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No Simple History: Nikkei Incarceration on Indigenous Lands

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This article examines how the fragmented memories of survivors can inform our understanding of the relationships among racial capitalism, settler colonialism, and the wartime incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry. It takes as its focus the work of two women who as children were imprisoned at Poston, in southwest Arizona, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Ruth Okimoto conducted foundational historical research on Poston in addition to spearheading efforts to preserve the site and establish memorials there.[1] Emiko Omori wrote, directed, and produced a landmark film, *Rabbit in the Moon* (1999), about wartime incarceration and its long afterlife in Japanese American communities.[2] In their work, Okimoto and Omori address not only the torments visited upon people of Japanese ancestry under Executive Order 9066, but also the ways that order compounded the injustices done to Indigenous peoples whose lands the US government appropriated to build the Poston prison. Such attention matters, for Poston and another prison camp called Gila River were unusual among Nikkei incarceration sites in initially being jointly overseen by the War Relocation Authority and the Office of Indian Affairs (renamed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947).[3] As Karen J. Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio have noted, these prisons effected a double displacement in which people of Japanese ancestry became colonizers twice over on land the US government had unilaterally seized from the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT), in the case of Poston, and the Gila River Indian Community, in the case of Gila River.[4]

Actively engaging with the entangled, parallel, and yet different histories of suffering grounded in such sites, Okimoto and Omori have framed wartime incarceration not as a discrete historical episode involving only Nikkei and their white antagonists, but as a crossroads at which multiple histories meet and intertwine. Okimoto's historical research, for instance, carefully interweaves the story of the CRIT, whose communities and lives were also transformed by Executive Order 9066 and its repercussions. By contrast, Omori's film engages with the impact of wartime incarceration on the In-

digenous communities in the form of personal reflection on how the resonance of childhood encounters with Indigenous people has changed over time. Both, however, strive to understand the structural and historical implications of the crossroads at which they and members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes met.[5] Placing these efforts alongside historical evidence of contact between prisoners at Poston and Indigenous communities living around them, this essay traces the potential personal origins of political engagement among survivors of wartime incarceration. In so doing, it aims to demonstrate how the terrain of memory can, in some instances, shift from terra incognita into fertile ground for the pursuit of empathetic engagement across historical and racial divides. On that ground, I suggest, Okimoto and Omori have found what Jodi Byrd, following Gerald Vizenor, calls "the complementarities of stories, associations, intimacies, and reincarnations that resist absence and possession."[6]

Okimoto has long been sensitive to the entanglement of her history with that of Indigenous people. Take, for instance, her 2001 study of the Poston prison site, *Sharing a Desert Home*. Starting with its title, the work lays out not only the conditions Japanese Americans experienced during wartime incarceration, but also the settler colonial history that had from the nineteenth century onward shaped the site on which their prison was built. Her account revolves around how congruent objectives brought together the Wartime Relocation Authority and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (then named the OIA, Office of Indian Affairs) in the prison's early days, how the transformations wrought by Nikkei inmates subsequently shaped the lives of Colorado River Indian Tribes community members, and how in recent years a sense of shared history has enabled some Nikkei activists to think across racial and historical divides. In so doing, her study provides invaluable insight into the entangled forms of injustice that both shaped and were shaped by wartime incarceration.

Such a complex understanding of injustice arose partly through interaction with non-Nikkei individuals Okimoto met while researching Poston in the late 1990s. She initially had hoped to execute a series of artworks addressing the intertwined histories of Nikkei prisoners and Indigenous Peoples in the region, but "[w]hen I inquired about doing research at the CRIT library, I was told that an application was necessary to get permission from the CRIT Administrative Committee."[7] Subsequent administrative and research efforts brought her into contact with an ever-widening network of people outside her extended Nikkei community whose lives had also been shaped, directly or indirectly, by Executive Order 9066. She worked closely with Amelia Flores, the librarian and archive director for the CRIT library and archives, as well as with the CRIT's Beninese consulting structural engineer, Raul Roko, who as a high schooler had studied wartime incarceration. Flores also helped Okimoto contact members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes who had engaged, or whose parents had engaged, with Nikkei prisoners.[8]

But Okimoto's own memory of life under racial capitalism overseen by a settler colonial government also figured prominently in this project despite the fact that most people in her community subscribed to the ideals of the nation state.[9] Indeed, Okimoto

spent her childhood in a community steeped in the popular mythology on which those ideas depended. For instance, the primary sources from Poston reveal a community that was dismayingly willing to deploy stereotypes of Indigeneity drawn from mainstream white culture. These stereotypes included, among other things, naming sports teams "the Indians"—in some cases, even naming them after particular nations—as well as referring to victories and defeats in exoticizing language.[10]Over time, though, historical research led Okimoto to the recognition that, as Patrick Wolfe has observed, "[s]ettler colonialism destroys to replace."[11] This is so, Wolfe suggests, not because what the settler colonial government builds is superior, but because the act of building allows that government to inscribe its superiority, defined as necessity, upon what it destroys. Thus, the American imaginary of Manifest Destiny helped animate a process by which the US government has racialized Indigenous peoples, the destruction of whom could then be trotted out as "evidence" of white supremacy.[12]

As Okimoto found, the implications for Nikkei North Americans are profound, necessitating that we rethink the history of Japanese in America not as a tightly circumscribed topic, but as one of entangled forms of injustice and struggle. Although white citizens and the US government have long treated Asian migrants as exploitable and expendable laborers, those migrants have largely framed their existence in the US as one of achieving membership in the nation state. In so doing, they have tended to deepen racial capitalism even as they have so often been subjugated by it. In light of Okimoto's and Omori's work, though, the question becomes not whether Japanese Americans were among the first colonizers, but rather how we might act on our obligation to, in Candace Fujikane's formulation, support "Native peoples in their struggle for self-determination."[13] Hence the focus of this article: In looking at the contours of Okimoto's and Omori's work, it charts a trajectory from life within the settler-colonial paradigm toward fuller consciousness and, with that, an increased ability to think across historical and racial difference.

