

Young Women's Everyday Resistance: Heart Mountain, Wyoming

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INTRODUCTION

If political activity such as resistance is thought of only as that which is openly declared, a conclusion that can be reached is that subordinate groups essentially lack a political life or what political life they have occurs only in exceptional moments of popular explosion.¹ Such representation also misconstrues women's political lives, which are often based upon undeclared goals of family and community well-being and survival, and frequently take place within these contexts.

Women play pivotal roles in proactively contesting societal injustice, including during wars and political repression. In contemporary wars, women are often at the forefront in advocating that fighting be ended and peace accords developed. They have served with valor within underground resistance movements. They resist within the workplace and in neighborhoods. Despite these contributions, women infrequently are hailed as heroines or as private or public figures of note. Their activities are largely ignored, hidden from written and archival sources where writings by and about men have been privileged. Consistent with this historical neglect, with a few exceptions, relatively little has been written about women's lives during U.S. internment of Japanese Americans.²

In this paper I discuss individual acts of everyday resistance among a cohort of twenty-four young nisei (first generation Japanese American) women who lived at Heart Mountain, Wyoming during the Japanese-American internment of World War II. Heart Mountain, one of ten relocation camps for ethnic Japanese, was located in northwest Wyoming between Cody and Powell near Yellowstone National Park. A close look at the lives of some of these women, as revealed through interview data gathered by the author, provides a collage of covert resistance to injustice through acts of everyday living. No woman explicitly described herself as a resister, although Aiko Horikoshi³ nearly did when she described herself by saying, "I kept defending my rights." She temporarily resisted the evacuation order during a long night prior to leaving for Pomona Assembly Center. The night before evacuation she climbed out her bedroom window to meet her boyfriend, who was Caucasian. They drove around town for three hours. She related that,

I didn't want to be evacuated. I didn't want to leave, and I was

Guilt by Association

rebelling with every ounce of fiber in my being. But we were too young to elope. We talked about how we could get away from all this. Finally at 5:00 in the morning I crawled back into my bedroom window and there was my father waiting for me with open arms, just like the prodigal son. And he just held me real tight and said "Thank you for coming home."

Within the spheres of their influence (private and informal) countless acts of resistance by nisei women must have occurred and have been erased in memory by the silence of intervening years, social taboos, and inhibitions against self identification with such acts. Further, many women who could have described their resistance are no longer alive. For example, a daughter of a Heart Mountain internee wrote of her deceased mother, "She was apparently among the women who demanded and got walls and doors erected for privacy in the rest rooms." Among the women I interviewed, Sophie Toriumi came closest to describing organized and overt resistance when she discussed how a group of young people in Pasadena, prior to evacuation and relocation, came together to talk about the evacuation edict, "We were advised we ought to cooperate. In those days we weren't activists; nobody was."

One reason that women's acts of resistance have garnered little attention in internment literature may be that such resistance was unorganized and usually subtle in nature. This contrasts sharply with public acts of resistance led by men. Most notable of these acts at Heart Mountain was that of the Fair Play Committee, a group of men who protested the requirement they sign a loyalty oath to the U.S. government.⁴ Also, a walkout of hospital workers, led by Japanese male physicians, occurred at the Heart Mountain Hospital.⁵ These acts were organized within the public domain that focused upon broader political agendas. As such, they characterize what is more commonly perceived as resistance behavior.

Also, resistance behavior has not been expected of women. From readings of historical works about Japanese American internment, I have found no accounts of women being asked about their resistance to the circumstances of internment. Indeed, in these records, women are infrequently identified as a distinct group with varying internment experiences from men's. An additional and important reason may be that nisei as a whole were reluctant to identify themselves as resisters, especially because of the wartime social context which emphasized demonstrating that ethnic Japanese were "good" Americans. The patriotic Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL), the nisei leadership group, encouraged cooperation and the demonstration of good citizenship. Thus, many women discussed their public passivity during evacuation from their homes and relocation. Typical of this discourse was that of Rose Shiba who recalled, "We just quietly went. Just like

Women's Everyday Resistance

little sheep following the leader. We were always very submissive. We just never tried to fight our way out of a situation. We were not aggressive."

