

**Spatial Narratives of Property Loss: Social memory and
the dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned property in
British Columbia**

by
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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

in the
Department of Geography
Faculty of Environment

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
Spring 2018

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Abstract

This project informs an emergent literature on memory and property. More specifically, it uses a geographical perspective to analyze *memories of property loss*. The case study – a sample of thirty-one oral histories related to the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property during the 1940s – comes from the *Landscapes of Injustice (LoI)* SSHRC-funded project. *LoI* addresses haunting across the social memory of Canada; by sharing spatially-grounded life stories, interview participants unsettle under-recognized meaning attached to property loss. To embrace the centrality of space and place to this reckoning, I frame these “spatial narratives” around the processes of hauntology in *les lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) (Derrida, 1994 & Nora, 1989). I focus on three distinct themes across the narratives and to analyze them, draw from the work of three contemporary property theorists. *Citizenship* explores the political undertones of “Canadian” property ownership and loss (Singer, 2000); *Investment* identifies the monetary and non-monetary values put into property (Becher, 2014); and *Belonging* details important networks that structure property and create unique experiences of belonging (Keenan, 2015). As I recognize the complex nature of social memory, I also illustrate the ways in which these themes interconnect. Finally, I argue that spatial narratives from *LoI* gesture at a deeper and wider story of property; at the intersection of social memory and property, there is a window into the layered history of remembering and forgetting dispossession in colonized British Columbia.

Keywords: Property; Social memory; Spatial narratives; Site of memory; Haunting

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge that I live, work, and question loss on the unceded territories of the Indigenous peoples of the North American West Coast. I thank them for their hospitality.

I thank each narrator and elder from *LoI* (cited in this project, and not) for their time, generosity, and individual perspective.

Thank you to Linda Kawamoto Reid, Lisa Uyeda, and Sherri Kajiwara for their willingness to connect and guide me in my journey with *LoI*.

Thank you to Nicholas Blomley for his guidance and endless support. Thank you to Dara Culhane for pushing me to think harder about my words and actions. Thanks also to Laura Ishiguro for her critical questions and attention to detail. Thank you to Adrienne Burk for giving coffee, soup, and advice to a perfect stranger.

Finally, thanks also to Mom, Dad, Frankie, and Geoff.

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Circa 1923 Vancouver Family Home 617 Powell St
Left to Right Unknown, Unknown, Unknown, Yosaburo Kitamura, Yoshio (Matt) Matsui, Yutaka (Dick) Matsui, Zenzo Matsui, Shizue Matsui, Haruo Kitamura and Masao (Frank) Matsui

Chapter 1. Project Introduction

ALEX

And that home, whatever happened to it?

BUD

Oh some guy has it now, like, I think through the years it was left and it deteriorated, he built something new, but he has got the property. It's a fantastic setting. Every two years I go there, to British Columbia, I always drive by and look at it and shake my head. See I think our parents accepted it more than us younger generations, that's why we had that movement for the reparations. You know, I guess that was the thing about the Japanese Canadians, the ones that were evacuated, they felt they couldn't do anything about it and they just accepted it. But that's probably the most racist thing the Canadian government did, the Liberals, to totally move people from one part of the country, to strip them of their rights. They couldn't vote until 1949, couldn't even become citizens. They finally got papers saying 'Canadian citizen' despite being born in Canada. [pause] When I still think about it - lately with guys my age, in their 70s - we talk about it, we get pissed off, to be honest. Our parents just say - they just shake their heads. There's a Japanese expression: 'you can't do nothing about it', so just accept it. Too bad we're so passive.

ALEX: When you go back to BC and see that home, what's that like?

BUD: Yeah. I get mad [laughs].

This conversation is from an oral history interview from the *Landscapes of Injustice (LoI)* SSHRC Partnership Grant-funded project. During the Second World War, the attack at Pearl Harbour gave existing racism toward Japanese Canadians (and Americans) a “new expression” (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017, p. 714). Federal laws were passed to restrict the freedoms of these citizens. Under the War Measures Act, these Orders-in-Council heavily structured and restricted the mobility, communication, and everyday lives of Japanese Canadians. Eventually, coastal British Columbia became a “protected area”, untouchable to the people that once called it home. Japanese Canadians were uprooted and their property was seized and liquidated by the Canadian

government. These properties included a variety of assets including, but not limited to, land, boats, businesses (urban and rural operations), and homes (and everything of monetary and personal value within these homes). Uprooting involved incarceration, labour camps, “repatriation” (exile to Japan), and the separation of families. 21,460 people were displaced, imprisoned, and left without assets. The geography of British Columbia would never be the same, as liquidation prevented the reconstitution of networks and communities upheld by Japanese-Canadian-owned property (Adachi, 1978). *LoI* claims that based “on racial grounds [this] was a collective and moral failure that remains only partially addressed” (*Landscapes of Injustice*, 2014). In particular, a comprehensive look into the dispossession has yet to take place. *LoI* thus aims to explore the exact processes involved in this injustice, including its subsequent *forgetting and remembering* (*Landscapes of Injustice*, 2014, emphasis mine). As one may gather from the conversation above, memories connected to unjust property loss have many social, political, and spatial lessons to offer. They may contain special narratives about the places of property, complicated emotional bonds to place, and what meaning persists in memory upon the loss of property.

My thesis project partners with *LoI* but takes its own specific path. Overall, I aim to enrich how we think about the relationship between memory and property. Currently, memory-property literature identifies memory as a lens through which people comprehend property, how property law and relations affect memory, and conversely, how memory can affect change in property relations. Therefore, the scholarship offers comprehensive analyses of social and legal property arrangements and their perceived meaning. Yet, there are few analyses that thoroughly address memories of *property loss*.

Further, lasting memories of loss, including the *meaning(s)* of property revealed in these memories, are seldom articulated in relation to the *spaces* of property. Hence, I connect memory and space in this project to support a specific theoretical avenue. I argue that memory and property are socio-spatial - and that socio-spatial events, such as property loss - can “haunt” social memory. I also argue the spaces of property loss act as important sites of such haunted memories. Consequently, this project may also serve to complement critical projects that focus on the memory and spaces of Japanese Canadian incarceration, including those of Mona Oikawa (2012) & Kirsten McAllister (2010). Finally, I argue that *spatial narratives* (spatialized memories) of such loss reveal commonly-held property meaning and value. Inspired by the work of McAllister, I also ponder apparent absences and invisibilities in the narratives in the project conclusion. As my formal research question, I thus ask: *how are social memories of property loss spatialized?* As a sub-question I also ask, *do social memories of property loss demonstrate haunting in sites of memory (i.e. do the places of property loss act as spectres)*

Oral histories (transcribed interviews) from *LoI* provide invaluable qualitative data regarding experiences of property loss. This partnership is ideal to my research question and methods. As an *LoI* interviewer, I draw from interviews that I participated in and know well. For interviews that I have not been a part of, I use knowledge of the overall interview style, processes, and online database. The interviews:

1. are rich in firsthand and intergenerational memories of property loss,
2. highlight aspects of the injustice that remain entrenched in social memory,

3. are strongly connected to place in various geographical contexts, and
4. embody *spatial narratives* through life stories across space and time; they are individual accounts of life before loss, of the dispossession, and consequent struggle, rebuilding, and introspection.