Settler colonialism might seem a world away from Executive Order 9066 and its aftermath. The wartime incarceration of Nikkei involved not the dispossession of a sovereign people, but rather the violation of rights the nation state purported to guarantee to immigrants and people born into the confines of its legal system. And yet, the prisons at Poston and at Gila River were literally inseparable from the US government's mistreatment of Indigenous peoples.

Bringing together the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), the Wartime Relocation Authority (WRA), and two marginalized, racialized groups, a site such as Poston can thus be thought of as a particularly close intertwining of settler colonial logic with racial capitalism.[14] As it had at other WRA prison sites, day-to-day life for Nikkei imprisoned in Poston entailed the experience of racist displacement alongside thousands of other Nikkei while also adapting to a harsh new environment. However, it also from time to time brought complex and largely unmapped interactions with members of the Indigenous Peoples on whose lands the prison stood. As Okimoto and Omori have each demonstrated, the memory of those interactions can help shape the activism of Nikkei

forced to occupy Indigenous lands, thereby driving them away from identification with racial capitalism and the settler colonial nation state and toward a fuller recognition of the continuing legacies of that state's violence.

Contact between Nikkei and Indigenous peoples during wartime incarceration seems to have been infrequent. As Okimoto has remarked, "[t]hough the Japanese American detainees and the CRIT people 'shared a desert home' for three years, we lived as strangers during those years, each group struggling with their own issues."[15] And yet, as we shall see, even that little contact came forward in the memories and subsequent historical engagements of Okimoto and Omori. It spurred each of them to reframe wartime incarceration not as a discrete episode involving two relatively stable groups, but as a constellation of entangled modes of exploitation that developed out of parallel-yet-different histories and brought parallel-yet-different outcomes.

Nikkei in North America were settlers from the outset, and despite wartime incarceration much of their subsequent activism has taken place within the model of the American nation state. And yet, for Okimoto and for Omori, building outward from the fragmented, elusive memory of that incarceration has provided a way to rethink historical injustice, to recognize potential points of contact across difference, and, in so doing, to trouble conventional narratives of American belonging as well as the racial capitalism and settler colonialism on which those narratives depend.

Let us begin with the fragmented nature of Nikkei historical memory, which not only restricts our understanding of wartime incarceration and its fallout, but also has become a driving force behind political engagement. After that, we can examine evidence for some of the engagement of inmates with the Indigenous nations on whose lands they were incarcerated.[16] Studying such evidence allows us to see potential points of origin where the memory of shared injustice might eventually shape action in the future. In cases such as those of Okimoto and Omori, the fragmentary legacy of entangled experience retains potential power, though that power is fragile and requires effort to develop.

Fragmented Memory as the Engine of Empathetic Agency

Empathetic engagement lies at the heart of how many Nikkei activists have approached their work.[17] Rather than seek closure, they aim to extend the afterlife of the injustice they, their relatives, and their communities have suffered. To do this, they take the lingering complex feelings that haunt their past and relay them, acting and speaking in ways that purposefully make the reverberation of that past detectable to others. In so doing, they bring the personal experience of injustice into view, demonstrating the scope and duration of state-sponsored violence. Past and present overlap, creating slippages that allow people with little or no direct experience of mass incarceration to comprehend the necessity of a different future.

Such empathetic agency frequently expresses itself in complex ways. For instance, in her 1999 documentary *Rabbit in the Moon*, Emiko Omori summarizes the seis-

mic impact of mass incarceration on Nikkei culture by comparing her family life versus that of her sister, who is ten years older: "The Japanese American community she knew before World War II was not the community I knew after the war. The community I grew up with is fragmented, acrimonious, my father quiet and distant. The father who raised her was vital, with hopes and dreams."[18] Moving from the broadly social to the deeply personal in just a few words, Omori invites the viewer to understand the fallout of Executive Order 9066 in terms of the daily experience of a yawning sociocultural void framed by the shaky edifice of what came after and haunted by the remnants of what must have been.

Loss ultimately becomes the center of gravity of *Rabbit in the Moon*, which opens with a caption recounting how "[i]n the 1950's a Wyoming farmer unearthed a 55-gallon oil drum on land that was formerly a World War II relocation center. It had been buried by inmates. It was filled with hundreds of small river stones … each one carefully inscribed with a Japanese character … coming to light like fragments of memory."[19] For Omori, as for many Nikkei activists, the history of mass incarceration resides not simply in the historical record, but also in the myriad *gaps* in that record. Absences, losses, omissions, and denials come to the fore. Recovering the past becomes an exercise in bridging historical gaps via empathetic engagement, imagining or recreating or inferring what has been lost or actively obliviated. Omori, Okimoto, and others work with what remains—a drum filled with stones, the memory of a funerary urn, a dawning recognition of the mistreatment other groups suffered in connection with your own unjust imprisonment. In such cases, empathy drives these activists to think of their history as not simply their own; it compels them to identify from a distance with people in parallel yet different circumstances. In the closing voice-over to *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori observes: "The government succeeded in erasing a good deal of my cultural past. It succeeded in alienating me from myself, from the face that looks back at me. I not only lost my language, but came to despise many things Japanese, except food—steaming white rice and green tea were embedded too deeply to erase. I found my mother's wedding veil, delicate and torn. I wrapped myself in it as though it were a fragile cloak of memories not remembered."[20] Hindered from connecting with her mother, who died soon after the end of the war, Omori seeks identification through emotional analogy, a reimagining of circumstances at which she can only begin to guess.[21] This form of historical bridging creates opportunities for thinking across difference as the activation of emotional commonality drives cultural, political, and social action against the oblivion wrought by white settler colonialism, wartime incarceration, and other forms of state-sponsored violence.[22]