Another compelling reason women may not have self-identified as resisters was that within the context of patriarchal authority, nisei women were expected to conform to the dictates of hierarchy, including their husbands and other male family members. Also, ethnic Japanese were culturally imbued with beliefs that they should accept what life presented them, conform, make the best of the situation, and do what they were told. Self-identification with these response behaviors may have hindered women's recognition of significant personal resistance that was incongruent with cultural and patriarchal values.

WOMEN'S RESISTANCE TO INJUSTICE

Evidence exists that women's acts of resistance, whether in public or private, are often grounded within the context of private lives and the collective memories of their communities. Joan Sanger's study of the lives of working women in small-town Ontario between 1920 and 1960 affirmed the invisible, individual, and informal nature of women's resistance and the intertwining nature of women's resistance and accommodation to their circumstances.⁶ As such, women's protest may take distinct forms from men's. For example, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (Argentina) and the Families of the Disappeared (Chile), both women-led groups fighting political repression, have adopted tactics born of everyday life. Chilean women whose family members were kidnapped ("disappeared") sewed arpilleras, which are scraps of cloth sewn to burlap sacks depicting scenes of everyday life—including its brutality. Some of these arpilleras hid messages to the outside world about the disappearances and torture of their loved ones. In Argentina, women maintained total silence during parades in the Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo while they publicly displayed photos of their disappeared children. These same mothers wore white scarves to be identifiable.

Public and collective acts such as these subvert the boundary between public and private. They interrupt the dominant discourse of the military elite and transmit eloquent political statements that reach an international audience, and feminize the notion of resistance.⁷ Multiple other examples exist, both historical and contemporary, of women's distinct public and private resistance. To protest violence and advocate peace, women throughout the world have engaged in activities such as wearing black during protests, employing street theater, and holding demonstrations and vigils. Many of these acts have occurred in dangerous situations when women's groups have demanded accountability and ventured to protest and continue their work when no other groups dared.⁸

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In this paper I discuss two patterns of women's everyday resistance. The first pattern is comprised of everyday acts of resistance that are usually subtle, unorganized, and virtually invisible. This form of resistance is concerned with individual acts of assertiveness and informal protest that are contrary to women's culturally prescribed and subordinate roles. I will provide examples of women's behaviors at Heart Mountain that comprise this pattern.

The second pattern of resistance concerns strategies women use to conduct their everyday lives and daily routines in the midst of severe hardship. At Heart Mountain and within other World War II concentration camps, women organized their lives around the notion of normalcy. Doing so defied cultural meanings of imprisonment and the notion of caving in as passive victims of the oppressor. Although the internment of Japanese Americans cannot be equated in severity with the death camps of the Holocaust or the Far East, some parallelism exists in how women approached day-to-day survival.

On the surface, daily life at Heart Mountain developed a rhythm that in many ways resembled life outside the barbed wire, leading many to conclude that internment was not a notable hardship, and even offered protection. I suggest that a better interpretation may be one that equates these behaviors associated with positive coping in which both women and men participated. Consistent with the focus of this paper, I confine my discussion to women. Within this second pattern, I discuss some acts of women's everyday resistance that also occurred among women in other types of World War II concentration camps.

STUDY METHODS

The primary methodology of my study of young women's lives at Heart Mountain consists of interview data gathered from twenty-four women. All but one interview were conducted in person; one interview occurred via phone. Women in the study cohort were born between 1911 and 1923. At the time of their internment, eighteen were married mothers. One woman was an issei (born in Japan but came to the United States as a young child) with all of the others being nisei. These women, all mothers of young children, left camp between 1944 and 1945. However, the majority remained at Heart Mountain until sometime in 1945.

