internment camps, the internees were forced to give up most of their belongings. Those belongings had helped to create a sense of identity for the internees. Their loss, as Klapp argued, amplified the uncertainty of their situation.

We best appreciate good redundancy when we realize that its loss is really an identity problem—that without it we cannot fully appreciate who we are,

our continuity as persons. Souvenirs supply memory, and a memory of who I was at all preceding moments becomes who I am. In this sense, identity is the staked out, recallable, reclaimable part of our stream of experience. To lose all of the past, as in amnesia, would be to lose ourselves. Souvenirs and ceremonies earmark certain parts of the past as especially memorable to be recalled as needed. (160)

Anselm Strauss noted specifically that the upheaval of internment must have created a great deal of stress upon the identities of those interned. He wrote that

The Japanese-Americans were removed from the class of citizens with full rights to a class with limited rights when they were removed from California by emergency law during World War II; and the impact upon the identities of these citizens was considerable. (80)

Given the threat that internment posed to those who had been interned, it seems obvious that some amount of their communication would be focused on preserving or shaping their identities. Although their lives before internment may not have been ideal, presumably they had settled into some sort of routine understanding of their surroundings. The removal to Manzanar destroyed that understanding and necessitated re-evaluation. R.P. McDermott and Joseph Church claimed that when people do not have a comfortable understanding of their environment, they engage in "identity work"—the work of forming and displaying identities—openly:

In intercommunication in which trust is not easily established, identity work becomes obvious. Self-reference can be the topic of most of the communicative work in such situations. This is the case for total strangers meeting for the first time, for people in routine settings undergoing radical culture change, and for most courtship and inter-ethnic encounters. Such situations are marked by senselessness. If people are unable to make sense of each other, trust relations will be impossible to establish, and either escape from the setting or more intense identity work will be necessary. (128)

In other words, because of the upheaval created by internment, "identity work" would most likely be done out in the open. Communication that might normally have been shrouded by nuance would more likely be expressed fairly explicitly. With an eye toward stories about internment, Gordon Nakagawa claimed "the narratives of a marginalized community-in-crisis can reveal those discursive strategies that structure the ongoing process of producing and reproducing cultural reality and the subjects who inhabit it" (26). It is my hope that, by investigating the communication generated by the internees during this unique time, I might gain better understanding of the process of shaping group identity through communication and perhaps expand the current understanding of how communication is used to shape identity.

Given the texts selected and the content of those texts, a primary method of examination is analysis of the metaphors used to describe the identities of the interned. That metaphors should be evident in the newspaper is, perhaps, unsurprising. The "reality" of internment was not a particularly attractive one and through metaphor one

may express "an underlying identity between two or more aspects of reality which appear to have nothing in common" (Fearing 53). In other words, metaphors allow for creative extension from one thing (like a given person or group) to another (like an already identified/understandable group or activity).

Analysis of metaphors relies on what the comparison between those two aspects of reality reveal about the object being identified through the metaphorical connection. Michael Leff, for example, noted:

On this view, metaphor involves an act of prediction joining together two distinct subjects—a principal subject (or tenor, or focus) and a secondary subject (or vehicle, or frame). Metaphorical meaning emerges as these two subjects interact with one another, and as various aspects of those subjects are selected, emphasized, suppressed, and ordered as they come into contact. (217)

In order to present the identities as meaningfully as possible, I will describe them in rough chronological order so that the sense of development across time might be maintained. In addition, I will address the issues of the other "various aspects of those subjects." For example, the questions about internee identity and the identity of the United States population were obviously important in establishing any attempt at identification. Perhaps somewhat less important, but still relevant were the questions about the reasons for internment and the identification of both the physical place of internment (Manzanar) and the actor(s) responsible for internment (the government). These five aspects of internee identity, then guided my examination of the statements in the newspapers.

Test Subjects

The earliest of the various descriptions of internment and the identity of those interned was reported in the very first edition of the *Free Press*. The author of the editorial "Rumors Our Roomers" compared internment to an experiment.

The answer to the first aspect of the identity, the identity of the internees, was provided to some degree when the writer said, "we are the principles in an experiment unparalleled in the annals of American democracy" (2). Those "principles," the internees, were subjects whose actions and reactions would be recorded for posterity. Indeed, the author went on to say that "by our actions and attitudes we shall be responsible—responsible to this and future generations of free men" (3).

The internees, then, were the subjects of the experiment. In essence, they were the lab rats. They could be poked and prodded, but, in the end, it was democracy, not the internees, that would be given the chance to succeed or fail. In part, the difficulty with this identification was that the internees could not be active. Whatever they did, they were only in Manzanar to test something else.