Mass Incarceration as a Civilizing Process

It is tempting to think of the wartime imprisonment of Nikkei in the United States as an exercise in simply absenting more than one hundred and ten thousand innocent people from contact with the rest of the nation. But while remoteness was a consid-

eration in the placement of America's World War II sites of incarceration, that did not guarantee isolation. The US War Relocation Authority placed Japanese American prisoners far from large cities, but close to zones that governmental authorities felt had agricultural potential.[23] And in the cases of Poston and Gila River, both in southwest Arizona, the aim was specifically to have Nikkei prisoners "reclaim" the desert for subsequent use by Indigenous peoples, deploying scalable sorts of agricultural and farming techniques, as opposed to the traditional forms of subsistence ancestors of the Colorado River Indian Tribes had employed. Contact between the two communities was not part of that plan. Almost immediately, however, contact began to occur. And while it was not the norm, it undeniably took place and, in the process, proved looser than OIA and WRA administrators might have anticipated, as informal interactions began occurring both within and outside of official channels. Tamie Tsuchiyama, one of the main Nikkei researchers working for the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study, remarked in August of 1942 that "Poston is an [sic] unique community in that it is the only relocation center (if I am not mistaken) under the jurisdiction of the Indian Commission. People here, I surmise, enjoy greater freedom than in any of the relocation centers under the direct management of the WRA."[24] The main cause of this, she seems to suggest, was the OIA's less punitive approach to incarceration, which seems to have enabled a modicum of engagement between Nikkei and Indigenous peoples.

That engagement can tell us much about the origins of resistance to racial capitalism and settler colonialism for some Nikkei activists, many of whom only took on a broadly recognizable political voice decades after wartime imprisonment. Rather than focus on high-profile uprisings, such as the Poston Strike of November 1942, this article focuses on forms of adaptation and resistance to wartime incarceration that arose on an informal, day-to-day basis. While the Poston Strike allowed Nikkei prisoners to assert an important collective agency soon after their forced relocation to the desert Southwest, it constituted an overtly and explicitly political response to overtly and explicitly racist policies. More to the point, perhaps, it was necessarily an intraethnic alliance. By contrast, mundane experiences that both arose within and tested the limits of exclusionary policies can shed light on how resistance to racial capitalism and settler colonialism might find a point of origin *within the day-to-day intricacies* of lived experience, as well as how those intricacies can, in some cases, lead to a later sense of shared political aims.

Of particular importance for my analysis are moments of contact between Nikkei and Indigenous children and teenagers. Those moments arose not only in formal, administratively sanctioned interactions (e.g., allowing the nearby Parker Indian School to provide Nikkei inmates with beehives for honey production), but also in the fricative informal economies that developed in and around the two Arizona wartime prisons. Attention to those moments can help demonstrate how the roots of later attempts to think across racial and historical difference can lie in the everyday experience of injustice. In the process, this article traces forms of adaptation and resistance

analogous to what K. Tsianina Lomawaima has revealed with respect to the Chilocco Indian School.[25] While those forms took root during wartime and arose in a community that subscribed to the ideal of the US as a nation state, they have blossomed over subsequent decades, always with a strong retrospective character and, in the cases of Okimoto and Omori, resistance to racial capitalism and settler colonialism.

By Okimoto's own account, such empathetic engagement came relatively late in her life. And yet, as she began reassembling the pieces of her own past, she realized how entangled that past was with the history of settler colonialism in the United States.[26] Having undertaken work on Poston in the 1990s, she learned how the establishment of Poston compounded the dispossession inflicted on the Indigenous communities on whose lands the prison was built. In response, she began actively studying the histories of those communities, how the implementation of Executive Order 9066 impacted them at the time, and how the region and its Indigenous inhabitants had continued living with the aftereffects of Nikkei wartime incarceration.

Although Okimoto was barely old enough to attend school at the time of her imprisonment, she actively developed a sense of shared, not just overlapping, injustice after she began working with the Colorado River Indian Tribes. Reflecting on her own experiences, she has repeatedly expressed empathy for the Indigenous people on whose land she and her fellow Nikkei found themselves imprisoned. Most important, she has worked to ensure that the history of wartime incarceration *intertwines* with that of the mistreatment of Indigenous peoples within the United States, thereby emphasizing the multilayered character of state-sanctioned violence, the long history of which continues to shape the present. In this respect, empathetic agency and fragmented memory drive her political work, spurring her to bridge from her own past toward those of the Indigenous Peoples whose land she and her fellow Nikkei had been forced to occupy.

Okimoto's empathy has not collapsed or elided the differences between Nikkei prisoners and members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes. Her mention of sovereign status is an example of this; for her, prisoners at Poston were similar to, not the same as, the Indigenous inhabitants of the region. That similarity helped her understand how profoundly Indigenous peoples, who had suffered grievously long before the Second World War began, suffered further as a result of the governmental mechanisms that had inflicted parallel forms of suffering on her own community. The empathy at work is analogical, recognizing the complexities of both similarity and difference as bases for political and cultural alliance. Like Omori, Okimoto has worked outward from the known or even the dimly recollected toward a sense of entanglement—elements of a shared, yet different history. It is a way of feeling, thinking, and acting that gains force from the memory of having lived through wartime injustices as a child; reflection on the sheer reach of those injustices fuels a deeper and more comprehensive sense of how she might work against their repetition.

As Leong and Carpio have demonstrated, John Collier's plan for Poston was an attempt to render the lands of the Colorado River Indian Tribes capable of supporting

not only the Mojave and Chemehuevi peoples who lived on those lands, but also Hopi and Diné (Navajo) that the OIA planned eventually to move there.[27] Collier also expected Nikkei would serve as agricultural exemplars for Indigenous Peoples. The same objective governed the prison at Gila River, where the Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Pee-Posh (Maricopa) communities continue to live. Accordingly, both prisons arose under singular circumstances: The WRA leased reservation land from the OIA, with the stipulation that inmates would help reshape the desert, preparing it for large-scale agricultural production and the anticipated needs of sizable Indigenous populations.[28] The two agencies then ran the prisons in tandem, if disharmoniously, for the first year or so.[29]

While Nikkei and the Indigenous Peoples in the region were mistreated simultaneously and in a shared location, the resulting inequities were themselves unequal. Judged by the metrics of whiteness, people of Japanese ancestry were higher up in the American socioeconomic hierarchy, their labor and economic successes having been made more legible by their participation in familiar sorts of farming along the West Coast and by the resulting antagonism of their white competitors. Contributing to the stereotype of agricultural aptitude, Collier enthused in January of 1943 that "[i]t has been estimated that between 30 and 35 percent of all commercial agricultural crops in the State of California was harvested by Japanese farmers."[30] The implicit logic behind this statement, a racial capitalist assessment of productivity linked to a settler colonial expectation of land "reclamation," allowed the OIA and WRA to rationalize moving one supposedly uncivilized group onto the territory of other, supposedly less civilized groups in order to lay the groundwork for the eventual displacement of still further such groups, all the while advancing the civilizing process through lived, day-to-day demonstration.

