Psychic Wounds from the Past: Investigating Intergenerational Trauma in the Families of Japanese Americans Interned in the Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp

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ABSTRACT

The Japanese Americans hold a distinct place in the pages of US history. Many immigrated to the United States from Japan in search of prosperity and a better future for their families. Enduring years of hard work and living in hostile conditions, the Japanese Americans who chose to remain in the United States put their trust in the democratic system of this country. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor this trust was shattered, as the Japanese Americans suffered from not only a loss of their constitutional rights, but one of the worst crimes against civil liberties in the history of the United States. More than 120,000 Japanese Americans were ordered to leave their home and relocate to internment camps under armed guard. The psychological

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effects of the internment have been well documented, with the impact of the trauma generated by the event affecting generations of Japanese Americans.

This paper examines the intergenerational effects of trauma, through the lens of the historical trauma theory, on three families who had a family member that was interned at the Honouliuli Camp during World War II. Their experiences were compared and contrasted to what has been written about families who were interned in camps on the continental United States. The Honouliuli Camp provides a unique opportunity to investigate the psychological sequelae resulting from interning a small fraction of the total Japanese American population in Hawai'i, and provides more insight into the deleterious effects of civil injustice.

Introduction

On February 19, 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, authorizing the forced relocation and incarceration of more than 120,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast of the United States. Many had less than a week to evacuate their homes before being escorted under armed guard to internment camps located in the most remote and desolate areas of the United States. A reaction to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese American internment was deemed necessary to preserve the national security of the United States, and protect the country from espionage and insurrection from within.

Thousands of miles away in the US Territory of Hawai'i, processes that closely paralleled, yet were distinctly different from what was happening on the continental United States, were underway. Rosenfeld (2014) had pointed out in this volume that rather than a directive driven by Executive Order 9066, the internment in Hawai'i was authorized by martial law. As a result, less than 1 percent of the 159,000 ethnic Japanese civilians living in Hawai'i were subjected to any form of confinement (Niiya 2010). Two reasons have been given for this more "moderate" approach to the internment of Japanese Americans living in Hawai'i. First, martial law afforded the Hawai'i wartime military government greater control over the entire population, circumventing the need for a wide-scale internment of the Japanese Americans living in Hawai'i (Rosenfeld 2014). Second, since a large proportion of laborers in Hawai'i were ethnically Japanese, the Japanese Americans played a vital role in Hawai'i's agrarian economy (Kashima 2003).

By the evening of December 8, 1941, 430 local civilians, including individuals who were part of a short list of "potentially dangerous individuals" to US interests in Hawaiʻi (such as male Japanese schoolteachers, community leaders, Buddhist and Shinto priests as well as 85 individuals classified as German and Italian) were quickly rounded up and placed in detention centers across the islands (Kashima 2003; Rosenfeld 2014). Many where held for a few days to even months before being transferred to the Sand Island Internment Station on the island of Oʻahu where they would receive further hearings from Hawaiʻi's wartime government (Kashima 2003; Rosenfeld 2014). In the days following the attack, the list of names and number of internees grew. According to Nishimura (2014) and Rosenfeld's (2014) contributions to this volume, unlike the internment sites on the continental United States, which were comprised primarily of Japanese Americans, the civilian internees in Hawaiʻi were more diverse, including men and women from German, Italian, Austrian, Norwegian, Danish, Russian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Finnish, Irish, British, and Jewish European ethnic ancestries. In February of 1942, some of the internees were transferred to internment camps on the continental United States, such as Crystal City in Texas, Tule Lake in California, and Jerome in Arkansas (Niiya 2010). On March 1, 1943, the Sand Island Internment Station was closed, and the remaining internees were transferred to the Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp on the island of Oʻahu, and were confined there until the end of the war. Although the camp was built to hold 3,000 people, at any one time it held no more than 320 civilian internees (Niiya 2010). In contrast, the Honouliuli Camp was one of Hawaiʻi's largest POW camps, housing as many as 4,000 or more Japanese, Okinawan, Korean, Filipino, and Italian POWs (Falgout 2014).