To engage with these narratives, I gathered a sample from the *LoI* database and coded them separately for this thesis project.

I used a variegated theoretical framework to do this work, which draws from memory, haunting, sites of memory, and property-memory literature. Having this framework allowed me to direct my general research goals and choose interviews in a purposeful way. I explored memories through a geographical perspective and considered, *what do people talk about most when they talk about their pre-war family homes or communities? What do they feel was really lost? What remains in memory and is most important to share after so many years? Which spaces are these sentiments attached to?* As patterns emerged from the interviews, I also formed a clear analytical framework for commonly-held property meaning and value. The most distinct themes are of a political, economic, emotional, and social nature. In this analysis, these themes are termed: *Citizenship* (chapter four), *Investment* (chapter five), and *Belonging* (chapter six). The literatures I used to frame and analyze the data are detailed below.

Chapter 2. Memory, Place, Space, and Property

Memory Theory

Any endeavor that involves memory will be a complicated journey. In the scope of this project, I consider many questions: *How do we think about memory in relation to loss? In relation to space? Is memory a reliable source of qualitative information regarding collective perspectives or historical events? What important lessons does memory offer about contextualized social experience?* On the most foundational level, I use this chapter to argue that memory is an intimate window into human experience, which is naturally dynamic, social, and simultaneously individual. I also argue that space matters to memory and what one may express through a life story. Lastly, I suggest that intergenerational memories add layers of complexity, but that increased complexity does not necessitate a decrease in relevance or value. Rather, intergenerational memory can help to illuminate the persistence (haunting) and evolution of memory across space, people, and time.

According to Pierre Nora, memory is “life, borne by living societies”, and is distinct from history, which is “merely a representation of the past” (1989, p. 8). Memory is “in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive formations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived...a perpetually actual phenomenon...tying us to the eternal present.” (Nora, 1989, p. 8) Memory has “plasticity” or flexibility, which allows for adaptation and continual reconstruction within non-linear life experiences (Assmann & Shortt, 2012). It is therefore imperfect, yet

lived-in, authentic and human. As Nora suggests, memory exists among “us” and operates on a social level. In referring to memory, I use Nora’s argument that memory is not a flawless record of factual history – rather, it is representative of, embedded within, and creates human experience.

Nora is wise to identify memory as a social experience. In On Collective Memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1952) details this process. He explains that as humans are social, we also remember or “localize” events within a social context (a common group or “collective”) (1952, p. 52). As Katharyne Mitchell (2003) argues, memories are legitimized when expressed and defined within a wider community, while Malgorzata Kalinowska (2012) compares the expression of memories to language, where individuals can articulate themselves within a group. Therefore, individuals construct memories of specific events through surrounding social frameworks and pressures. For instance, in her study with Japanese Canadian women, Pamela Sugiman (2004) describes memories as personal (individual) and social. She explains that memories from the uprooting in WWII are “layer[ed]”; experiences of dispossession and internment are often remembered in a personalized way – yet, memories are also (re)formed in a “community of people” or “in relation” to the diverse experiences of others affected by these wartime policies (2004, p.1, 16 & 21). Sugiman describes her own relevant interview observations,

[Women] presented [me with] their stories in relation to members of larger families, families who had been moved to a different geographic location, or to smaller living quarters, mothers who had newborn or very young children. Some women minimized their pain in comparison to that of men, many of whom faced physical hardship and economic exploitation in road camps, as Prisoners of War (p. 60).

In this description of Sugiman’s work, one can observe the relational nature of memory sharing. Other families in the community, gender, and spatial and temporal contexts matter to memory formation and sharing. In this case, memory is simultaneously an individual and collective creation, which is heavily affected by various factors within society. Oikawa (2012) parallels this idea in her foundational work Cartographies of Violence: Japanese Canadian Women, Memory, and the Subjects of Internment, in which she carefully investigates questions of memory sharing and (re)formation among and between Japanese Canadian mothers and daughters – and *forgetting* among others interwoven within the Canadian context.

This brings me to a discussion about the specific kinds of memories I engage with in this analysis. Events that involve injustice, such as incarceration and/or dispossession, can exist in memory in a peculiar way. The dispossession, uprooting, and displacement of Japanese Canadians undeniably falls into this category. As discussed, these events have an ongoing effect, which remain “only partially addressed” and have sparked critical thinking among many Canadians and academics in the present day (*LoI*, 2014). Therefore, I choose to frame my analysis through a specific theoretical lens. Drawing from Jacques Derrida’s theory of hauntology, authors like Avery Gordon utilize “haunting” to describe the presence of an unresolved injustice, in which the event remains within or “haunts” memory (2008, p. 18). In other words, haunting quietly unsettles or creates a disturbance, despite what is currently known or accepted as truth. Derrida contextualizes this experience within Modern Europe as “historical” but not “dated” as it exists in the everyday realm (1994, p. 4). Therefore, haunting begins with injustice, yet continues to persist across time and space. Haunted memories are also

divisive by nature as they unsettle collectively held memories and national history. According to Nora (1989), layered historic study, or the cumulative record formed by historians, “deform[s] and transform[s]” the authenticity of memory. As a scrutinized and legitimized record, historic study interprets, and thus alters raw memory. For instance, Cubitt (2007) argues that narratives of collective history and memory are a practice of nations, which will “rearrange, distort, and omit so much as is needed to make our self-images agreeable” (2007, p. 41). Therefore, accounts of “collective” history are selective, which can distort reality in memory. On the other hand, haunted memories often retain multifaceted social truth. *LoI* presents a diverse fabric of memories related to a spatialized property injustice, which challenges and unsettles Canadian history.

In light of such arguments, Geoffrey Cubitt (2007) identifies a need to critically re-approach definitions of collective memory. He claims, “knowledge of awareness of past events or conditions is developed or sustained within human societies, and through which, therefore, individuals within those societies are given the sense of past that extends beyond what they themselves personally remember.” (Cubitt, 2007, p. 16). He suggests that the concept of collective memory is romanticized, and instead argues people remember together but the significance of any event can vary widely across individuals. This compares to Sugiman’s (2004) and Oikawa’s (2012) suggestion that through women’s experiences of internment, that not all people formulate identical memories of such an event. Memories will differ across individuals and groups across time and space. These memories may haunt some in a particular way, and not others. “Social memory” is put forth as an alternative and more neutral concept, in which one acknowledges the subjectivity and social processes of memory (2007, p. 17). Social

memory is “a process (or set of processes), and processes are composed of social and cultural practices, which combine over time to produce effects in human consciousness and human social relationships” (Cubitt, 2007, p. 17). This process thus also includes memory sharing in relation to the self and the social. In the context of *LoI*, this becomes obvious, and reflection upon memory and its process is integral to the construction of social memory. Social memory leaves room for haunting to unsettle collective notions of history, and to re-enter and re-form reality.