This aim of redeploying racialized resources to prepare for the supposed transformation of other such resources also played out at ground level. The plans of the OIA and WRA built on the expectation not only that Nikkei inmates would be able to adapt readily to their new surroundings and, in the process, adapt those surroundings to their needs, but also that they would do so in ways that led them to interface with local Indigenous communities. That interface wound up being a site of important cultural and, eventually, political productivity, albeit not always in the manner white administrators had in mind. Consider, for instance, this memory that Ruth Okimoto dredged up during one of her many return trips to Poston:

> one time, this is one thing I do remember, one day [...] cattle got loose, the tribe's cattle, one of them roamed into the camp and a Native American, Indian on a horseback without a saddle came riding into the camp. And I thought years later, "Is that my wild imagination that that happened? I mean did I really see a cow and an Indian on a horse?" And that stuck with me and years later I talked to one of the

> chiefs, a Chemehuevi chief, and I said, I asked him, "Did the tribes ever lose cows? Did a cow ever come into our camp? And he said, "Yes." And I said, "Did the Native Americans, did they come riding into our camp if there was a stray cow?" And he said, "Yes," and I thought, oh thank God, that wasn't just my imagination that I was thinking of but that actually happened.[31]

Okimoto's story demonstrates the kind of force at issue in this article: a force so deeply rooted in personal experience that at first it seems almost immaterial, both literally and metaphorically. And yet, the very unruliness of that experience, and of its place in memory, helped spark a broader awareness of the constraints under which Okimoto had lived and labored, helping to broaden her political horizon and make visible the entanglement of Japanese American history with that of Indigenous Peoples. Memories of this sort helped lead Okimoto back to Poston so that she might better understand how her own experiences intersected, and continue to intersect, with the memories of those with whom state-sponsored violence brought her into contact.

As Okimoto's memory suggests, the settler-colonial appropriation of an Indigenous sovereign space for use as a prison arguably created an inflection point that only recently has become legible. We can also sense that dawning legibility in Chizuko Omori's recollection in *Rabbit in the Moon* of encountering Indigenous individuals as a teenager in Poston: "I understand that we were in the middle of an Indian reservation. And occasionally Indians would come into the camps, and we'd stare at them, and they'd stare at us. And, you know, there was this kind of really strange feeling. 'Well, you guys are outcasts, and we're outcasts, and here we are, in it for the duration!'"[32] Although recast by the fractured lens of postwar Nikkei memory, Omori's account nonetheless touches on the immense emotional and political weight of even the momentary locking of eyes. In that moment, a flash of recognition that started as brief discomfort—a "really strange feeling"—grew over time into the explicit recognition of intertwining and shared, but not identical, injustices.

While the prison at Poston arose in the face of resistance by the CRIT council, members of the local community engaged in trade with Nikkei prisoners. Archival documents even attest to the involvement of government officials, as in the case of planning for a so-called Poston County Fair and Harvest Festival, which took place in October 1942. Administrators had dreamt up the fair to foster an American-style ethos of cooperation and self-sufficiency among the prisoners. Other efforts extended beyond large-scale ceremonies in ways that bore directly on daily life, though. Also in October 1942, for example, *The Poston Press Bulletin*, a prison newspaper, reported that "[t]he Unit 8 Apiary Div. of the Agri. Dept. reported that on Sept. 9 they had received from Parker Indian School two beehives, in order to begin their new project in providing enough honey to help Poston with the sugar situation."[33] Exchanges such as these quickly became part of life in the prison.[34] More to the point, they belonged

to a loose network of interactions that could at times carry profound emotional weight. For instance, in December of 1944, the Phoenix Indian School music band played at a 1944 memorial service for Nikkei servicemen from Poston who had been killed in action.[35] Although small in scale, intermittent, and rarely formal, such events were an integral part of life for inmates of Poston.

Action by government administrators was not necessary, either, since the unforgiving climate and distance from large cities helped foster informal economies. Some inmates improvised a series of carp ponds.[36] Others established vegetable gardens to supplement their prison diet. This resourcefulness eventually enabled independent trade. Okimoto later recalled about other Nikkei in Poston, "there was this one family who had chickens. So you could get permission to get out of the camp to go drive up to Parker and buy other dry goods and things. But this one woman who I interviewed, her family had the chickens and the Japanese had all kinds of variety of vegetables that their family didn't grow. So there was a couple of Japanese—older Niseis probably—who met her, the family, and so they'd do a swap. They would bring the vegetables to them and they would give this group some chicken, which I thought was really interesting."[37] These small but impactful occurrences resulted from efforts by Nikkei inmates to adapt to the demands of their environment. And that adaptation created opportunities for people like Okimoto and Omori to begin thinking across racial and historical divides.