Nearly forty years later, a governmental investigation of the circumstances surrounding the internment failed to find a single documented act of disloyalty by any Japanese American during World War II (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians [hereafter CWRIC] 1997). The CWRIC (1997) had concluded that the internment of the Japanese Americans was a "grave injustice" and a harrowing reminder of the great infraction committed against their civil liberties. Unfortunately, the damage had already been done. The internment literally uprooted these people from their homes and businesses, incurring anywhere from $810 million to $2 billion (calculated at the value of the 1983 US dollar) in lost revenues, but more insidious were the psychological scars that would never truly heal.

The psychological effects the internment had on Japanese American internees have been well documented, and it is suggested that nearly every internee was affected by the trauma of being interned (Mass 1986; Nagata 1993). Even more deplorable were the intergenerational consequences of the internment, a cruel legacy of the social injustices meted out to internees that had a profound impact on subsequent generations (Nagata 1990). Much of the literature on the intergenerational impact of internment trauma on children of internees has focused on camps located on the continental United States. Little, if anything has been written about the internment experience in Hawai'i. It is important to note that the social and political climate of Hawai'i during World War II offered a unique internment experience that was different from what had been experienced on the continental United States (Kashima 2003). As previously noted, Hawai'i was placed under martial law and only a small fraction of the Japanese American population was interned. Furthermore, rather than the wholesale internment of entire families, and the seizure of their land and businesses by the US government, the Japanese Americans interned in Hawai'i consisted primarily of Issei (first-generation) males. These differences may have affected the psychological sequelae of internment-related trauma, and how this trauma was expressed by those incarcerated in the Honouliuli Camp and received by their children.

The following paper focuses on the Japanese American civilian internees, and examines the interviews conducted on three families who had a close relative interned in the Honouliuli Camp during World War II. Each interview was approximately 45 minutes in length, and took place during the fall of 2012. In order to maintain anonymity and protect the privacy of those interviewed, the author identifies each interviewee by the initials of their names. The interviews include: (1) the ES family—three daughters of a local tailor (consisting of the eldest child ES and her two younger sisters—middle born GF and youngest sister DH); (2) the grandson of a Buddhist bishop who was sent to Hawai'i from Japan to be raised by his grandparents (SK, now a bishop himself); and (3) the son of a farmer who later went on to serve in the US military (RH). Their experiences were evaluated in context to the historical trauma theory for themes suggesting the intergenerational transmission of trauma related to the internment. Their experiences were also compared and contrasted to what has been recorded in the existing literature on the Japanese American internment in order to find differences between those family members who were interned in Hawai'i versus the continental United States, and how these differences impacted their lives.

Historical Trauma Theory

Historical trauma is defined as "the cumulative emotional and psychological wounding across generations, including the life span, which emanates from massive group trauma" (Brave Heart-Jordan, Chase, Elkins, and Altschul 2011:283). The term was first introduced by social work researcher Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart-Jordan in her work on American Indians (Brave Heart-Jordan and DeBruyn 1995). Since the inception of this theory, a resurgence of interest in the study of intergenerational trauma has led to a small but growing corpus of work outlining the physical and psychological consequences of intergenerational trauma. Unlike post-traumatic stress disorder, which focuses on the individual's stress response to a traumatic event, researchers in the emerging field of historical trauma study the historical and social events that lead to intergenerational stress responses in groups.

In her work, Sotero (2006) provided a conceptual model of historical trauma which included the following stages: (1) The subjugation of a "minority" group by the dominant group through segregation/displacement, physical/psychological violence, economic destruction, or cultural dispossession; (2) the primary or first generation's exposure to this subjugation; (3) a physical, psychological, or social response to this trauma (the response may include any or all three factors), and (4) the intergenerational transmission of this trauma to subsequent generations.