While focusing on the role of the internees, the author also commented on the role

of those outside the camps—the others that could provide meaning to the identities of the internees by accepting the identifications. The other inhabitants of the United States and the world were the observers of this experiment—an audience waiting for the conclusions to be revealed and discussed. The author of the editorial stated, “we’ll be providing the answers that the world and American public especially are asking. Democracy is being tested of its mettle right here” (3).

The rest of the world, then, was interested in what happened in the camps. They were not disinterested or uninformed, they were wondering what would happen to the internees—how the internees would react to the conditions of internment and whether or not democracy would prevail. Importantly, the audience would continue to pay attention and know how the experiment ended and how the internees reacted.

This statement also began to address the third aspect—the purpose of the experiment. What was internment testing? The answer provided here was democracy was being tested to see if it could survive difficult conditions. This answer, however, seemed to be somewhat unstable. There were so many changes in the lives of the internees that even during the relatively short period of time that the metaphor of internment as experiment stayed consistent, the purpose of that experiment was constantly changing. Four days after the original editorial, in the second edition, the author of an editorial titled “No Monopolizing Ping Pong” contended that “this community is an experiment in cooperative living among other things” (3). The author, then, shifted the focus of the experiment from the larger principles of democracy to the more pragmatic concerns surrounding communal life.

In the experiment metaphor for internment, the camp would seem to be the laboratory where the experiment was to be carried out. The expectations set by the popular media, however, would presumably be that a laboratory should either have been the sterile environment of the dedicated experimenter or the cluttered lair of the mad scientist. The windswept and sandy surroundings at Manzanar clearly did not fit the expectations of a clean laboratory.

Finally, the government was the experimenter. In the best case, the government could have been a dedicated scientist searching out the truth—examining and evaluating the behavior of the “test subjects.” Unfortunately, the physical environment at Manzanar made it much more likely that the government was the made scientist bent for world domination or some equally unpalatable goal.

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that a scientific metaphor would be among the early attempts at reconstructing identity given the appeal of science in the early 1940s. However, the inability of the metaphor to adequately explain all five aspects of the identity of the internees meant that it was not viable for long.

From Test Subjects to Builders

In an interview printed in the April 15th issue, Dr. Yoriyuki Kikuchi echoed both potential aims of the experiment when he claimed that Manzanar represented a unique opportunity—an opportunity to build a new, more ideal community. He said

Here we have the chance to start a model community if we all have the idea and ideal to work and serve. It isn't the kind of work we do; it's humility and love that counts; the words and teachings of Christ. We've a democracy in miniature here and I wish everyone'll realize that soon (5).

Interestingly, Kikuchi also began to merge the idea that an experiment was going on—emphasized by the commentary about a potential “model community” and “democracy in miniature”—with another characterization of the day to day existence of the camps as the work of building a community.

Again, the primary focus of the building metaphor as developed in the newspapers seemed to be on the role of the internees. The author of the editorial “Our New Policy,” for example, argued that greater input from the internees on the rules of the camps would be beneficial because as the “workers” conditions improved, so would their chances for realizing the objective of all their work:

If possible, we want to be the open forum for discussion of administration policies because these policies will directly affect every individual here. We know that the administration will welcome a healthy and active interest on the part of the residents as it is only with harmonious cooperation that our Shangri-La can be built. (2)

In a passage full of metaphorical implications, Roy Nash, Manzanar Project Director asked the internees to build a greater Manzanar:

We are in Manzanar for the duration of the war. Possibly for several years. At the end, the essential question will be:

How did we play the game?

The conditions imposed on American citizens of Japanese descent and upon those other Japanese who, although long resident on the Pacific Coast, never achieved citizenship, admittedly are hard. Are we then to nurse our sorrow, water the weeds in the garden of our misery, sulk, complain, lean on the handle of the hoe?

Or shall we throw into the building of Manzanar the creative energies of a gifted people, the labor of a folk to whom toil is traditional, the gaiety of young men and women who know that the human soul can be defeated by nothing but itself.

Mount Whitney already knows the answer: One day the world will know. (1)

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that work should have become a focal point around which the internees began organizing their own identities. Work was the one part of their lives that quickly returned. Although the work was initially the attempt to protect one another from the hostile environment of Manzanar, the newspaper still touted it as the way to continue to “move ahead” within the camp. The simply titled, “Editorial” (June 2, 1942) noted that, “Work is not compulsory here; neither is self-improvement. But for lack of either, one will soon find himself left behind” (2).