For Nikkei prisoners in southwestern Arizona, the forced displacement of wartime incarceration took an insistently physical form, depriving them not just of the sights and sounds of home, but of virtually every familiar sort of perceptual experience. Tasked with writing about their move in 1942, more than half the Nikkei high school students remarked on the extraordinary heat, which averaged more than 100 degrees Fahrenheit from June through September. Many recounted how, driven by so-called "Poston Zephyrs," the fine topsoil moved around in vast clouds of dust that infiltrated every nook and cranny of the barracks. A few mentioned the poor state of preparation that met them upon their arrival; some also discussed the salinity of the drinking water drawn from local wells. As a student named Katherine Sogo remarked, "[w]e had to eat with knives and the water tasted very queer."[38]

And yet, Nikkei at Poston adapted to their new environment, in the process gaining a fuller sense of their surroundings and of their political circumstances—a sense that would, for Okimoto and Omori, propel them toward a growing awareness of the interconnectedness of the US government, stolen Indigenous lands, and wartime incarceration. As the environment became less alien, and as inmates engaged in those informal economies, contact fostered a recognition of similarity and difference that was small-scale, immediate. Thus, the opportunities for identification between Nikkei and Indigenous persons included the most mundane aspects of daily life, from raising trading goods and enduring the summer's heat to battling wave upon wave of dust and drinking weirdly salty water.[39] Experiences of this sort arose created an impossible situation, with children and teenagers experiencing the failing ideal of

the American nation state, an ideal to which they simultaneously strove to subscribe. For Okimoto and Omori, internal conflicts of this sort provided touchstones that they have subsequently used to think beyond that ideal.

Pedagogical Slippages

Official efforts at enculturation both within and outside of the prison at Poston necessarily had mixed results. A prime example of this would be the "Youth Conference" that took place in the spring of 1945. The conference formed part of an effort to prepare inmates for the impending closure of Poston, an occurrence that drew ever closer as the war in Europe came to a close and as battles in the Pacific theater increasingly turned against Japan.[40] Running from April 27th to May 4th, activities ranged from baseball games, scouting demonstrations, and traditional Japanese dance to presentations on topics the organizers deemed noteworthy. Governed by the catchphrase "Better Youth for a Better Community," those topics testify to the lingering force of social gospel. The conference opened, for instance, with a roundtable discussion conducted under the rubric of "You Can Be Better than You Are." On April 28th, Girl Scout leaders attended a session on "Building Leadership"—one of several on this topic—while the next day saw all of the girls in Unit I, one of the prison's subdivisions, sitting for a presentation titled "Boy Meets Girl." Parents could learn about "Understanding Your Children," "Meeting the Problems of Youth," and, ominously, "Juvenile Delinquency." Several sessions also dealt with the impending closure of Poston. For instance, the program for Sunday, April 29th included sessions on "Meeting the Outside World" and, for a group of Nikkei Girl Scouts, "Meeting the Outside Community."[41]

Some sessions also involved Indigenous participation. For instance, alongside those two presentations on life after incarceration was a session straight out of contemporaneous American self-help mythology. Entitled "How to Win Friends and Influence People," the session was run by Frances S. Cushman, who had initially been drawn to Poston by the founding of the prison there. Just a few months before the conference, in October of 1944, she left Poston to become the first woman to serve as superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School. According to the conference schedule, Ms. Cushman was accompanied in this session and in the roundtable on "Meeting the Outside Community" by a group of five unnamed girls who had been taken from their Indigenous communities and enrolled in the Phoenix Indian School.

The inclusion of the girls is telling, since it inscribed on that demonstration of politeness the settler colonial project that governed the entire federal boarding school system. Thus, at no point does the program name any of the Indigenous participants, treating them instead as an aggregate demonstration of what feminized nonwhite people might supposedly achieve if they put their minds to it.[42] Consequently, the girls' role was paradoxical: They were important enough to merit inclusion in order to demonstrate the construction of whiteness through the destruction of indigeneity, and

they were deemed insufficiently important to merit identification as fully human participants.

That demonstration was, in fact, critical; it also produced an important slippage in its own messaging. Although Dale Carnegie's self-help program is perhaps most familiar from his 1936 book, to which Cushman's session owed its title, the foundation of that program lay in demonstration.[43] As a result, the program reduced the Indigenous young people to exemplars of Carnegie's cult of positive thinking, mere models of how effective white, middle-class manners supposedly could be in any number of situations and for any number of groups. Consequently, "How to Win Friends and Influence People" recapitulated in microcosm the fact that a group of nonwhite people deemed to have been too good at agriculture, who were evicted from their homes along the West Coast at the behest of one group of white people to work on behalf of another group of white people in order to demonstrate their skills to another group of *nonwhite* people, now watched members of that other nonwhite group enact whiteness for their supposed benefit.

Cushman, like some of the teachers in the federal boarding school system, seems to have been a supportive presence. Articles from the Poston High School paper, the *Hi Times*, celebrate students who won scholarships for out-of-state study with her guidance, and extensive postincarceration correspondence between her and former pupils attests to their affection for and gratitude toward her.[44] And yet, the evidence of success that she provided during the Youth Conference was indelibly marked by colonialism and white supremacy. Indeed, those unnamed girls became not just colonized subjects, but extensions of settler colonialism itself, their very bodies no longer their own, except insofar as they served the ends of a colonizing nation state.

The narrative of "How to Win Friends and Influence People," like that of "Meeting the Outside World," was one of movement upward through the racial hierarchy—exemplified in these particular instances by the construction of whiteness through the destruction of Indigeneity. Consequently, audience members faced in microcosm the impossibility of racial capitalism, its insistence on modes of conformity that it simultaneously, inevitably defined as impossible. These sessions were designed to reenact at a small scale both racial capitalism and the settler colonial mentality that Leong and Carpio have mapped at the level of government policy. The sheer performativity of the episode, along with the stark physicality of its falsehood, rendered the zero-sum character of white settler colonialism fully visible, opening up the possibility of informal resistance. (I am thinking here of the actions and events K. Tsiniana Lomawaima has discussed with respect to the federal boarding school system.[45]) For "politeness," that art of winning friends and influencing people, could only be a form of passing, the fragility of which permeated the daily life of both Nikkei and their Indigenous counterparts.[46] To judge from both the newspapers and the police blotter in Poston, many Nikkei subscribed to a variety of that art.