It is therefore imperative to identify memory as social, yet also as an entity of complicated, ongoing, and fluid social process and practice. An interview with Grace Omoto illustrates subjectivity in spatialized memory formation and sharing,

ALEX

So [you] walk that way to drop by your former house?

GRACE

Yes I did.

ALEX

What was that like, seeing that?

GRACE

The house wasn't there because of the apartment.

ALEX

Oh right.

GRACE

But the house that my dad had rented rooms before we bought the house, was still there [pause]. Yeah, I guess that's about it as far as my life goes. [pause] I -- as far as...a lot of people talked about their losses during the war, what they had. I can't really remember anything that I particularly had that I lost. I'm sure my mom did, but for myself, not really. Like, it was a big adventure really. I've never been on a train before in my life and here we were being shipped out to the ghost towns on a train.

This type of commentary is quite common across *LoI*'s interviews. Grace acknowledges the distressing nature of dispossession – but, her own memories as a child during uprooting are quite different from those of her parents. Ten interviews that I chose for this analysis explicitly communicate such self-awareness – and, most were quick to mention their viewpoint during my own interview outreach. Hence, I maintain that “haunting” and “social memory” are necessary complexities in framing this thesis project.

To further demonstrate the complicated practices and processes involved in sharing social memory, I provide a simple example of social remembering in an *LoI* interview. Kelvin Higo and Suzy Higo discuss personal memories from the Higo family farm in Mission, BC.

KELVIN

So they're just down the road from the plant. So they went there. Grandpa was a farmer in [Mission?]. When did he first come to Canada?

SUZY

He was eighteen years old. Now, figure it out for me. [laughs].

KELVIN

It would be the early 1900s anyways. Again, I think one of his friends must have gone already because, to me, if you were going to go to farming why would you bypass all the fertile land in the Fraser Valley, go up to [Mission?], have to clear forested land, and, you know, I don't think the soil is that great up there either. It's more rocky and...

SUZY

We had a strawberry farm.

KELVIN

An acre, right?

SUZY

We had a strawberry farm there.

JOSH
In [Mission?]?

KELVIN
Yeah. They had a ten-acre property and then grandpa had cleared about an acre of it.

SUZY
Four acres.

KELVIN
Four acres?

SUZY
Four acres.

KELVIN
And then grew strawberries.

SUZY
That was our livelihood. When the German family...he had raspberries and the whole family would go pick raspberries for him. After that we would go to Sardis, mom and me. My dad stayed home with the younger sisters and we would go pick hops.

The conversation includes relatively pleasant memories of a family farm. Suzy gives some firsthand recollection of the social dynamics in their neighbourhood, including other types of families in the area and what kinds of farm chores they did in relation to these dynamics. More importantly, the conversation gives some idea of the complex nature of memory-making. It illustrates some of the discussion and reassurance involved with remembering. As each person draws from childhood memory, some of the details about their grandfather and the size of the farm are dependent upon a reassurance between siblings. Yet, some of the other details depend on the reflection and logic of an adult. Evidently, remembering is necessarily social and ongoing. Moreover, one may assume that their grandfather may have been able to share more spatial detail, share other

memories, or reflect from an adult's perspective as Kelvin and Suzy were children at the time of this story.

Let us explore another memory to see other factors that further the varied nature of the oral histories. Ken Shibatani describes the schools that he attended before WWII,

Mount Pleasant, I went there. The oldest public school in Vancouver. There was an Anglo-Saxon principal. He hated the Japanese and he made no secret about it. He would openly call me a Jap, openly. The only time I was on his good side was when we were on the school's softball team or soccer team or basketball team and we were representing his school. Then I was okay but other than that no. He hated us. The school I went to when the war began was a model school. It's in Fairview right near city hall. There's a principal there called Mr. [WhiteHead?]. He was the total opposite of this guy at Mount Pleasant. On December seventh [Sunday], Pearl Harbour, Monday he called everybody into the auditorium and he made a speech which made us feel very very comfortable. I'll never forget [clears throat]. So, all the teachers were nice because the principal set a pattern.

Clearly, city life was different from Kelvin and Suzy's life in a supportive farming community. *Spatial context matters*. Furthermore, different schools within the same city (Vancouver) form unique childhood memories for Ken. In other words, memories of the dispossession era can vary, even within an individual's memories across space *and time*. Although Ken, Suzy, and Kelvin were all Japanese Canadian children in the Greater Vancouver area just prior to the dispossession, their experiences and methods of recollection are unique. I stress this point not only to highlight the complexities of memory-making, but also to argue that even though *LoI* is focused on Japanese Canadian life stories, I cannot claim that a single life story can hold or represent all Japanese Canadian experience, memory, or opinion. As Suzy states,

SUZY

But you know, it's not just only our story. There's a lot of other Japanese

people that have different stories than us...

Therefore, I choose to engage the term “social memory” when referring to shared and contradictory memories of property loss. This approach is an effort of balance and openness; the creation and maintenance of memories is context specific (*in* social groups), rather than characteristic of a particular community (*of* social groups). In relation to the oral history data I am working with, I also suggest that haunted memories can exist in firsthand or intergenerational experience (across the individual and across families). David Mitsui talks about his experience with learning about his grandfather, who not only is also WWI Veteran, but also experienced the racist property policies of WWII as he lost his poultry farm in Port Moody,

DAVID

Well they don't feel common place and there's a bit of regret in that I wish I had the knowledge that I have now growing up when my grandfather was still alive, to spend time asking questions and talking to him. You know when you're growing up, he's just grandpa. You spend time with him but you would talk about current things and don't have the maturity or the understanding to ask about previous things and to get that level of understanding. So what I have learned about my family is mainly through my mom and dad and mainly my two aunts. I regret not having the chance to have that conversation with my grandfather. But certainly, is he a hero? Yes, I don't know if I could ever live through what he lived through. Especially in the war, and certainly there were a lot of other Japanese Canadians that had similar experiences than him. Certainly, there were many decorated Japanese Canadian vets in World War One. But it seems like my grandfather has been singled out because he lived the longest perhaps.

JOSH

Is that a tough job to be the spokesperson then, for that legacy?

DAVID

Well, it's a big responsibility. I questioned myself on how am I going to pass this on because I've spoken with my daughter a few times and she doesn't seem to have that interest but neither did I at that age. So, I said maybe I just need to be patient and wait for her to start asking questions.

I've got other cousins as well that I've lost touch with. Certainly, sitting down with them and going over what I've researched and everything I've found out about our grandfather would likely be of interest to them, too. So maybe if my daughter isn't interested in carrying on the legacy then who would be interested and how can that be continued, you know that family legacy, how can that be continued because having his medals is a wonderful gift to have right now but how do I make them available to my other relatives, because it's either that or turning them over to a museum.