The remaining six women were unmarried when they lived at Heart Mountain. Two women were recent high school graduates who trained to be nurse aides at the assembly centers and were employed at the Heart Mountain Hospital. These two young women relocated in 1944, one to Minneapolis and the other to Chicago. The remaining four women were student nurses forced to interrupt their nursing education in California to be

Women's Everyday Resistance

evacuated with their families from their homes. They worked at the Heart Mountain Hospital during all or part of fall 1942 until the summer 1943 when they were able to relocate to the midwest and eastern United States. All four eventually completed their nursing education.

Using an open-ended approach, the interviews most often took place in women's homes. Four of the women were interviewed as a group. All interviews were transcribed from audiotapes, and data were analyzed using qualitative research methods to elicit thematic content. Using this approach, the researcher attempts to look freshly at the data with a fresh idea, avoiding as much as possible preconceived notions about what will be found. I searched for themes in the data as I read and reread the interviews and compared and contrasted what each woman told me. One of the themes that emerged was subtle acts of resistance or "small victories."⁹

Although women were not directly asked about resistance activities, seven of the twenty-four women told of acts of personal resistance, "small victories" for themselves and their families which defied patriarchal and governmental authority. Several of these women provided multiple examples. Given the spontaneous nature of these self disclosures, a follow-up study using a structured approach with women being asked directly about acts of assertiveness and protest might yield a higher respondent rate around this thematic strand.

As a Caucasian researcher, I analyze and interpret interview data within my own cultural and ethnopolitical lens. I have tried to minimize researcher bias by sharing my writings and interpretations with women I interviewed. All have received copies of my primary writings about their lives at Heart Mountain. Many women provided me with comments and corrections, including precise and thoughtful editorial comments. Women read the materials and also wrote to express their appreciation and support that I captured their stories. Their input thus provided important verification of the validity of the findings. I also studied primary sources of historical documents at the National Archives and in several museums and libraries. Women shared photos, personal records, movies, and other artifacts from personal collections. In the cohort of women I interviewed, there were no diaries or letters to freshen recall.¹⁰

MEMORIES OF RELOCATION

The data capture the memory of a small group of women who were willing to share their experiences with me. As such, their responses cannot be said to represent other women at Heart Mountain or at other internment camps but are those of this cohort alone. Many of the women know each other and have been friends since internment. Thus their experiences may

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characterize a certain group of women, in this case middle class well-educated healthy women. The collective picture I derived from consolidating the twenty-four interviews about experiences of evacuation from homes to assembly centers and subsequently relocation to Heart Mountain is remarkably consistent. Individual responses to internment, however, showed marked variation.

The women who participated in my study related life events that were at least fifty years old at the time of the interviews. Many women had rarely spoken of their internment experiences, even within their families. Several women had age-related difficulties in memory recall. Some memories were triggered by interviewer suggestion—for example, asking what the weather was like when they stepped off the train at Heart Mountain helped women recall when they arrived. Other women had remarkable recall of specific events. In a group interview of four longtime women friends, the flow of specific details and memories intensified as together they collectively recalled their years at Heart Mountain.

Questions inevitably arise about the accuracy with which women were able to recall internment. Also, the possibility exists that the interview process may result in unconsciously reconstructing past values to approximate contemporary world views. Another factor that may have affected women's memories is persistent cultural taboos and inhibitions.¹¹ Additionally, sensitive events may be too difficult to share—especially with an outsider who can never adequately understand. Finally, intervening events may have affected women's memories—such as reading internment histories or sharing memories with others.