But as Okimoto and Omori demonstrate, the fragmented, haunting memory of injustice helped move others toward a clearer sense of the cultural, economic, and pol-

itical stakes of their history. Representation from the Phoenix Indian School must have concentrated the minds of some audience members, who had ample cause to recognize points of contact with the Indigenous students on stage before them. Founded in 1890, the Phoenix Indian School initially served an assimilationist agenda, which is perhaps best summed up by a motto from the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania: "To Civilize the Indian; Get Him Into Civilization. To Keep Him Civilized; Let Him Stay."[47] It provided vocational training, basic primary and secondary education, and religious instruction for slightly more than four hundred pupils who lived on-site. Indigenous practices were initially banned from campus, and students who flouted this mandate received swift and severe punishment until the early 1930s. Under John B. Brown, superintendent of the Phoenix Indian School from the early 1900s until his forced resignation in 1931, the school won public infamy for its viciousness, with punishments that included humiliation, extra labor, corporal punishment, and imprisonment.[48] A public campaign in the 1920s, in which Collier was named as a major figure, followed by a scathing report in 1928, helped bring the worst offenses to an end, but shaming, paddling, and other abuse of students persisted throughout the system into the 1930s.[49]

Collier's public campaign for reform ultimately led to his appointment as commissioner of the OIA in 1933. In that role, he quickly expanded a program of changes that had been initiated under his predecessor. From mid-1930s onward, the emphasis at the Phoenix Indian School increasingly moved away from punitive measures and toward providing skills that would help Indigenous students to engage "productively" with groups governed by white, middle American cultural norms. But while the school's curriculum may have stemmed from attempts to reform the so-called civilizing process, a "civilizing" process it nonetheless remained, with an accent on vocational training and the continuing encouragement of church attendance, even as Indigenous cultural practices began to encounter less active opposition.[50]

Familiarity with the Phoenix Indian School within the prison at Poston was likely limited, but the idea of that institution was nonetheless a complex point of contact among whites, Indigenous students, and Nikkei. After all, Cushman first worked with the WRA; by 1942 she was assistant principal (and principal by early 1944) at Parker Valley (Poston III) High School.[51] Thus Nikkei audience members saw not just another white administrator, but one who had initially overseen their own education before taking over that of Indigenous students, including those unnamed girls who appeared onstage during the "Better Youth for a Better Community" program.

Sitting in the audience, then, prisoners in Poston did more than gaze on another group. They directly observed *within their racialized incarceration* the dispossession and racialization of another marginalized group, whose children appeared before them to emulate, but never truly achieve, an ideal of whiteness that the OIA and WRA advanced. Furthermore, audience members who watched those girls act out Carnegie's philosophy also watched a familiar authority figure exercise that authority over another group. For Nikkei observers, the double displacement of incarceration on Indigenous lands had a distinctly personal impact, inadvertently promoting awareness

of simultaneous identification and difference. They were settlers twice over, but Nikkei nonetheless also labored under the yoke of imprisonment and racial capitalism.[52] It is this sort of reciprocal, empathetic observation that Chizuko Omori expressed when she recalled thinking that she and members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes were "in it [i.e., subject to racist injustice] for the duration."[53]

Figure 1. Group portrait of the 1945 Parker Valley High School (Poston III) National Honors Society in *Campus Echoes*, the school's yearbook (yearbook consulted at Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley).

Being "in it" was something Nikkei children and teenagers chose to express in various ways, from sharply worded responses to school writing assignments to more oblique forms of resistance. Take, for example, the decision of the Parker Valley High School National Honor Society to wear dunce caps for their 1945 yearbook picture (*see* Figure 1). Beaming proudly in their ironic protestation of worthlessness, these teenage prisoners upend a stereotype that had already begun to take root concerning the intelligence and industriousness of Asian immigrants, thereby recognizing the commodification of their racialized bodies. At the same time, though, the students in that photograph participate in another stereotype, that of the mainstream high schooler

goofing off under the watchful eye of a patient and affectionate teacher. Taking on the air of irremediably stupid teens, they placed themselves adjacent to that most alarming of midcentury middle-class categories, the juvenile delinquent—a specter that loomed large in the program of "Better Youth for a Better Community." The act was slyly parodic, with students of high academic achievement faking punishment for once again being too good at something supposedly valuable in American culture—valuable, that was, if you were white.

Conclusion

The fractured landscape of memory can provide a surprisingly powerful engine for thinking across constructed difference and, in the process, beginning to push back against racial capitalism and settler colonialism. Okimoto, for instance, has reflected on how traumatic the destruction of mesquite trees must have been for members of the Colorado River Indian Tribes in advance of building Poston.[54] While mesquite had long served Indigenous peoples in what became southwestern Arizona as a primary food source, among other things, OIA and WRA officials saw the plant as merely an obstacle.[55] Okimoto, by contrast, came to understand how eradication of the plant at Poston destroyed a mainstay of Indigenous life. She had no direct memory of this destruction, and neither had she any experience with reliance on it for subsistence. Nonetheless having experienced that unforgiving environment, she cultivated a form of empathy that has helped her understand similarities and differences between her experience and those of the Indigenous Peoples from the region that gain political potential from their very entanglement.

But one must earn, not just build, coalitions; hence the long time it has taken for Nikkei–Indigenous alliances to begin forming. For the former, wartime incarceration was the beginning of an adaptation that has slowly fueled doubts about American racial capitalism and grown into various sorts of recognizable engagement. A case in point would be Okimoto's eventual dedication not just to the history of incarceration at Poston, but to the site and the people who continue to live there. The latter have often proven hard to draw out, as Okimoto herself found: "[N]obody talked much about that [wartime period] until years later when I was doing some research and we actually had a Poston restoration project meeting on the reservation in 2003. We had thirty Japanese Americans and thirty Native Americans, CRIT folks, and that's when a lot of these stories came out."[56] The stories Okimoto is referencing circulated only in conversation among people who trusted one another to speak. And that trust could only arise because, while those people occupied different positions and experienced different forms of injustice, their differences intersected in a shared historical moment. Haunted by the long afterlife of their entangled experiences, Nikkei and Indigenous families who were shaped by government-dictated life in southwestern Arizona have only just begun to discover the basis for such trust.