Here you can see that David has received memory that has been passed down over three generations. I would argue that the experiences of David's grandfather represent a form of intergenerational haunting. The memories of his grandfather's experience are rooted in his grandfather's stories but are supplemented by each generation's introspection about its meaning and value. This differs on yet another level from memories of Grace, Ken, Suzy, or Kelvin. Across just four examples from the data, one can see why haunted memory must be considered social, contextual, and never purely "collective". Yet, each interview presents valuable information about memory and how historical injustice may be remembered. It is thus my intention to maintain property loss as a multi-scalar experience as it is important to acknowledge both individual and group memories exist within *Landscapes of Injustice* interviews. This conclusion is helpful when making sense of interviews as there may be unique memories of property loss, which exist within a complex social context, but there also may be commonalities, patterns, or shared understandings of loss.

Memory in Place: Sites and Spectres of Memory

As I have begun to illustrate, this project operates from a geographical perspective. This is because space – in particular, place – plays a significant role in social memory. As Cubitt argues, history is a selective "schematic account of human

development” which “look[s] outside a group” rather than directly within it and within its context (2007, p. 44). He claims memory (rather than history) contains important contextual factors (Cubitt, 2007). Of these contextual factors, place is central. In an interview with Palestinian filmmaker Sobhi Al-Zobaidi, Matthew Hern (2016) describes Al-Zobaidi’s experience with memories of dispossession. Al-Zobaidi disagrees that we can “own” memory as an object, but rather, that memory is a relationship between objects, people, and space:

Because then we assume that there is “me” or “us” outside of memory (i.e., the subject is formed outside of memory then takes hold of it). But in fact there is no subjectivity outside of memory. We do not exist outside of memory; it is the network of relations that constitute our sense of who we are. That question turns memory into an object that can be “owned.” I also think that “dispossession” at some level has to do with memory in terms of disruption or loss. This is why when we lose a house or a car we’re not dispossessed because they can be replaced, but dispossession is the taking away of the space that contains all the objects that articulate one’s memory, and these are not replaceable. Dispossession results in some kind of loss and disorientation. (p. 34)

In this explanation, memory is not an object to be had or lost, for it cannot form without social relations or the context and objects associated with them. I ponder recollection in the same vein. *How are subject and object involved when one recalls dispossession? Can one thoroughly analyze this type of memory without considering social relations or material context?*

Within critical memory theory, Nora calls upon “lieux de memoire” or “sites of memory”, which act as material points of access into memory, experience, and community (Nora, 1989, p. 12). Memory is therefore dependent upon space, and space is a vital conduit and foundation for memory. Several authors recognize this inseparable partnership (Till, 2005, Burk, 2006, McAllister, 2010, Mitchell, 2003, Oikawa, 2012).

For example, in a collaborative study with three international students, ethnographer Andrew Stevenson illustrates how memory recollection is often emplaced, especially in relation to “home”. He argues, “sensory ethnography has enabled me to construct memory as an emplaced, embodied, multisensory phenomenon, rather than an internal [psychological] archive.” (2014, p. 335) In Stevenson’s study, participants articulate memory through experiencing the place(s) of their new neighbourhood, and subsequently, comparing the memories of their “home” neighbourhood. Through the ethnographic practice of walking narratives, the reader gains the most direct understanding of the intimate relationship between memory and place. Upon remembering, “place” is often most important to a sense of one’s past (2004, p. 9). This idea is present in many *LoI* interviews. For instance, in a conversation with me, Dennis Okada explains when his father began to share wartime memories after years of silence,

DENNIS

With my mom and dad, there was some talk, but there wasn’t a lot. It’s only when...you know, like we went to Japan, there was talk. When we went to Hiroshima and we went to the A-Bomb museum and ... “Holy crap.” You start thinking. And then, you know, we go to where my dad grew up and he would start talking a little about that. And then he would always mention all his friends are dead because they left for the war. The friends that he knew, that he remembers as a child, right? And then, he got displaced here. So, depending on the situation it comes out. They weren’t apt to just talk about it.

REBECA

So, would you say that they would have to be in this context, or even the place to actually...or to see maybe a photo of yourself playing baseball...you had to be put back into that context to talk about it?

DENNIS

Yeah. Like with Arrow Lakes, I would never have heard the story had we not decided to have gone there. Or New Denver...

From another intergenerational perspective, Sachiko Okuda talks about what it was like to go to the New Denver and Popoff internment camps,

JOSH

What was that trip like? I mean, certainly it was an organized trip but what was that trip like for you?

SACHIKO

That trip was extraordinary, and it wasn't dark, it wasn't unhappy, it just made you imagine. It just made you think, and it's something to see artifacts and see the surroundings. At New Denver, for example, they have displays of actual internment shacks. It was just, how can I put it, it...it took you to a time and a place that you knew your parents and their siblings, and their parents had been and had really lived there and it confirmed what I'd read in books but it's different to see it. I have photos of my father's younger brother and sisters in Popoff in a field of strawberries and it was beautiful. There's no building there anymore but the location is beautiful. You think how could they have a camp in such a beautiful place? Under other circumstances these are places you'd enjoy being at but when your freedom and freedom of movement and opportunities are taken away from you, when it's very artificial it must have been something very different.

Both of these interview excerpts illustrate just how important place is to memory's vitality. For Dennis' father, different places contain different experiences, feelings, and stories, which in turn, spark the sharing of emplaced memories. For Sachiko, the physicality of place is necessary in feeling close to memorialized family experience. In these two examples, place is *required* to unearth memory, and sometimes, place merely gives memory a little push. These ideas and observations echo existing analyses of memories of incarceration. Specifically, Oikawa (2012) stresses the importance of place, emplaced imagination (imagining your parents or grandparents in place), and even the importance of photographs to memory.