Much of the theoretical underpinnings for the historical trauma model come from studies on the survivors of the World War II Jewish Holocaust and their offspring (Barocas and Barocas 1973; Nadler, Kav-Vaenaki, and Gleitman 1985; Prince 1985; Solkoff 1981). Interviews conducted on survivors who experienced the horrors of the Holocaust firsthand uncovered a constellation of similar reactions to this very traumatic experience (Barocas 1975). Researchers have coined this traumatic reaction as "survivor syndrome," which includes symptoms like denial, depersonalization, isolation, somatization, memory loss, agitation, anxiety, depression, intrusive thoughts, nightmares, psychic numbing, and survivor guilt (Barocas 1975; Neiderland 1968). Shackled with emotional distress stemming from their traumatic experience, the literature suggests that the parental effectiveness of Holocaust survivors may have been compromised thereby resulting in symptomatic first generation offspring (Danieli 1982).

Studies outlining the cross-generational effects of the Jewish Holocaust suggest that the traumatic nature of the event had a significant impact on

some first generation offspring of survivors (Barocas and Barocas 1980; Nadler et al. 1985; Prince 1985). Interviews conducted on first generation offspring of survivors taken from clinical populations have uncovered evidence of a myriad of post-traumatic symptoms such as depression, difficulty with expressing emotions, overdependence, and experiencing themselves as different or damaged due to their parents' status as Holocaust survivors (Kestenberg 1980; Prince 1985). When compared to individuals whose parents had not experienced the Holocaust, even some nonclinical (i.e., individuals not exhibiting symptoms of a psychological/emotional disorder) offspring of survivors exhibited a heightened sensitivity to culture and ancestry, as well as an emphasis on the primacy of ethnic survival (Heller 1981). The trauma of the Holocaust coupled with the rich historical legacy of Jewish culture, their religious ideology, and the emphasis on family and community were a catalyst for these individuals to focus on their ethnic heritage. In the end, there is little doubt that the stress generated by the Holocaust had to have a profound effect on the survivors, which in turn greatly influenced the way their children perceived the world around them.

Japanese American Internment on the Continental United States

Before any discussion of the Japanese American internment can begin, it is important to acknowledge the multiple factors that distinguish the Jewish Holocaust from the Japanese American internment. First and foremost, governmental documents purport that the Japanese Americans were incarcerated in order to maintain national security in the United States during World War II (CWRIC 1997). In contrast, the Nazi regime intended to ethnically cleanse Europe of anyone of Jewish ancestry, and set up death camps to implement this heinous initiative. Second, Japanese Americans confined in internment camps were granted some civil liberties, while the Holocaust camps granted none. Finally, Japanese Americans where able to create a greater sense of community within the internment camps through organizations like schools and sports teams, and were eventually allowed to serve in the US military. Comparing and contrasting the Holocaust and the Japanese American internment is an exercise in futility, as the two events are inherently different. Despite these differences, when you evaluate the two events through the lens of the historical trauma theory, it is evident that in both cases one group of individuals (the dominant group) subjugated another group of individuals (the minority group). Although the Japanese Americans did not experience the same level of physical violence and despair as those who survived the Holocaust, the

Japanese American internment was undoubtedly a traumatizing experience, and the impact of the trauma affected subsequent generations (Mass 1986).

During this dark chapter of US history, over 90 percent of all Japanese Americans living on the continental United States were incarcerated in internment camps for an average of two to three years (Nagata 1993). Many were whisked away individually or as families during the middle of the night. Confused and frightened, they were herded onto "evacuation trains" that had their windows drawn and had absolutely no knowledge as to where they were going. Some even believed they were going to be taken to remote locations to be executed. Back at home heirlooms and cultural icons were either confiscated by the military or destroyed by family members fearing they would be seen as symbols of disloyalty (Nagata 1998).

The internment camps themselves were located in the most inhospitable areas of the United States (Mass 1986). Supposedly built to keep Japanese Americans "safe" during the war, the camps were surrounded by barbed wire and imposing guard towers, which made it impossible to mistake the sites for anything other than prisons. Internees faced sweltering heat during the summer, bitter cold during the winter, and flooding during the rainy seasons. The camp accommodations were horrendous, with multiple families sharing cramped quarters in hastily built shacks. Such living conditions challenged the Japanese cultural beliefs regarding family solidarity and harmony, shattered any longtime traditions, and compromised many parents' ability to discipline their children (Morishima 1973).