In a relatively short period of time, in fact, there was a more traditional sense of work for the internees to talk about. The internees at Manzanar were asked to cooperate with a government sponsored camouflage net production program. In some ways, the plan was a blessing, giving the internees something to do as well as some way of "proving" their loyalty by participating in the war effort. In others, however, it was also potentially divisive. The Geneva Convention stated that enemy aliens could not be conscripted for war efforts. The camouflage project, then threatened to sever the community into issei and nissei. The article "Camouflage Net Workers Begin War Production" noted that:

Since certain provisions of the Geneva Conference stipulate that enemy aliens cannot be conscripted for war industries, approximately one third of the available man power of the community has been frozen.

If this legal technicality can be surmounted, production would be accelerated because many of the residents have been fisherfolks and are familiar with the handling of nets. (1)

There should be little doubt, however, that this project fit nicely with the existing metaphor for the internees. They were workers who could prove their value through their effort. In little or no time, that very argument was being made in the *Free Press*:

The camouflage net production is our test. If this project fails, it means that the army and the WRA will be reluctant to start other industries. It is through the profits of these other industries that we can raise our wage scale!!

The national emergency demands great sacrifices from every American. By our active participation in defense projects, we must prove our unquestioned loyalty. Our failure now would be capitalized by demagogues who are trying to deprive us of our birthright. We must pull ourselves up by the bootstraps. ("Where Do We Stand." 2)

Work was also becoming available outside the camps--topping beets at sugar farms, for example. The opportunity to leave the camps and work outside also provided an opportunity for the internees to prove their worth:

The time has come for this community to form a labor council to act as a collective bargaining agent with employer groups and safeguard our volunteer workers. We do not want them to work below the normal scale of wages paid American laborers. We do not want to be stigmatized as scabs. ("Editorial." June 23, 1942. 2)

A third opportunity for work was the guayule rubber project. Again, this project was seen as an opportunity to "build" good will:

They will have contributed toward the building of good will between the Japanese in America and their Caucasian friends and fellow citizens. Such good will is sure to extend beyond the particular individuals who are fortunate enough to be working on the guayule project. It will benefit the entire community. ("Big Guayule Project Explained." 1)

Under this reading, then, the internees could be active. They were building something that could be seen and evaluated.

The United States public was, once again, an interested observer. Rather than the audience waiting to discover the findings of the research, however, it was watching the

“construction” and, perhaps even evaluating it for the future. In “Let Us Have Faith,” the author contended that the work of building Manzanar might set an example for others to follow. “Let us have faith and build here in Manzanar a testament to democracy, a system so perfect that other Americans may emulate it in years to come” (2).

The third aspect of identity concerning the reasons for internment was answered, in part by expressing the opportunities provided in building rather than examining the justifications for the removal of those of Japanese descent from the “militarily sensitive” areas. The purpose for internment was to provide the internees an opportunity to build something—be it Manzanar or Shangri La—and in so doing prove the resiliency of the community:

It is a fundamental tenet of applied psychology that people do not like to be reminded of mistakes and shortcomings. Though many Americans feel sympathy for the tragedy that befell the Japanese in America our reminding them of it will not erase the condition, nor will it ensure their continued sympathy.

Many organizations, zealously fighting for the welfare of Japanese-Americans have been protesting too loudly the legality of the evacuation order, and the tremendous losses suffered by the Japanese. We wonder if these protestations instead of impressing the public are merely trying to irritate it.

Everyone admires a fellow who will pick himself up when he is knocked down, nonchalantly dust himself, and start over again. Not only God, but all mankind, will help someone who uncomplainingly helps himself. (“He Doth Protest Too Much.” 2)

Under this description of internment as work, the internment experience was a job—it represented a potential community to be made, work to be done rather than time to be served or punishment to be accepted. The camps themselves were the places where work needed to be done and also the subject of a great deal of the work and the government was the employer. Unfortunately, the Geneva Convention made the availability of work a potential threat to a common identity because it stated that non-citizens could not be made to work in the war effort of any country.

As being subjects in an experiment gave way to building an ideal democracy, so building gave way to World War II. The author of “For A True Shangri La. . .” noted:

“Lost Horizon,” James Hilton’s epic was filmed in this isolated and out-of-the-world locale some five years ago. A story of travellers who wander into an idyllic Utopia but eventually yearn for the frustrations of everyday struggle, it should carry potent significance to the ten thousand Japanese working to build another Shangri La in the purple shadows of these towering Sierras.