For these reasons, I situate property loss as a *spatialized* event fixed within memory. To do so, I once again use Jacques Derrida's theory of hauntology. "Social

ghosts” (the unsettling event) often re-emerge through a “spectre”, which is a non-human presence of the departed or of an unaddressed event (Derrida, 1994). In other words, injustice resurfaces in the everyday realm, which often occurs through triggering conduits of spirits, *places*, or things. For Dennis and Sachiko, the Hiroshima, Arrow Lakes, and New Denver internment site plays this role. Karen Till, who also draws from haunting theory, advocates for confrontation or “reckoning” with these memories through haunted places (original or recreated) (2005, p. 9). In the context of social injustice, Till (2005) argues:

Places are never merely backdrops for action or containers for the past. They are fluid mosaics and moments of memory, matter, metaphor, scene, and experience that create and mediate social spaces and temporalities. Through place-making, people mark social spaces as haunted sites where they can return, make contact with their loss, contain unwanted presences, or confront past injustices. (p. 8)

Reckoning involves the confrontation or acknowledgement of injustice, which, in Till’s research, is often enabled through particular places (spectres). It is important to recognize this idea, as many offering oral histories within *LoI* are voluntarily confronting memories of the places of property. Hence, I must consider these ideas as they raise questions regarding the relationship between memory and place, particularly within the context of unjust property loss. As a formal research sub-question, I thus identify how memories of property loss are tied to their spatial origins. I ask, *do social memories of property loss demonstrate haunting in sites of memory (i.e. do the places of property loss act as spectres)?* Authors such as Till (2005) argue places of loss act as spectres and can provide a thought-provoking and often emotional outlet for rights infringement and experiences of community invalidation. Authors like McAllister (2010) also ponder this idea within the Japanese Canadian context. Within the spaces (mainly, memorials) of

incarceration in New Denver, McAllister argues that it is crucial to reflect upon how sites of memory reflect representation and intergenerational meaning-making and teaching. Therefore, I propose that it is valuable to identify how haunting shapes place through memory. *What does an individual or community experience when interacting with the places of personal property loss?* On the most essential level, I argue that sites of memory contain spatialized spectres of loss and displacement, which haunt memory in particular ways. As Till (2005) and McAllister (2010) suggest, place can be a living trigger and partner of memory-making.

Like McAllister, Adrienne Burk (2006) explains how memory is often embedded within and utilizes the physicality of space to unsettle and communicate. In her conversation regarding commemoration on Vancouver's Downtown Eastside, Burk describes the importance of public place and space as an access point into memory and discussion of present and future; the spatial bounds of commemoration forge an important link to memories, and conversation about the wider public narrative, or social memory. Although it is not always the case, particular places may ground memories, but also signal their evolving nature (Mitchell, 2003). Till explains, "When someone goes back home...he or she may experience such vivid memories that it may appear (even if only momentarily) as though the place and the person returning are exactly the same as they once were. Time stands still." (2005, p. 13). Till suggests time and space warps, and although "we may feel haunted by that which appears not to be there in material space", the past experience of or connection to place wields a "powerful presence" (2005, p. 13). Henry Shibata, a Japanese Canadian who experienced loss of home in Vancouver, shares what returning home is like for him,

JOSH

Did you ever go back to the Powell Street neighbourhood or...

HENRY

Yeah, I've gone to look at the house where we used to live. It's on 308 Cordova Street. It's gone now. They made some kind of an apartment or condominium complex there now, but it used to be there and the distinguishing feature of that house that we lived in was that it had a cherry tree in the front yard, a big cherry tree. It used to be a...fruits were not too bad to eat but not very good. Anyways, that house, I used to go back there and every time I'd go to Vancouver I'd go and see if that was still there and it was still there. The last time we went, which is about 1989 or 1990, it was gone.

Henry explains that he consistently returned to check in on the property, until the home was totally gone. It is useful to note the habit of returning home is quite common in stories from *LoI* interviews. Many Japanese Canadians (outside of *LoI*, too) enact this journey (both to home and sites of incarceration), which is important to those who have personal memories in these places and those who are learning about their families or friends (Oikawa, 2012). I present many examples of this choice to return to places of loss. For instance, in the introductory excerpt of this thesis project I present Bud's choice to return home. Due to individuality and the stage in each interview, Bud's experience is reflective and emotionally charged, while in Henry's comment above, he compares the current to previous state of his old home. While both participants illustrate the "pull" of home and its connection to memory, each interview demonstrates that place hails the individual in complicated, yet tangible ways.

It is important to note that Henry recalls the experience of his old front yard, including how the fruit of the cherry tree used to taste. Ethnographer Sarah Pink (2015) identifies the emplaced nature of sensorial experience. She argues people (and thus researchers) must consider the intimate embodied and emplaced experiences of the social

everyday. In another example, JoAnne Maikawa describes what she missed about home, after she moved to an incarceration camp,

MOMOYE

Going back to your early childhood, what do you miss the most about your Vancouver days? Or what do you remember missing most after you left Vancouver?

JOANNE

The milk. The milk. I wanted my milk to come out of the refrigerator, and not straight from the cow. I mean...

MOMOYE

The taste, I guess, was different?

JOANNE

It was such a different...as I said before, it was such a different experience for me. So, for example, the Japanese bath that our Grandfather Nozaki built for us, was really...I'm not sure if I would say at the time, as a kid, that it was a wonderful experience. But it was a very exciting and a very different experience for me. Although I had seen Japanese baths before because my Grandfather Maikawa had one built one into his house. I saw it. I knew about it, but I hadn't actually used one. And at first, when he first built it, we were all waiting for it to be finished. So we all had our first bath under the stars because the roof was not added at that point. And I had pigs to look after. And I had chickens, too. I didn't look after them, but they were there. And I think I gathered some eggs. And I had rabbits of my own. Well, I didn't have that kind of life. And so...did I miss anything? Well, the milk. And my school experience was not wonderful. I didn't really...I felt very isolated in my school experience. No. No, I can't really say. I visited that house, by the way, with my family, in 1998 after my mother died. Fifteen of us went there.

Between home and new places linked to property loss, JoAnne's memories are full of spatialized sensory experience. When she reflects upon what she really "misses", it is the everyday landscape and the experiences which characterize life within it. Even in the spaces of incarceration (a rural "self-supporting" camp), of her new home, the senses are central to her memories. It is thus important to recognize memories that articulate sensory experience such as the smells, images, or tactile experiences of places of loss –

both in uniquely urban and rural contexts. Thomas Porcello (2010) advocates for the integration of sensorial body knowledge and experience with language and discourse. He explains, “We argue that centering a return to the senses on an opposition between text-centered approaches to culture and body-centered approaches to culture neglects broad areas of overlap and agreement between various approaches to the embodied sensuous nature of human experience and sociability.” (2010, p. 60). Quoting Howes, Porcello explains “the relationship between [the five senses] – are socially constituted...and...cultural productions constitute social relations through sensuous experience” (2010, p. 54). Therefore, as the senses are socially constituted in a dynamic way, it will be valuable to recognize them in the oral histories and articulate their significance to sites of memory. Influenced by the works of Nora (1989), Derrida (1994), Pink (2015), Burk (2006), McAllister (2010), Mitchell (2003), Oikawa (2012), and Till (2005), I argue it is thus important to identify places of property loss as haunted; they are spectres and active sites of social memory. These sites have formidable effect as triggers upon contact, yet they also remain clear and robust in memory, regardless of direct such contact. Sites of dispossession are thus entrenched within memory, and vice versa.

Lastly, I must also consider that such memories of loss exist beyond place. Dispossession involves a story of movement and linkages. I revisit the interview with Henry, in which he maps out his life. He plans his autobiography by the places associated with dispossession, incarceration, displacement and resettlement. Put simply, he illustrates a clear mental link between life story, place, and space:

JOSH

...Do you remember...you sort of want to pass along memories of your history to your grandkids and to your kids.