ASSERTIVENESS AND INFORMAL PROTEST

The first form of resistance I discuss is grounded in subtle and unorganized behaviors such as acts of assertiveness and informal protest purveyed by a relatively powerless group. This resistance is virtually invisible, seldom overt, and unlikely to be noticeable in the public arena. As detailed by James Scott,¹² resistance of this nature features little or no coordination or planning, often represents individual self-help, typically avoids direct confrontation with authority or with elite norms, and is notably covert and concerned largely with immediate, de facto gains. Scott asserted that disguised, low profile and undeclared resistance, or *infrapolitics*, by subordinate groups is the silent partner of loud forms of public resistance. Confined to the informal networks of kin, neighbors, friends, and community rather than occurring within formal organizations, there are consequently no leaders to round up, membership lists to investigate or public activities that draw attention.¹³

Women's Everyday Resistance

Such acts of resistance, intended to mitigate or deny claims made by superordinates, may occur to meet needs for physical safety, food, land, or income and, as such, make no headlines or incite any dramatic confrontations. Those who perpetrate these acts rarely call attention to themselves since their safety resides in anonymity. Nor do superiors publicize such behaviors. Thus complicity exists on all sides and serves to expunge everyday forms of resistance from the historical record.¹⁴ For example, Leslie Schwalm in her analysis of women's transition from slavery to freedom in South Carolina described the resistance intrinsic in women's responsibility to obtain food to feed their families. As these African-American slave women gathered rice for their owners, and it fell into their baskets, they fanned some of it into the knots and folds of their big skirts and later fed it to their families. Slave owners discovered grains of rice in slave quarters where women's skirts had been emptied because some grains fell on the cabin floor; they knew rice had been eaten.¹⁵

Among the Heart Mountain women, everyday resistance surfaced in accounts they told about their lives at the assembly centers and at the permanent Heart Mountain relocation camp. Statements about speaking up, defying rules, and protesting were interspersed among their stories. Interview data are used to illustrate examples of these women's assertiveness and informal protest.

Some women relayed small incidents that created risk. One such occurrence resulted from Atsuko Abe's practice at Pomona Assembly Center of saving sugar packs from meals. She gave these as gifts to former customers of the family's market who came to visit, and when they did, they brought food for the family. Because it was wartime, sugar was in short supply for their baking. Atsuko's gift giving was discovered, and she was scolded and told by authorities that the sugar was government property. A greater risk was taken by Ada Endo and her sister when they were looking for wood to construct furniture for their barrack at Heart Mountain; She said,

My sister and her husband and family are devoted Christians. I would never think of her doing anything out of line. One night she came over and said, "You know there is a lot of lumber down there and there is only one guard. Let's go down and get some lumber." I looked at her, I was sure surprised. But I said, "Sure, why not?" So we went down when the guard was not making his rounds or he was on the other side. We would go in and grab a [piece of] lumber, and we would wait awhile . . . she and I only. She held one end, and I held the other end. I don't know how many pieces of lumber we brought back, but we divided it, and she took it to her barrack. I kept my half, and that is what we

Guilt by Association

made shelves with. Whatever was left over, we would make a shelf here and a shelf there in the barrack for our things. Later I thought, "You know one should never judge a person. Circumstances make us do certain things that we wouldn't do under ordinary conditions." And she probably wouldn't ever do it again. She probably wouldn't even steal a penny, but we stole lumber that night and we were happy.

Among the women I interviewed, resistance activities commonly focused upon the improvement of family life, especially as it concerned children. Also, women responded to affronts to ethnic identity. Women's everyday resistance may have spurned action by men in their families, or they personally chose to resist authority. Remarkable is the feisty behavior women demonstrated despite the frightening and intimidating circumstances of internment.

During evacuation from her home in Los Angeles, Ada Endo enlisted the help of the men in her family to make sure she had adequate supplies for her two-and-one-half-month-old son Douglas. Using a combination of assertiveness and good psychology, she accomplished her goals, as she attempted to take more supplies for her baby than was permitted,

We had a whole lot of stuff with a big family like ours. As the trucks came with the soldiers to load up our belongings, I noticed they were throwing things out and saying, "We can't take this," "This can't go." And they would just toss it out. I had a baby bed plus a baby bathtub, and I thought, "Oh, if they toss those out, I'm sunk." So I made a suggestion to the men folks in our group: "Suppose, why don't you help them? Hand up the baggage to them in the truck. That is what we did, we brought everything."