The Japanese Americans already faced anti-Asian sentiment through prewar laws enacted to exclude and marginalize this population (Park 2008). Based on xenophobic reactions to the burgeoning population of Asians in the United States, the Immigration Act of 1924 not only rendered Asian American immigrants ineligible for naturalization, but also barred any Asians from entering the country. As a result, the internment only served to compound the bitter feelings and resentment Japanese Americans had toward the US government (Mass 1986). Upon release from the internment camps, many families returned to find their homes and businesses in ruin, or even seized by the government. Although the majority of internees went on to lead successful lives, many suffered from a loss of self-esteem, shame, self-consciousness, and a cynical attitude toward democracy (Mass 1986; Morishima 1973; Nagata 1998). In order to cope with the internment experience, internees resorted

to using defense mechanisms such as repression, denial, rationalization, and identification with the aggressor (Mass 1986). For example, some developed a greater mistrust of European Americans and associated only with Japanese Americans, while others avoided any contact with other Japanese Americans.

With regard to their child-rearing practices, some internees made a conscious effort to raise their children to be as "American" as possible, while others made efforts to make sure their children remained inconspicuous in society (Kitano and Kikumura 1976; Morishima 1973). Some even refused to discuss anything about their internment experience with family members (Daniels 1986). In her study on the cross-generational consequences of the Japanese American Internment, Nagata (1993) found that children whose parents were both interned had a greater attitudinal preference for Japanese Americans. Furthermore, children of former internees also reported feeling less secure about their status and rights in the United States than children whose parents were not interned. In conclusion, the extant literature underscores the magnitude of the trauma caused by the internment, and the cross-generational effects of this trauma.

The Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp Experience

The story behind the Honouliuli Camp diverges slightly from its continental US counterparts due to the social, economic, and political climate of Hawai'i during the 1940s. By the beginning of World War II, Japanese Americans made up 37.3 percent of Hawai'i's total population (Kashima 2003). Initially, some members in the US government supported the idea of interning all individuals of Japanese ancestry living in Hawai'i. When the government evaluated this proposed policy more carefully, it became glaringly apparent that this would not be an economically viable option. A large proportion of sugarcane workers were ethnically Japanese American, and the wholesale imprisonment of these workers would bring Hawai'i's economy to a screeching halt. In addition to this, martial law was declared in Hawai'i, which in effect allowed the Hawai'i wartime military government even greater control over the entire population in comparison to the widespread internment of the Japanese Americans (Rosenfeld 2014). As a result, only a small percentage of Japanese Americans living in Hawai'i were actually interned. Furthermore, the conditions of the Japanese American internment in Hawai'i directly affected the composition of the internees in the Honouliuli Camp, which consisted primarily of Issei (or first generation Japanese American) males.

The Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp was opened in March 1943 to house the internees who were confined in the Sand Island Internment Station, and who were not transferred to an internment camp on the continental United States (Kashima 2003). In a similar vein to what was occurring on the continental United States, the Japanese Americans that were eventually interned in the Honouliuli Camp and their families also faced the anxiety of an uncertain future. By the evening of December 7, 1941, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, FBI agents and the army were mobilized to round up individuals on the custodial detention list (i.e., the list of individuals deemed as potentially dangerous to US government interests) (Kashima 2003). Just as on the continental United States, individuals on the list were seized from their homes without reason or warning. As traumatic as the internment was for the internees, the children of the internees faced similar traumatic experiences themselves. ES, the eldest daughter of a tailor who was interned in Honouliuli recalls the day her father was taken away, feeling as if he simply vanished:

> Well, to me he disappeared. There were some men who came and after their talk he went with them, and I never saw him for a while after that.... I was confused. I thought "what's happening here?" and before that too, you know, war had broken out and that's traumatic in itself. I mean I didn't connect it to my dad, but the fact that he was taken away really impacted me. All of us, I think. (ES Family 2012:3)

RH, the son of a farmer who was interned in Honouliuli recounted a similar experience:

> I was still in high school and after school I went home and my mother was crying out in the garage and I said "Mom what's going on? Why you crying for?" She says, "[S]omebody took papa away ... 2 FBI agents they carried sidearms," and we didn't see him for a whole year.... No communicating.... You couldn't go to Fort Shafter and say, "[W]here's my dad?" (RH 2012:2)

Both families expressed intense concern about the whereabouts of their fathers. Absconded from their homes without so much as an explanation, the children began to fear for the worst. One member even experienced post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms. DH, the youngest sister from ES's family reported recurring dreams that her father was home, only to awaken to the reality of the situation (ES Family 2012). The idea of not knowing what happened to their father, or whether their father would ever return home weighed heavily on their minds.