HENRY

So that's why I'm writing an autobiography. I'm trying.

JOSH

Yeah.

HENRY

I've got five phases: Vancouver, Lemon Creek, Japan, Beverly, Montreal, and now Ottawa.

Henry's life "phases" are undeniably geographical. In this project, I strive to maintain that loss does not start and end in one place, rather, it is tied to many places or points across time. Henry has memories of loss and displacement, of which emplaced points of reference build a constellation of a haunted life-story. I ask *how social memories of property loss are "spatialized"* because I do not intend for this question to probe superficially. In the same way in which I acknowledge memory as fluid, (inter)subjective, and relational, I argue that the "emplaced" memories from *LoI* are ultimately "spatialized" and form a long and complicated geography. In particular, I acknowledge that the experiences of Japanese Canadians involve spaces that "are not discrete and separate but are interconnected and overlapping" (Oikawa, 2012, p. 263) I revisit this idea when describing the utility of narratives in relation to the data and to my methodology.

Property Theory

Before I delve into the ways in which memory and property theoretically interact, it is important that I introduce property. This introduction or "definition" is *not* exhaustive, nor is it complete. Of course, the entire purpose of this project is to expand how we understand property through memory and space. Moreover, it would be careless of me to leave Indigenous land use unacknowledged (more on this in the conclusion).

Instead, here I outline a basic understanding of property that reflects sentiments and opinions across *LoI* participants. As I consider this purpose, I also prioritize a relevant definition that engages the historical context, management, and loss of property felt across property owners. For instance, despite the fact that there were Japanese Canadian renters who also lost property, home, and community – and we know that renters are an important part of property’s landscape and function (Blomley, 2004) – *LoI*’s oral history collection features *title holders*. The definition below is thus a starting point in relation to processes of dispossession and the model of property that these participants identify with.

In relation to this group, the broadest level of this definition of property identifies its relational dimensions. Property is a relationship between a property owner, the space and/or object at hand, and the protector of property – the state. How does one position him or herself within this relationship? For those who lost property during WWII and within colonized British Columbia, memories are formed within a dominant conception or ideal of *private property*. Joseph Singer (2000) terms this mindset as the “ownership model”. In this model, the owner is assumed to hold rights to manage their assets and these rights take priority over any form of intervention. These assets involve land – but as an investment, property can also contain physical manifestations of the effort made to increase its value (MacPherson, 1978 & Becher, 2014). Assets in *LoI* appear in many forms, such as boats, furniture and other highly valued or sentimental objects associated with one’s property. Therefore, property is not merely physical space; it is made up of rights and relations (MacPherson, 1978). As Singer (2000) argues,

Property is about rights over things and the people who have those rights are called owners...Owners are free to use the property as they wish. They have the right to exclude others from it or grant them access over it.

They have the power to transfer the title – to pass the power of ownership to someone else. They are also immune to having the property taken away from them without their *consent* [emphasis mine], or they must be adequately compensated if the property is taken by the state for public purposes. (p. 3)

Under this model, it seems that property is a relationship between others in relation to subject and object, but also in relation to the political. As Blomley (2004) argues, these private “property relations [are] acknowledged by the state and are granted rights status” (p. 4). To have rights within this legal relationship is to have “an enforceable claim” and this claim depends on the support and enforcement of the state (*what’s mine is mine and unless I consent to your access, I can call upon the state to remove you from it*) (Blomley, 2004, p. 11). What is central to the dissemination and enforcement of these rights is the relationship between owners and guarantor – between citizens and the state. Title owners are thus recognized and embedded in a legal, legitimized, and privileged relationship (Blomley, 2004).

This relationship is fundamental to *LoI* participants. Yet, Singer (2014) urges us to think even deeper about the context of this relationship – about the system and society of property law and its guarantor. In Canada, liberal democratic norms underpin expected property rights, behaviours, processes, and enforcement, at least for those who are deemed suitable (Singer, 2014). Put differently, we are invited use the principles of a liberal democratic society to formulate property rights. Certain value choices in the everyday realm determine the character of property rights and property law (Singer, 2014). There are telling assumptions mixed and performed by owners within this relationship, including the expectation of “responsible citizenship, political participation, and economic entrepreneurship.” (Blomley, 2004, p. 4) These behaviours, which

seemingly interact with property law, reflect societal norms and processes. In *LoI* narratives, such behaviours are referenced to demonstrate how *unjust* and *unlawful* the dispossession truly was.

As I move through *LoI* interviews there are other, equally significant, definitions of property that come forward through emplaced memories of loss. When the legal relationship of property is disrupted and ignored, injustice unsettles a belief in the status quo of the ownership model and its context. *Loss seemingly shows us more about the Canadian politics, assets, and relationships of property.* In chapters three, four, five, six, and seven the “definition” of property builds outward and upward into the “definitions” of property. In this project, *LoI* participants reveal the depth of property by challenging our understanding of its legality and by reiterating cherished aspects of its existence.

Memory-Property Theory

How might these ideas about property inform emergent memory-property literatures? As noted in the introduction, there are few publications that define the direct relationship between memory and property, and even fewer that address any aspect of socio-spatialized *loss*. In the literature that does exist, there are two main threads: property law and relations act on memory (we formulate important memories within these structures), and conversely, memory acts upon property law and relations (memory can be a force that affects legal decisions and social relationships). These threads are fundamental – however, the realm of injustice, the passage of time, and the importance of space redirect scholarship to new avenues of thought. If we listen through the spectres of property loss, we can canvas several memorialized relationships, value, and structures of

property. In this section, I detail current memory-property literature and how it informs my own research.

People commemorate property in a few essential ways. They often remember property in its material sense, such as physical space (Maandi, 2009). Eduardo Penalver (2011) argues that memory exists *in* property (of specific things, like a baseball glove), i.e. “the object on which memory operates” (p. 1079). This property relationship is between object and individual. At the same time, “the memory of property has a powerful social dimension” (Maandi, 2009, p. 1073). This is the memory *of* property, which involves particular social groups and the related values or meanings of property (such as lost antiquities and, consequently, cultural identity). In this context, law is often forced to intervene and prioritize property claims through memories (Penalver, 2011). This includes instances of adverse possession and accession, in which present maintenance of property challenges the memories of former owners (and vice versa). Property, as a site of memory, contains shifting, yet powerful social meaning and value.