Ada brought a supply of infant formula (SMA) to Santa Anita Assembly Center to feed Douglas but ran out. She ordered more formula, but it was confiscated at the warehouse, "I had to fight to get that out of the warehouse where they held it, but I managed." Because Ada had a baby, she was allowed to keep her lights on later at night. Friends would come over to play bridge after "lights out" in their own barracks. One friend worked at the mess hall and was sometimes able to obtain pieces of meat. They would cook it on Ada's hot plate, which was normally used to heat baby formula. Ada recalled that during these evenings, they would have a feast. At one point at Santa Anita, Ada responded to a threat that hot plates would be taken away, and she went to the administrative building to protest.

When Hiroko Masunaga's husband and young daughter were

Women's Everyday Resistance

assigned to a horse stall at Santa Anita Assembly Center with his family, she put her foot down,

My husband got one stall for all six of us. It was terrible, and I put my foot down. I said, "You know, I'm going to leave here. I'm going to go to headquarters and ask for another room." We are a different family [from her in-laws]. I said, "I'm not with your father and mother and the family. We're another family, and I'm going to ask for another unit." And he [husband] finally gave in and he went. We were able to move into the barracks.

Another woman relayed a similar story of going every day to Santa Anita Assembly Center's housing department to demand a separate room apart from her husband's family.

At Heart Mountain, Hiroka and other mothers challenged the mess hall manager because he refused to give out food to take home to prepare for their children who wouldn't eat the food at the mess hall. Hiroka wanted raw eggs so she could cook soft-boiled eggs for her daughters but was refused. She concluded, "There is something wrong here." At that point, all the mothers got together, and they were able to secure food.

When Chiye Watanabe was in labor at the Heart Mountain Hospital, she wanted Dr. Martin Kimura to take care of her even though he wasn't scheduled, "He was very good. A young doctor. I asked if I could have him and they said, "No. You have to take whomever you get. But then I insisted that I have this doctor."

Aiko Horikoshi was a nurse aide at the hospital during the year she lived at Heart Mountain. Several incidents in which she participated occurred at the hospital and can be characterized as everyday acts of resistance to authority. She recalled confronting the authority of the Caucasian chief nurse¹⁶ who wanted Japanese hospital workers to bow to her,

She put a proclamation or bulletin up and this went out to all of us, doctors included. There was a lot of rumble especially among the doctors that they were ordered to bow to her. I was real irritated, and there was a lot of uneasiness in camp. The hospital staff decided to go on strike, and so I went on strike. She called me into her office. I still remember sitting in her office, and she questioned me as to why. I said, "We resent you because you put yourself up as if you are higher up than we are." And I said, "We are American citizens. I don't see why we have to bow to you." We used to call her Anna Van Jerk.

Guilt by Association

Aiko also related two incidents in the hospital where resistance was more subtle than was her confrontation with Van Kirk.

I remember a nurse [Caucasian] that used to go in the pharmacy and help herself to anything she wanted. The pharmacist [Japanese] made up a batch of popsicles with a lot of laxative in them.

Once when I was on duty, graveyard [night], and it got kind of boring. I remember making up a batch of fudge. When it was almost ready, we got a phone call saying that the RN was on her way down to our wing. I remember shoving this pan of fudge in the linen closet and closing the door so she wouldn't detect what we were doing.

An incident in a department store in the town of Powell caused Aiko to speak assertively against Caucasian women whom she overheard during a conversation about three issei women,

They were looking at material, and there were two local Caucasian ladies there and me. We were the only ones in the store. Those two ladies were talking about the three Japanese ladies, and they were calling them hicks. And I got all uptight about that. They didn't know what I was [half Japanese, half Caucasian]. I went over and said, "Don't you call us hicks. We are from Hollywood, California. You are such hicks you don't even have an escalator in the whole state of Wyoming." I huffed and went away. To do something like that is so out of character for me, but I did it, I remember doing it. They just stood there with their mouths open. They didn't even answer me. I just walked away. I'm ashamed of it now. But Wyoming was so backwards, so slow in developing compared to what we were used to.