Inside and Outside of Honouliuli

The Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp was located on 160 acres of arid land in Central O'ahu. Like the internment camps on the continental United States, armed guards patrolled an encampment that was surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers. The internment camp proved to be a foreboding sight to families of internees. In her interview, ES elaborated, "We didn't know what it was.... [W]e didn't know why it was there.... [A]ll I knew was that as we go down to the camp, I would look up and we would see guards with machine guns.... [M]y gosh what's happening... ?" (ES Family 2012:13)

Internees were housed in prefabricated sixteen-man demountable barracks (Burton et al. 2014). The living conditions of the internment camp, with the sweltering heat and swarms of mosquitoes, were horrible enough to earn it the moniker Jigoku Dani, or Hell Valley (Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i n.d.). Days would drag on, and internees found themselves hard-pressed to find activities to pass the time.

Back at home the family of the internees struggled to make ends meet. ES's family relied on their father's tailoring business to generate income for their family. Without their father, their mother and grandfather were forced to shoulder the responsibility of caring for six children. ES recalls how her mother and her family had to make living adjustments in order to survive:

> Well, we [had] to make adjustments in our living too, everything had to be blacked out, and they had a shop [that] was kind of important [to] have transportation, and [my father] was the driver. My mom didn't drive, that put a lot of pressure on her too.... My father was very articulate, [he talked] to everybody; not my mother. And so when it came for her to collect I was thinking "[H]ow's she gonna do it?" But I guess she did.... [It] was really hard for her. (ES Family 2012:3–5)

RH experienced the same struggles, with his mother stricken with grief over the loss of their father, and his brother having to make career adjustments in order to support his family:

> So my brother had to quit school, he had to go to work right? Back then we had no welfare system; you were on your own. My mother [was] crying all the time "[W]here's daddy, where's papa?" She was always crying. I told mommy, "[W]e don't know...." Mother cried every night. And I felt so sorry because you know it's hard to lose your husband after living together for so long. (RH 2012:3)

The families also had to deal with the stigma of having their fathers interned, and the fear and shame that came with this stigma. Since they could not communicate their distress to anyone, they were unable to turn to their neighbors for support, and in some cases did not even divulge this information to their own siblings:

> I knew but my mother told us—my sister and me—not to tell them, the younger ones. Well, my father didn't want them to [know] ... especially her (referring to her youngest sister DN).... So my sister and I knew.... I don't know whether my brother knew. My brother must've known. But from GF (her younger sister) on, I don't think they had too much knowledge on what happened. (ES Family 2012:5)

ES's father gave her explicit instructions to tell her brother and sisters that he went to the mountains to hunt pigs. The family had to also deal with the feelings of being alone and isolated during this trying time. ES recounted that, "... hardly anybody came around, so they must've known. They were kind of afraid to come around," (ES Family 2012:6). RH faced similar circumstances:

> [T]he thing is that nobody in high school knew that my father was interned. I didn't tell anybody, because anybody interned, they'd think he was a spy.... [M]ost [thought] my father was working all day long, so nobody knew where he was anyway, you know, but I didn't tell anybody my father was interned. (RH 2012:3)

The veil of secrecy only added to the stress each family was experiencing. Both ES and RH's families believed that their friends and neighbors may have known about their fathers, but did not come around for fear of associating with a family declared as an enemy to the United States. Regardless of if this was true or not, little help or consolation was offered to these families.