Built on the fractured terrain of memory, such trust is fragile. With that in mind, the Poston Community Alliance, which has worked cooperatively with the Colorado River Indian Tribes, has made the shared legacies of racial capitalism and settler colonialism in the desert southwest an explicit part of its mission: "The mission of the Poston Community Alliance is to preserve Poston's incarceration history in order to uphold social justice for all Americans, regardless of race, religion and ethnicity. Through multimedia education and the preservation of stories, artifacts and historic structures, Poston's unique multicultural history, involving Japanese Americans and Native Americans, will be kept alive."[57]

The toll of injustice makes itself felt in all manner of ways. Sometimes it comes across in overt, recognizable political action. But it also can take root in the myriad adaptations, evasions, stoppages, reconfigurations, and above all the fragmented memories of life under an unjust regime. Many of those mundane responses dissipate, their own fragmentation further destabilizing the historical record. But the erosion of memory, like the incarceration that shaped it, does not necessarily result in isolation. As Ruth Okimoto, Emiko Omori, and others show us, it is an ember that can burn quietly for decades, fueling the pursuit of alliances when one least expects it. Unlike the processes of legislation, planning, and judicial practice that support racial capitalism and settler colonialism, empathetic agency gains force through its idiosyncrasy. Authority may lay out pristine blueprints for white existence, but within the lived experience of those blueprints lie untold cracks and fissures. And in those cracks and fissures, those creases, Nikkei may find ways to support Indigenous peoples in their struggle for self-determination.

Notes

1 Ruth Y. Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home: Life on the Colorado River Indian Reservation (Poston, Arizona, 1942–1945)*, special report of *News from Native California* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2001).

2 *Rabbit in the Moon*, dir. Emiko Omori (United States: Wabi-Sabi, 1999).

3 For more on Poston in particular, see Jeffery Burton, Mary M. Farrell, Florence B. Lord, and Richard W. Lord, *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites*, reprinted with corrections (Seattle, WA and London: The University of Washington Press, 2002), Chapter 10; and Karl Lillquist, *Imprisoned in the Desert: The Geography of World War II-Era Japanese American Relocation Centers in the Western United States—A Research Project Funded by the Washington State Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) Through Interagency Agreement #23-0782 between OSPI and Central Washington University*

(n.p., 2007), Chapter 9. See also Amelia Flores, "Colorado River Indian Tribes," in *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Mary B. Davis (London: Taylor and Francis, 1994), 124–27.

[4] Karen J. Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio, "Carceral Subjugations: Gila River Indian Community and Incarceration of Japanese Americans on Its Lands," *Amerasia Journal* 42, no. 1 (2016): 103–20.

[5] On this point, I bear in mind the important methodological observations of Cynthia Wu in her article "A Comparative Analysis of Indigenous Displacement and the World War II Japanese American Internment," *Amerasia Journal* 42, no. 1 (2016): 1–15. See also Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "Which of These Things is Not Like the Other: Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders are Not Asian Americans, and All Pacific Islanders are Not Hawaiian," *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2015): 727–47.

[6] Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), xvi. On the relationship between Indigeneity and Nikkei wartime incarceration at Poston, see also Chapter 5.

[7] Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home*, 23.

[8] Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home*, 4; Ruth Y. Okimoto, "Interview with Ruth Y. Okimoto," interview by Tom Ikeda, *Densho Encyclopedia*, April 8, 2011, segment 20, https://ddr.densho.org/media/ddr-densho-1000/ddr-densho-1000-331-transcript-2db1d4ba5e.htm (Densho ID: denshovh-oruth-01). For more on Roko, see *Poston Updates* for 2010, https://postonupdates.blogspot.com/2010/01/.

[9] See, for instance, Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); and Eiichiro Azuma, *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2019).

[10] A case in point comes from *El Chapparal* '44, the yearbook for the Poston II High School (Poston, AZ: n. pub., 1944), 37: "Repairing to their own hunting grounds, they [a Poston II basketball team] smacked the visiting bears on their haunches, then whirled and scalped the Parker Indians."

[11] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 388.

[12] Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.

[13] Candace Fujikane, "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the US Colony of Hawai'i," in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Havits of*

Everyday Life in Hawai'i, ed. Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 7. See also Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," in Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*, 49–65.

[14] On the broader political implications of the combined OIA-WRA adminstrative structure, see Leong and Carpio, "Carceral Subjugations."

[15] Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home*, 23.

[16] The relative absence of such voices has been deafening for this author. Fortunately, Karen Leong and Myla Vicenti Carpio are assembling an important archive of Indigeneity in and around Poston.

[17] Karen M. Inouye, *The Long Afterlife of Nikkei Wartime Incarceration* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

[18] *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori, 00:03:02.

[19] *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori, 00:00:13.

[20] *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori, 01:21:58.

[21] Cf. the groundbreaking work of Saidiya Hartman, especially "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14.

[22] For more on empathetic agency, see Inouye, *Long Afterlife*, 12–16.

[23] Much the same can be said for prisons—for Japanese prisoners of war and for Nikkei more generally—outside the US. See Juliet Nebolon, "Settler Military Camps: Internment and Prisoner of War Camps across the Pacific Islands during World War II," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 24, no. 2 (June 2021): 299–335.

[24] Tamie Tsuchiyama, correspondence with Dorothy Swaine Thomas, August 24, 1942. See BANC MSS 67/14 c, folder J6.32. Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records. Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. On Tsuchiyama, Richard Nishimoto, and their colleagues at Poston, see Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, *The Politics of Fieldwork: Research in an American Concentration Camp* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999). See also Yuji Ichioka, ed. *Views from Within: The Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study* (Los Angeles: Asian American Studies Center, 1989)

[25] K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln, NE: The University of Nebraska Press, 1994).

[26] Okimoto, interview, segment 20. On settler colonialism in the American West, see, among others, Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). On links between settler colonialism and capitalism, see Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), esp. 10–13.