Memory *in* and *of* property are thus particularly significant to my research. I must consider the places of property as sites of social significance. To consider the social extent of property relations in place, I will draw from Sarah Keenan’s (2010 & 2015) theory of property as networks of belonging. Keenan (2010) argues:

Property is a relationship of belonging that is held up by surrounding space – a relationship that is not fixed or essential but temporally and spatially contingent. Property happens when a space holds up a relationship of belonging, whether that relationship is between a subject and an object or between a part and a whole. (p. 423)

Property relations are thus spatially and temporally contingent as inclusivity depends upon relationships upheld by space at a particular time. For instance, Keenan explains her relationship with her house at “27 Ritches Road”, which maintains her identity and sense of belonging (2015, p. 81). She explains, “it is not so much that the house and land are mine, but that 27 Ritches Road and I are, at a particular moment, in a relationship of belonging recognisable as property because the various social, cultural, legal and other networks in which we are embedded hold up our relationship as such.” (2015, p. 81) Keenan also explains that the duration of a particular network can uphold certain identities and give the appearance of legitimacy. I utilize Keenan’s theory in order to supplement the places of property as sites of social memory. To do so, I must explain how memories of property loss are structured and upheld by relationships to place.

I return to Matthew Hern’s (2016) interview about Sobhi Al-Zobaidi’s family experiences with displacement and dispossession. “Sobhi also spoke of his own father who between 1948 and 1967 lost the houses, orchards, almost everything he had inherited,” in which he states,

I was born into a web of narratives of loss. All through my youth my father relentlessly talked about how ‘we used to do this, we used to have this, we used to ...’ My father lived in a refugee camp, separated from his family. The times people in the camps were allowed to briefly return home were called Joyous Family trips— they reconnected with their relatives, their neighbors, the trees, the geography, the animals. They reconnected with their identity and their memory of land. Everything revolves around memory. His was an existential loss: not just a number of objects but everything that constituted who he was.

Hern continues,

There’s a particular set of relationships in Sobhi’s story between materiality and immateriality, between memory and existence, between

place and identity... 'It is the network of relations that makes us visible—it is who we are—we are a mixture of what we have and what we had. We are networks of relationships between objects and people. But there is not one perfect subjectivity that gets corrupted by loss or gain. Our subjectivities are always in process, but become fixed by various ideologies and/or social forces that aim to dominate and posit themselves above all others.' (p. 34)

The socio-spatialized dimensions of property found in Keenan's theory and Al-Zobaidi's interview about property loss are useful to this project as the interviews engage property owners removed from well-defined (although not homogenous) communities. In this project, I engage with individuals or families previously embedded in a specific community context, so I must make sense of the personal reflections of property loss, such as a loss of connection to "home". Clearly, the networks, place, and time associated with specific property systems are important to one's memories and sense of self. Interviews framed through the research sites of *LoI* and the places of property within these sites provide this avenue. Pia Massie shares what it was like to go to her grandfather's home in North Van, which her mother grew up in, but she didn't learn about until much later in life,

[It] was very interesting when we went because I was so terribly excited to be in the same space that my mother had been in as a child. Just to experience the space. You know, to breathe in the same room that my mother had been in as a child. For me, it was absolutely thrilling because, I think, if you lose a parent when you're really young in some ways you spend your life searching for that person again. So, any trace of that person becomes sacred in a way.

Memories of property are thus often embedded in memory across generations of family. We have already encountered this with Dennis and Sachiko's intergenerational experiences of displacement. Penalver (2011) classifies this as "distributive memory" (a form of memory *of* property), where particular allocations of property are entrenched in

social or collective memory and may determine the system of the next generation because they are passed on over time (p. 1081). There is where hauntology, through sites of memory, compliments property theory: injustice that exists in the places of property remains in memory and “haunts” groups across generations. Till (2005) explains memories grounded in specific places can even haunt individuals to the point of action. Like in Pia’s case, memories of homes long-gone often inspire pilgrimages or efforts to relive the experience of that specific place.

Much of the work on memory and property in Eastern Europe is useful to the long-term repercussions of property loss in memory. For instance, Dan Diner and Gotthart Wunberg (2007) link restitution and memory in the former Soviet Union. They argue that the re-privatization of property after collectivization and nationalization unearths trauma of WWII and reveals the stubborn nature of distributive memory. After many years of loss (often after former owners pass on), restored title “takes on a transgenerational dimension...[it] acts as a means of remembrance...[memory includes] not just the legal rights of private property, bound to mere objects...[but also] memory of times past.” (2007, p. 15). In other words, the restoration of certain pre-existing property relations draws forth memory *in* and *of* property. Moreover, this revival often creates tension in the face of new relations (Diner & Wunberg, 2007 & Penalver, 2011). Likewise, in studies of intergenerational memory among Japanese Canadian women, enplaced ideas of home often remain in family story and become an important point of family and community reflection (Oikawa, 2012). Lost property haunts memory – and its memory, embedded in place, can unsettle what exists in present day.

Maandi (2009) argues similar conditions exist in Post-Soviet rural Estonia. The physical landscape triggers memories of former property relations, which is demonstrated by covert property line maintenance (former private owners using items to keep lines visible) during collectivization. Similar to the way that Keenan (2010 & 2015) describes space as central to a sense of belonging (2010 & 2015), Ann Grubbstrom (2011) helps to explain this trigger; the strong emotional bonds to specific spatial arrangements (such as private property) may conjure behaviours to maintain or revive these systems and arrangements. Once again, transgenerational experiences of property loss are a natural fit in a hauntology framework, in which sites of memory ground and trigger experiences entrenched in a population (Kalinowska, 2012). During her interview, Emma Nishimura reflects upon her work as an artist, in which she uses space as a way to feel close to the experiences of her family. Below, she speaks about her recent work with maps that involve Japanese Canadian wartime experiences,

These ones are done, and now it's starting to grow, so, Tashme's over here. Greenwood. Um, and then I'm just trying to piece together kind of what sites that still need to be done. And then now it's about, because when I first was working it was involved this loop that was very important to my own family's specific experience of kind of where my grandfather worked, where my grandmother was interned, where my Dad was born, and how those all connected. But then, since I've shown this, it's amazing. People come up and say "Well, where's Tashme? Where's this? And this is where I was." ... one of the reasons the text is so small is really kind of furthering this idea that those stories and that information is out there, but it's tricky to get your hands on... And that that's a dual, kind of, it's hard for multiple reasons. It's about sharing and it's about not sharing, and remembering, and forgetting, and just... yea.

Emma later explains,

Because it's all about, I mean so much of my work for the past while has been about how to root your experience and how to tie it to place. And so that's what's been important for me to go, when it was, just to go out

there. And I made this big sculpture, but very much of, what is it like now to be in that space. And there's a way that we can think about our families and if you have something to hang onto, when it's tangible it's a lot easier to talk about it.

The power of affective or emotional bonds to place is telling. Emma talks about observable bonds among those who lost property and were displaced. Furthermore, she illustrates the intergenerational interest in past property systems and experiences of loss. In an Eastern European context, Grubbstrom (2011) describes how such bonds are often prioritized over economic gains, as many who received property through land restitution refused to sell property due to a sense of family history, which is grounded in place. The claims of Diner and Wunberg (2007), Maandi (2009), and Grubbstrom (2011) each reveal the strength that the places and relations of property have over and within memory, and simultaneously, the power memory has over current property relations. I use these claims to understand the centrality of place to storytelling in *LoI*. These frames also help me further understand sites of memory (especially those altered by turbulent relations of war), which may cause participants to reckon with previous (and current) spectres of property relations, systems, and identities.