Life after Honouliuli: Strength and Resiliency in Japanese Americans

The Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp officially closed in late 1945 (Kashima 2003). Life seemed to return back to normal for the families of the three internees. ES vividly recalled seeing her father one day, "I remember ... you know we had a tailor shop right? [My father] used to wear shorts after he came back and he would mop the floor, and I'm going, 'Oh Pop? Mopping the floor?' And he was like [a] king.... [H]e was really happy ..." (ES Family 2012:8). Despite the trials he endured, what little ES's father had to say about his internment experience was far from negative. This in turn seemed to help his children cope with their own experience:

> The thing is he never said anything bad about the government, so that kind of helped us too in a way. Yeah because there was no negative thoughts just that you do whatever you need to do.... Maybe that's the reason why we didn't have any kind of [negative] feelings because maybe we got to see [him] once in three months, but we saw him and he was always happy. (ES Family 2012:9)

Her father even went on to tell her that he was grateful for earning 10 cents an hour for doing tailor work while he was interned. Bishop SK, whose grandfather (a Buddhist bishop himself) was interned in Honouliuli, also had a similar experience:

> He didn't say anything negative, that he was so bitter or anything like that. No. He [said] he was well fed; of course it's not the kind of food that he liked to eat but well fed and he [said] there was no physical or form of torture or anything like that and he said on top of that he got paid. (SK 2012:4)

RH's father was more reticent when questioned about his experience:

> I asked him a lot of questions.... How'd they treat you? He didn't say anything. Whatever he said, he felt it might hurt him later I think, but he didn't say nothing negative about the camp. My father is the type that he doesn't talk—he doesn't want to upset anybody; very quiet, very considerate and he wasn't the type that [would] say anything bad about anybody, yeah, especially the camp. (RH 2012:10)

Despite the circumstances, RH's father supported RH's enlistment into the US Army. RH reported that his father "wasn't happy in the camp, no, but when he came out, he was happy that I got my draft. I told my dad, 'Hey I got drafted,' you know, and good he told me, 'yeah ... this is your country, do it'" (RH 2012:10). Rather than dwell on the past, the three former internees seemed to look toward the future. The positive front each of them showed their children seemed to help their families make the necessary postwar adjustments.

Hawai'i and the United States: The Intergenerational Impact of the Internment

To reiterate once more, there is little doubt that the magnitude of the trauma created by the Japanese American internment affected almost every internee. Long after World War II ended, some of the former internees from continental US camps still suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms such as recurring distressing dreams, avoiding talking about the internment, and hypervigilance (Mass 1986; Nagata 1993). Recommendations from the War Relocation Authority warning former internees against congregating in

large groups in public spaces and from living next door to another Japanese American only served to compound their anxieties (CWRIC 1997). For the individuals living on the continental United States, the internment had intergenerational consequences as well. In her seminal work, Nagata (1993) suggested a link between the struggle some children of internees had with issues relating to self-confidence, a lack of self-esteem, and difficulty asserting themselves and with their parent's wartime incarceration. Some first generation offspring of internees also exhibited a preference for associating with Japanese Americans over Caucasian Americans (suggesting avoidant behavior) if both their parents were interned, and feeling less secure about their rights in the United States (Nagata 1990).

Surprisingly, on face value the families interviewed for this paper appeared to be relatively unscathed by their experience. It is important to note that their present-day views should not detract from how serious their situation was during World War II, as each of the families dealt with their own struggles with having a member of their family interned. Despite these circumstances, all three families went on to live successful lives, and their own children seemed to follow in their paths. For example, RH took delight in talking about his own military career and how proud he was of his children and grandchildren. A good portion of his interview time was spent looking through picture albums. ES's family was very open about marrying outside of their own ethnic group, and over the years developed a multiethnic family of their own. Bishop SK followed in his grandfather's footsteps and became the bishop of his Buddhist sect. His own children carried on this tradition and took the vows of priesthood themselves.