[27] Leong and Carpio, "Carceral Subjugations." On the movement of peoples to the CRIT, see Bernard L. Fontana, "The Hopi-Navajo Colony on the Lower Colorado River: A Problem in Ethnohistorical Interpretation," *Ethnohistory* 10, no. 2 (1963): 162–82; and Elliot G. McIntire, "Hopi Colonization on the Colorado River," *California Geographer* 10 (1969): 7–14.

[28] Burton *et al*., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 61.

[29] Burton *et al*., *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 215. See also Richard Drinnon, *Keeper of Concentration Camps: Dillon S. Meyer and American Racism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989).

[30] John Collier, "Unrealized Food Production Capacities at Japanese Relocation Centers," January 7, 1943, as quoted in Leong and Carpio, "Carceral Subjugations," 108.

[31] Okimoto, interview, segment 13.

[32] *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori, 00:19:50.

[33] *Poston County Fair*, a special issue of the *Poston Press Bulletin* (October 16, 1942), Ag-3.

[34] In February of 1945, for instance, students in the agriculture class at Parker Valley (Poston III) High School went on a field trip. The trip started with a visit to the Phoenix Indian School, where, according to the high school newspaper, they watched pupils working their plot (*Hi Times* (February 20, 1945), 1). On the school systems at Poston, see Neal K. Nichols, "Secondary School Accreditation in Arizona" (PhD Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1972), 218–225; Burton *et al.*, *Confinement and Ethnicity*, 221, 225, and 227; Okimoto, *Sharing a Desert Home*, 14–15.

[35] According to the *Hi Times* on December 8, 1945, "[t]his service was in commemoration of the death of the thirteen Nisei soldiers of Poston in the 9th Command. Marching to the music of the Indian band, they [Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and members of the senior class] paraded to the block 4 stage to watch the ceremoney [sic] which took place there" (4).

[36] E. C. Johnson, interview by David A. Hacker and Arthur A. Hansen, March 1978, in *Japanese American World War II Evacuation Oral History Project*, Part V: Guards and Townspeople, Volume 2, ed. Arthur A. Hansen and Nora M. Jesch (Munich–London: K.G. Saur, 1993), 728.

[37] Okimoto, interview, segment 15.

[38] Katherine Sogo, "Evacuation Experience," 5 in BANC MSS 69/5, Part 2. Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley.

[39] Cf. Lillquist, *Imprisoned in the Desert*, 402–04 and 418.

[40] Poston *Chronicle* (November 3, 1943), 19.

[41] BANC MSS 67/14c, Box 116, Folder J2.93, Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Records, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[42] The frontispiece for the program lists "Frances S. Cushman–Supt. of Phoenix Indian School and 5 Indian Students" among the conference's "Team Members." The students are listed simply as "Indian girls" in the session on "How to Win Friends and Influence People."

[43] Dale Carnegie, *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936; Toronto: Collins, 2018).

[44] Many former inmates of Poston had fond memories of Cushman. The newsletter of the Japanese Historical Society of San Diego concluded an obituary of her thus: "We extend our deepest sympathy and condolences to her family. It was her encouragement during her years as principal that enabled so many of us to return to the 'outside world' and resume our lives and seek our goals. For that, we owe her a great debt of gratitude. She will be sorely missed by all who were touched by her kindness" (*Footprints* 6, no. 4 [Winter 1997–1998]: 3).

[45] Cf. the awareness and resistances discussed in Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light*, e.g., xv or, more pointedly, 167. See also Margaret L. Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences, 1879–2000* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000). Cf. Jennifer Helgren, "Native American and White Campfire Girls Enact Modern Girlhood, 1910-1939," *American Quarterly* 66:2 (June 2014), 333–360.

[46] Cf. Jennifer Helgren, "Native American and White Campfire Girls Enact Modern Girlhood, 1910-1939," *American Quarterly* 66:2 (June 2014), 333–360. As quoted in Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 7.

[47] As quoted in Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891–1935* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 7. Kenneth R. Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reforms, 1924–1950* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1977); and Robert A. Trennert, "Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1989): 595–614.

[48] Kenneth R. Philip, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reforms, 1924–1950* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1977); and Robert A. Trennert, "Corporal Punishment and the Politics of Indian Reform," *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1989): 595–614.

[49] Although by the 1930s it was the nation's lone off-reservation boarding school, the Phoenix Indian School maintained a mission that was in this respect consistent with that of other such institutions. So was its distinctly authoritarian early character, which combined military-style uniforms and severe discipline. See Philip, *John Collier's Crusade*; and Trennert, *Phoenix Indian School.*

[50] One of Collier's most public efforts had been to shift schools both on and off reservations into a more pluralistic mode. See Philip, *John Collier's Crusade.*

[51] In an article announcing her departure for the Phoenix Indian School, *The Poston Chronicle* lauded Cushman for helping Parker Valley High School secure accreditation. See "Frances Cushman Accepts New Position; Resigns Here," *The Poston Chronicle* XX:20 (September 16, 1944), 4, cols. 1–2. See also Nichols, "Secondary School Accreditation."

[52] On Nikkei in the US as settlers, see Fujikane, "Introduction."

[53] *Rabbit in the Moon*, Omori, 00:19:50.

[54] Okimoto, interview, segment 14.

[55] Robert E. Gasser and Scott M. Kwiatkowski, "Food for Thought: Recognizing Patterns in Hohokam Subsistence," in *Exploring the Hohokam: Prehistoric Desert Peoples of the American Southwest*, ed. George J. Gumerman, Amerind New World Studies Series, Vol. 1 (Dragoon, AZ/Albuquerque, NM: Amerind Foundation/University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 417–459; Wendy Hodgson, *Food Plants of the Sonoran Desert* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2001); and Amadeo Rea, *At the River's Green Edge: An Ethnobotany of the Gila River Pima* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997). See also David DeJong, *Stealing the Gila: The Pima Agricultural Economy and Water Deprivation, 1848–1921* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2009). Okimoto, interview, segment 15.

[56] Okimoto, interview, segment 15.

[57] "Our Mission," *Poston Preservation*, Poston Community Alliance, https://www.postonpreservation.org/mission-statement

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