Hemmed in on all sides by the magnificent mountains, enthralled by lurid desert sunsets, and busy working out the everyday problems of running a full sized community under difficult conditions, the nisei should not lose sight of the distant horizons red with smoke and flames of democracy’s world-wide battle. (2)

Indeed, the opportunities to work in the camps and out on farms were both seen as

part of the war effort. In "We'll Miss You," the author bid farewell to the internees that had volunteered to work on beet farms and, at the same time, praised them for their willingness to contribute to the war effort:

True, some left in answer to adventure's call to break the palling monotony and oppressive boredom of camp life, but many are fully conscious of the role that they are playing in this country's victory campaign. This is their contribution; one of the few ways in which they can demonstrate their willingness to share in the hard work that will insure permanent victory.
(2)

The difficulty here was that the indentity could not cover all of the internees: a split could be created between the issei, first generation Japanese living in the United States, and the nisei, second generation Japanese who were citizens of the United States. Ironically this division split the old from the young by making the older generation reliant on the younger for societal approval.

War and Soldiers

The war metaphor for internment appeared initially in the second edition of the *Free Press*. In this depiction, the internment experience was part of the war effort. This metaphor seemed to have been the most widely used of the three discussed here. Its scope was indeed wide as it covered in detail many of the different aspects of internment. Again, the role of the internees was central. In an article titled "Ours Is 'Moral Battle' Says Vet," the author reported that "We are fighting a moral battle on this front, and by our attitude and conduct we can win a moral victory for America," Tokie Slocum, Legionnaire and VFW member declared last Saturday in addressing residents at the Memorial Day program" (1). The internees, then, were soldiers capable of fighting for some greater good. The United States population was again watching (and, perhaps even rooting for the internees to succeed).

The justification of internment was also simple—it was a draft. In the same edition the author of another article simply titled "Editorial" characterized the "round up" of those of Japanese descent as a "call to service."

Particularly does this [work doesn't equal financial reward] appear to be so [undesirable] in the case of American citizens who sincerely feel they have answered the call of their government by coming here at the sacrifice of everything they held dear to their hearts, including their personal freedom.
(June 2, 1942 2)

Manzanar, itself, was either a battlefield or a staging ground for war. Several days later, in the June 9th edition of the *Free Press* an editorial entitled "Live Thinking Needed" described Manzanar as one of the fronts in the ongoing war and reaffirmed the role of the internees as soldiers. "Ours may be a voice crying in the desert wilderness, but let it be a creative voice of true Americans, conducting on our own front the same essential fight for democracy" (2).

Again, in the June 18th *Free Press* editorial titled "Where Do We Stand," the author stated that

Many of our rights as free men have been encroached upon, but we must make this sacrifice to preserve and strengthen our national morale. Manzanar has been designated as our own particular front. Let us fight as willingly and as courageously as the soldiers in McArthur's valiant band. (2)

In another extension of the war metaphor, Manzanar was also described as an encampment where potential soldiers waited for their opportunity to participate in the battles going on elsewhere. The author of "Editorial . . . Independence Day-1942" contended that "for those whose faith in America burned bright—who were eager to give their blood to prove that faith—this is a very difficult test, a Valley Forge" (2).

In answering their country's call, the future actions of the internees could also be understood in the context of war. They were fighting for a future free from racism and persecution. In his letter to the editor, James Oda said:

Millions of people are dying today for the precious cause in which they believe. This Manzanar is my battleground now, and I am determined more than ever to face whatever is coming. I am convinced that my service will be appreciated by the future generations of Japanese-Americans who will live in a free world, where shameful history of slavery and racial persecution will be completely wiped out. (2)

The government, then, acted reasonably—drafting soldiers to fight a war. That war was used metaphorically is not at all surprising. The war was going on and had been the official reason for internment. Also, there was an awareness that fighting in a war was one mechanism through which ethnic groups could gain some level of acceptance in the larger society. The author of "Negroes and Nisei," for example contended that the

Proposed relocation of the nisei is a step in the right direction. But unless the nisei abandon Negro and Jew-baiting we are defeating our own ends. We must realize that the fate of all minority groups is identical and rejoice that the American Negro is at last being accepted as an integral part of America. Truly, war is the great integer! (2)

Unfortunately, the attempts at identifying were also open to the possibility of creating divisions between the internees. One such division was quite common. The accusation that others in the camp were behaving like children made a distinction between those who were building a good society or fighting the good fight and those who were not. In part, this charge should be expected. The United States has long seen "adulthood" as a part of military service.¹ Some claimed that it was a lack of "democratic" maturity that led the Japanese community in the United States into internment:

We, American citizens of Japanese ancestry, are truly destiny's children. We have been placed in centers because our loyalty was questioned, because we, as a united group, did not take a firm stand regarding the war. The

¹ A common discussion among college students in the United States is the difference between the legal age for military service (18) and the legal age for consuming alcohol (21), for example.