Several factors may have played a role in mitigating the intergenerational effects of trauma on the children of internees in Hawai'i. First, was the actual demographic composition of the Honouliuli Camp. Unlike the internment camps on the continental United States, the majority of the internees that occupied the Honouliuli Camp were male Issei. For the most part, their families were allowed to remain at home and keep their land and businesses. In fact, all three of the families expressed how fortunate they and their family members were not to have been interned in one of the camps on the continental United States. As result, the former internees were more easily able to return to the role of providing for their families, free from the shame of having their entire family uprooted from their homes and shackled with the anxiety of having their businesses and possessions seized. Second, unlike the internment

camps on the continental United States, the rules in the Honouliuli Camp appeared to have been more lax (Kashima 2003). Internees were free to speak in Japanese, and to practice Japanese religions. Probably the most important difference was how the Honouliuli internees were allowed visitation rights. Both ES and RH's family described their visits to see their fathers as taking on a picnic-like ambiance. RH's mother would splurge to make Japanese delicacies (such as pickled vegetables) and fried chicken to take to their father and the other internees. RH recalled how happy his father was to see his family:

> We were able to see our dad twice a month mostly Sundays and we enjoyed taking bento lunches to my dad because he was happy to see us and camp food is different from what we can prepare, like sushi.... [Y]ou know, they [didn't] serve rice in the camp; the army didn't have rice at that time anyway. And they were happy they could [eat rice]. (RH 2012:4)

After long months of not knowing what happened to their father, during their first visit, ES recalled, "We just sat there side by side. I don't think we sat across, but I can't remember. It was good just to be by him. And I remember we always used to buy a pack of gum ..." (ES Family 2012:7). Gift exchanging was also allowed. ES and her family accumulated beautiful trinkets and jewelry that were crafted from seashells, plastic toothbrushes, and whatever material was on hand to the internees.

Third, was the spirit of the Japanese culture and the observance of two philosophical approaches to life: *gaman* and *shikataganai*. *Ga-man* means to persevere or endure, and to internalize emotions, and *shi-ka-ta-ga-nai* loosely translate into "It cannot be helped" (Kitano 1969). This fatalistic attitude about the forces outside of one's control promotes forward thinking in Japanese, and also cautions against dwelling on one's past. It was this cultural belief that allowed the Japanese Americans who were interned on the continental United States to persevere as well (Kitano 1969; Morishima 1973; Nagata 1993). As a result, the internees in the Honouliuli Camp tried to make the best of their situation. In his interview, Bishop SK even mentioned how his grandfather volunteered to clean the camp toilets as an extension of his Buddhist practice in the camp:

> [S]o living with the spirit of being a Soto Zen priest, to clean your own surrounding starting with the toilet is the first thing you do when you're going to the monastery. It used to show that you can become a humble person. And to clean the toilet is to help cleanse yourself... physical cleaning is a form of mental therapy to cleanse [himself] of all the negative karma that he had. (SK 2012:3)

It is likely that some or a combination of all these factors helped the internees and their families to cope with their experiences and to thrive in their post-internment lives.

What the Honouliuli Camp and continental US camps both had in common was a general lack of communication regarding internment-related experiences. All three interviewees had asked their family members about the internment, but little if anything was said. More surprising was the internees almost never had anything negative to say about their internment experience or the US government. There are several theories that could explain this phenomenon. First, as Nagata (1990) had proposed in her study on the third-generation Japanese American children of internees, the lack of communication and general silence around internment issues may have been part of an effort to avoid thoughts and feeling associated with the trauma. Avoidance of anything, be it a thought, person, or place associated with a traumatic experience is one of the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (American Psychiatric Association 2013) and an indication of psychological trauma. Furthermore, the internee's positive spin on their internment experiences may have been a form of psychological denial to protect internees from having to deal with the reality of the situation (such as being considered a foreign enemy by their own country), their true feelings about the internment, and how traumatic the internment really was. Second, the Japanese attitude of *shikataganai* and to not dwell on the past may have acted as a vehicle to help internees focus on regaining their lives back after they were released. Third, the actual existence of the Honouliuli Camp seems to have been shrouded in secrecy. After it closed in 1945, the military tried to keep any information about the camp from the public through the use of military-security classification (Kashima 2003). In an interesting but related story, the 94-year-old grandmother of the author of this paper, who lived her whole life in Hawai'i, did not know there was an internment camp on the Hawaiian Island of O'ahu. A longtime family friend of Bishop SK's grandfather, she was very surprised to hear that he was interned in the Honouliuli Camp. Despite seeing him on a daily basis (as Bishop SK's grandfather used to frequent her family's Japanese-style bath), she believed he went back to Japan rather than being incarcerated. The stigma of having a family member interned also contributed to this veil of secrecy, as both families of the former internees did not want to be branded as traitors, and consequently neighbors and friends did not want to be seen associating with possible enemies of the United States during World War II.