Iwako Yamamoto also spoke up during a visit she made to Cody,

I took my mother out [of camp] because she wanted to go out and see what Cody looked like. We went shopping, this boy about ten or twelve was leaning by the store, and he says "Go back where you came from." I said, "Yes, I would like to go back to California, I don't want to stay in this hick town." I guess he thought we came from Japan.

Women's Everyday Resistance

These examples, when taken as an aggregate, suggest that women engaged in behaviors that were assertive, risk taking, and often concerned the welfare of family and community. As such, these behaviors are consistent with everyday acts of resistance.

DAILY SURVIVAL

Refusing to alter self identity to take on the role of a disempowered, victimized internee, I argue, is another pattern of resistance. The cohort of *nisei* young women in my study resisted this self definition and lived each day as normally as possible. For the four student nurses and the two nurse aids, working in the hospital was important for their self identity as young unmarried women and helped them acquire new skills and confidence. Four out of the five left Heart Mountain by September 1945 to continue their education or to work. In doing so, they forged a new identity of independence and career orientation that was unusual for young Japanese American women of the 1940s. The remaining eighteen young mothers defined their lives around traditional roles of mothering and caretaking. Their children gave their lives daily meaning although caring for children within the camp conditions was very work intensive.

In the European Holocaust and Far East concentration camps of World War II, women used simple tactics born of their daily lives to resist and withstand extraordinary adversity. One means was through the sharing of recipes in the face of starvation, or what I call "food talk." In Sumatra, women took turns describing the meal of their dreams and sharing the details with other women. Talking of food in the face of starvation was apparently curiously satisfying; women began writing down recipes and exchanging them around the compound.¹⁷ In a Japanese internment camp in the Philippines, recipes were also collected, eagerly recorded, and exchanged again and again.¹⁸ The same thing occurred in Holocaust camps.¹⁹ Although none of my study participants specifically discussed sharing recipes, "food talk" was common and was a recurrent theme in my interviews. This talk centered around the poor quality of food at the assembly centers and Heart Mountain and the difficulty in obtaining palatable food for children.

In the Holocaust and Far East camps, everyday strategies to defy self identity as a prisoner included wearing lipstick, being as clean as possible, dressing carefully even if clothing was ragged and there was only one dress, and making "homes" as cozy as possible. Young married women at Heart Mountain also created homes in their barrack quarters through acts such as making shelves, ordering curtains and bedspreads, and scrupulous cleanliness. From numerous photos I have collected of both unmarried and married women with their children and husbands, people were extremely well

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groomed, women wore lipstick and often high heels. Their clothes were often quite fashionable.

Joan Ringelheim, in a study of Holocaust survivors, found that women's conversations, singing, storytelling, recipe sharing, praying, joke telling and gossiping helped transform a world of death into an act of human life and also defied their prisoner status.²⁰ At Heart Mountain there was time to gossip while washing clothes and older babies in the laundry room. Birthdays were celebrated, clothes were sewn, and women participated in recreational activities such as ball games or picnics on the Shoshone River.