time has come to show what stuff we are made of. ("Where Do We Stand"
2)

In this particular attempt at identifying others within their midst, the question of maturity or childishness seemed to vacillate between the community as a whole and the particular individuals. The author of "In Union There Ts Strength," for example contended that the community was moving toward adulthood but that there were others who remained children:

The formation of the Manzanar Citizen's Federation is a healthy sign that we are graduating into responsible adulthood. Sad to relate, the second mass meeting of the federation was marked by rampant rowdiness of a vociferous minority. The essential purposes of the meeting were commendable and much could have been accomplished if all the citizens had put their shoulders to the wheel. (2)

The use of this particular identity, however, also made transparent the power and threat that the government could be. The author of "Are We Children?" warned that a lack of maturity might lead to the loss of even minor privileges:

The childishness and thoughtlessness of an apparently mature population is sometimes beyond comprehension. When the people balk at such a simple matter as the return of empty pop bottles to their proper places in the canteen, one begins to wonder.

Some of the very people who preached loudest about community responsibility are among the very ones who carelessly throw bottles on the road to endanger playing children and automobile tires. Unless more cooperation is forthcoming, it will be difficult, if possible, to continue the sale of pop. Thus through the carelessness of some, even the minor luxuries may be denied the people. (2)

Even this final identity proved problematic, then. In one sense, this search for identity reinforced the idea that to identify one's self is to identify the differences between that person and the other people in their world. Sadly, in the confines of Manzanar, it was difficult (and would have been counterproductive) to identify the Japanese Americans against the rest of the society. As a result, the "soldiers" of Manzanar ended up identifying themselves against other Japanese Americans inside the camp.

Works Cited

- "Are We Children?" *Manzanar Free Press*. Sept. 21, 1942. 2.
"Big Guayule Project Explained." *Manzanar Free Press*. Aug. 10, 1942. 1+
"Camouflage Net Workers Begin War Production." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 11, 1942. 1.
"Editorial." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 2, 1942. 2.
"Editorial." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 23, 1942. 2.
"Editorial . . . Independence Day—1942" *Manzanar Free Press*. July 4, 1942. 2.
Fearing, Franklin. "The Problem Of Metaphor." *Southern Speech Journal*. Vol. 29, No. 1. 1963. 47-55.
"For A True Shangri La..." *Manzanar Free Press*. July 31, 1942. 2.
"He Doth Protest Too Much." *Manzanar Free Press*. Oct. 22, 1942. 2.
Horhi, William. *Repairing America: An account of the redress movement for Japanese-American redress*. Pullman, WA: Washington University Press.

1988

- "In Union There Is Strength." *Manzanar Free Press*. Aug. 10, 1942. 2.
- Kikuchi, Yoriyuki. "New Opportunities For All Seen In Model Community Birth." *Manzanar Free Press*. April 15, 1942. 5.
- Klapp, Orrin. "Identity As Playback." *Communication*. Vol. 2, No. 2. 1976. 159-172.
- Leff, Michael. "Topical Invention And Metaphoric Interaction." *The Southern Communication Journal*. Vol. 48. Spring, 1983. 214-229.
- "Let Us Have Faith." *Manzanar Free Press*. July 27, 1942. 2.
- "Live Thinking Needed." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 9, 1942. 2.
- McDermott, R.P. and Joseph Church. "Making Sense And Feeling Good: The ethnography of communication and identity work." *Communication*. Vol. 2, No. 2. 1976. 121-142.
- Nakagawa, Gordon. "What Are We Doing Here With All These Japanese? Subject-constitution and strategies of discursive closure represented in stories of Japanese American internment." *Communication Quarterly*. Vol. 39, No. 5. 1990. 388-402.
- Nash, Roy. "A Message." *Manzanar Free Press*. July 4, 1942. 1.
- "Negroes And Nisei." *Manzanar Free Press*. Oct. 3, 1942. 2.
- "No Monopolizing Ping Pong." *Manzanar Free Press*. April 15, 1942. 4.
- Oda, James. "Dear Editor." *Manzanar Free Press*. Aug. 26, 1942. 2.
- "Our New Policy." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 9, 1942. 2.
- "Ours Is 'Moral Battle' Says Vet." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 2, 1942. 1.
- "Police Out To Enforce Peace." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 2, 1942. 3.
- "Rumors Our Roomers." *Manzanar Free Press*. April 11, 1942. 3.
- Strauss, Anselm. *Mirrors And Masks: The search for identity*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. 1959.
- "We'll Miss You." *Manzanar Free Press*. Sept. 28, 1942. 2.
- "Where Do We Stand." *Manzanar Free Press*. June 18, 1942. 2.