Conclusion

The present study investigated the intergenerational consequences of the World War II Japanese American internment in Hawai'i. Before any concluding remarks can be made, it is important to note the limitations of this study. The material used to support the theories proposed in this paper was extrapolated from the interviews conducted on the family members of three former internees. Since this represents only a small fraction of the total number of internees incarcerated in the Honouliuli Camp, their views may not be an accurate reflection of the general views and opinions of the population from which they were drawn. Nevertheless, their stories stand as important contributions to the Japanese Americans internment literature, as they are representative of a population that is fast dwindling and whose stories and history are in jeopardy of being lost forever. It is also important to note that the interviewees were asked to recount information about events that had transpired over 60 years ago. As a result, the accuracy of the information should be interpreted with caution.

In contrast to families of internees who were incarcerated in continental US internment camps, the families of the Honouliuli Camp internees seemed to have adjusted better to their post-internment lives. This remained true despite the fact that the internment experience in Hawai'i was very similar to what happened in the continental United States (e.g., family members being seized without reason or warning, the anxiety of not knowing if loved ones were okay, and forced incarceration). Several factors may have helped to mitigate the more deleterious effects of the internment and the traumatic sequelae seen on the continental United States. Since only a small portion of the total Japanese American population was interned, the families of Hawai'i internees seemed to have lost less than their continental US counterparts. For example, family units were generally left intact and unbroken. As a result, family members who were not incarcerated were able to tend to their homes and continue to operate family businesses. One of the most important differences between the continental US camps and Honouliuli was the more relaxed visitation rights that the Honouliuli internees were allowed. Despite the ominous guard towers, machine-gun nests, and barbed wire, trips to see family members interned in the Honouliuli Camp took on a level of gaiety that was not seen in any other camp. Family members were allowed to converse in Japanese with internees, and even participate in a limited amount of gift exchange.

On the other hand, there was an unnerving amount of silence around the internment. The veil of silence and secrecy was thickened by a lack of communication about the Honouliuli Camp. In a way, the topic of the internment became a taboo subject. Stigma and shame plagued family members of internees that were further exacerbated by wartime fear and hysteria. Friends and neighbors seemed to limit their contact with some of these families for fear of being associated with a family who had a member "branded" as an enemy of the United States. Although the families interviewed in this study seemed relatively happy and untouched by their experience, a faint shadow cast by the internment seemed to color their own worldviews. For example, RH and ES expressed a great distaste for war, and were hypervigilant about not having any group of people experience what they had experienced during World War II. For RH, the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the events that had transpired in the Guantanamo Bay Detention Camp seemed to echo what happened to the Japanese Americans during World War II. RH was adamant in his views when he said, "So I don't want these things, what happened to me, [to] my family, to happen to anybody here whether it's Filipino, Chinese, Korean, whatever, you know, that's my thing. . . . [I]t's going to happen, look what happened to [the] Muslims!" (RH 2012:6)

All three families were also ineligible to receive the monies distributed by the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, authorizing the payment of $20,000 to each surviving internee, because their family members had long passed. RH, who more strongly felt the sharp bite of civil injustice, expressed disappointment in the government. Both RH and ES remarked that more than the monetary compensation, they would have liked some kind of apology from the government. In a way the feelings of disrespect cast a specter of doubt on the authenticity of democracy and the government for these individuals.

Over the years, dense jungle has threatened to swallow up not only the remains but also the history behind the Honouliuli Internment and POW Camp. Like the Jewish Holocaust (Danieli 1985), the trauma of the Japanese American internment has created a heterogeneous group of responses and reactions in the internees and their families. The Honouliuli Camp offers us a look into the effects of the government's decision to use a different set of procedures to intern the Japanese Americans living in Hawaiʻi. Finally, it offers an important piece to the Japanese American internment history, and underscores the inimical effects of civil injustice. ❖

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