Helen Colijn described how women joined as a community for self protection to circumvent sexual assault at a concentration camp in the Far East:

Early on, Japanese officers tried to recruit some of the Australians to entertain them at a club. The sisters successfully thwarted the effort by all looking as ugly as they could and saying no to all overtures. In our camp no one was raped. We developed a theory that the Japanese didn't like our smell. It appears that the soldiers had been strictly forbidden to sexually molest the imprisoned women.²¹

In another act of self protection and resistance, women banded together when the Japanese military requested that a few women (the shortest and youngest of the nurses) be sent to the club for junior ranking officers. In response, a whole column of thirty-two women donned nurses' uniforms, all went and surprised the Japanese, and a strong protest was presented by a spokeswoman. Although these acts could only have limited success in the oppressive circumstances of concentration camps, they are nevertheless important to recognize for what they represent. As such, they suggest courageous commitment to sexual self protection. Although sexual assault was not a perceived danger to women at Heart Mountain, there were times when women banded together to resist and assert for their families.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have argued that young women's resistance to internment was likely to evidence itself most distinctly within the context of private and personal acts. These women's resistance in their everyday lives defied cultural meanings of internment and the idea that women are passive victims. In my study, women who described acts of resistance acted assertively and lived daily lives that both adapted to and opposed their circumstances. Many of these actions benefited the women, and indirectly, their families.

Women's Everyday Resistance

Indirect benefits of these acts of resistance may have been important in retaining or improving positive self identity and affirming personal strength in the midst of adversity.

Notes

1. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 29-35.
2. See for example Valerie J. Matsumoto, "Japanese-American Women During World War II." *Frontiers* VIII (1984):6-14; Mei Nakano, *Japanese American Women: Three Generations, 1890- 1990* (Berkeley: Mina Press Publishing and Japanese American Historical Society); Yasuko I. Takezawa, *Breaking the Silence: Redress and Japanese American Ethnicity* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 60-126.
3. All women in this study agreed that their own names or designated family names could be used in writing about their experiences.
4. Frank T. Inouye, "Immediate Origins of the Heart Mountain Draft Resistance Movement" in *Remembering Heart Mountain: Essays on Japanese American Internment in Wyoming*, ed. Mike Mackey (Powell, WY: Western History Publications), 121-31.
5. Louis Fiset, "The Heart Mountain Hospital Strike of June 24, 1943" in *Remembering Heart Mountain*, 101-18.
6. Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920- 1960* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press), 167.
7. Jean Franco, "Gender, Death and Resistance: Facing the Ethical Vacuum" in *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*, eds. Juan E. Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagan, Manuel Antonio Garreton (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 1992), 104-18.
8. Dyan Mazurana and Susan McKay, *Women and Peace Building* (Montreal, Quebec: International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development), 26.
9. I wish to acknowledge the very helpful input of Jody Lynn Bryan in identifying the thematic theme of subtle acts of resistance . Jody termed these "small victories." Fentress and Wickhama in their book *Social Memory* (Oxford, UK and Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1992, 141) referred similarly to "small-scale defiances of daily life", everyday aspects of resistance especially remembered by women Nazi resisters. Male resisters, in contrast, tended to recall more details of political activity and individual heroism.
10. A completed book manuscript by Susan R. McKay titled *The Courage Our Stories Tell: Women, War, and the Japanese-American Internment at Heart Mountain Wyoming, 1942-1945* includes analysis of study findings.
11. Sangster, *Earning Respect*, 112.
12. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 29-35.

Guilt by Association

13. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 198-200.
14. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 29-35.
15. Leslie A. Schwalm, *A Hard Fight for We: Women's Transition from Slavery to Freedom in South Carolina* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 58-59.
16. See Fiset, "Heart Mountain Hospital Strike," 108-12, for a description of this incident.
17. Margaret Brooks, "Passive in War? Women Internees in the Far East 1942-1945" in *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross Cultural and Historical Perspectives*, eds. S. MacDonald, P. Holden, S. Ardener (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987).
18. L. Nova and I. Lourie, *Interrupted Lives: Four Women's Stories of Internment during World War II in the Philippines* (Nevada City, CA: Artemis, 1995).
19. Marlene Heinemann, *Gender and Destiny: Women Writers and the Holocaust* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986).
20. Joan Ringelheim, "Women and the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research," *Feminism and Community*, eds. P.A. Weiss, M. Freidman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 317-340.
21. Brooks, "Passive in War?"