Property Narratives

Connecting property loss to sites of memory is an important first step to framing a new perspective on memory-property theory. However, there is a third thread of memory-property theory that is exceptionally valuable in the context of oral histories data. I maintain that sites of memory from *LoI* will reveal the social nature of property, yet when I pay keen attention to property's narratives – or, the emplaced stories within these memories, I also observe that memory (through narrative) can act as a lens by

which people comprehend and order property. According to Neal Milner (1993), people often present memories of family, childhood, or the self through narratives to demonstrate or advocate for property rights. These stories aim to preserve the self-and/or particular social relations in regard to property (Milner, 1993). Such narratives tell a two-fold story: one of world at a particular time (contextualized experience) and one of social remembering (how the world is understood after the experience) (Ewick & Sibley, 1995). Put simply, narratives are social lenses into property. Moreover, narratives reveal how place is important to meaning-making, which is inherently layered because multiple, emplaced memories are made and reflected upon over one's lifetime. I present Frank Moritsugu's interview to exemplify this idea:

So I said, 'Well, we are out here in Ontario now. And we're making a new start. We are not going to go back to BC. We are making a new life. And the people here are nicer than a lot, most of the people in BC, but they are still not sure of us because if we hadn't done something wrong, how come we got kicked out?' So I said, 'You know, if I join the Army in the uniform with Canada up here' [Frank points to his heart area] 'that is not only going to help me in the new life that we've started but mom and dad and my brothers and sisters.' And that's the real reason why more than the Union Jack and God Save the King and all this. Although that was a part of it in there too you know. But the main reason was practical reason.

Frank explains that following the dispossession and uprooting, he and his family remained outside of British Columbia for many reasons, one of which is the feeling of alienation from its people. Yet, resettlement is also met by this feeling. Starting fresh in a new place seemingly motivates Frank to prove Canadian citizenship for the welfare of his family – a value in question from the time of property loss and uprooting. In this moment of Frank's interview, one may observe that deep meaning associated with specific places involves poignant social experience. Moreover, future movement across space tethers to such meaning. Narratives thus tell a socio-*spatialized* story.

Chosen Narratives

In order to organize the narratives found in *LoI*'s oral histories, I focus on three recurrent meanings of property within this broader theoretical understanding. Drawing from Joseph Singer (2000), Debbie Becher (2014), and Sarah Keenan (2010 & 2015), I consider oral histories interviews about property within the lenses of property as a) citizenship, b) investment, and c) belonging, which are tied to place. Together, they provide three frames for navigating interviews. Chapters four, five, and six detail these three frames through theory and qualitative examples from *LoI*. They effectively frame the diverse factors lost in dispossession (monetary, non-monetary, and political), which are expressed through memories of the property. In each chapter I explore the subjective and more common experiences of property loss within each frame. To give an idea of how I think about these frames within narrative theory, I briefly introduce each frame:

1) *Citizenship* is the political register of property value (notions of due process, equality, and ownership as a right) (Singer, 2000).

2) Broadly, *investment* is considered as the financial and non-financial (love, labour, relationships) effort put into property, with benefits expected as a return. This state is key in protecting this process (Becher, 2014).

3) Lastly, *belonging* entails the relationships and sense of belonging associated with property ownership, such as community, valuable networks, legal networks, and a sense of home (Keenan, 2010 & 2015). This frame, i.e. Keenan's theory of property as networks of belonging, has been partially introduced as I described the importance of place to memory.

These frameworks add a practical aspect to my own thesis methodology; to understand

how property loss is emplaced, I must navigate memories to explain how property rights and relations are understood.

As noted in the introduction, I recognize that these chosen frames and variables are not always discrete. They intersect. For instance, when a participant describes property loss as related to a loss of *citizenship*, this conversation can also include descriptions of community *belonging* and *investment* that are lost with receiving respect and equal treatment as a Canadian citizen. In a follow-up interview with a participant, he or she explains,

But later on, you know when the third generation of Japanese - when they heard about their parents and their grandparents having gone through all kinds of things and they were subjected a lot of unfair, unlawful treatment - these third generation Japanese [thought] the Canadian government must recognize the mistake that they made and they must apologize and make some kind of...well, not just say "I'm sorry," but something substantial to show their...yeah. So, in 1988 the Mulroney government finally recognized them. They issued a proper statement that the Canadian government treated their own subjects unfairly, unlawfully, and they apologized and they gave us twenty-one thousand per head. But, that's symbolic. The money that was lost by the properties confiscated so long ago was many times more than that. It was symbolic. But, the Canadian government recognized it. When I got to thinking I thought, "This is odd, the Canadian welcomed these Jewish people," and that was a nice thing from a [humanitarian] point of view, you know? Very nice. But now they chased out their own people. This is crazy. Doesn't make sense! Yeah, so was it a double standard? You know, this is crazy. Here, on one hand they welcome people from foreign lands, from last eastern Europe and now they want to kick us out. To me, that didn't make sense! But that's what they did.

In this conversation about the formal apology and reparations by the Canadian government, the narrator touches upon two of three data frames. First, he or she identifies the government as treating Japanese Canadian citizens "unlaw[fully]" in the 1940s. Second, although many Jewish refugees were in fact turned away from Canada

during this time (fewer than five thousand were accepted from 1933-1945), the participant witnessed the welcoming of some as a child (Canadian Council for Refugees, 2018). Consequently, it is difficult for the participant to know that Canada abandoned its “own people” through “unfair, unlawful treatment” (i.e. property loss and displacement), then witness the acceptance of others. Lastly, the narrator identifies the apology and reparations as symbolic, meaning that it does not match the financial loss nor the unjust treatment that preceded it. Through reflection of the redress era, this participant gives an opinion of the losses at hand as unjust losses of both *citizenship* and *investment*. In another interview, Frank Moritsugu explains that his family purchased a home in Kitsilano, Vancouver where many Japanese children (and many from Buddhist backgrounds) were sent to Christian institutions to “adjust themselves properly”, yet still have the “Japanese community nearby”. He relates his memories at Kitsilano High School during the 1930s to general historical race relations in Canada,

The reason why a lot of the parents, the immigrant parents, didn't send their sons to university, was that there was no point because no one is going to let them because there was a whole limitation partly because back in the 1890s, the British Columbia government, the provincial government, had passed rules where people of Japanese origin, or Chinese origin or East Indian origin could not have the vote. If you didn't have the provincial vote you could not vote federally and you couldn't vote municipally either, ok. So you know, by the time I'm growing up and getting into my teens and understanding all of this, it says that we're not one hundred percent Canadian. And that meant that there were so many professions like pharmacy, law and so forth where you had to be a citizen, and had the vote rather - we are supposed to be citizens - have the vote to be able to get the job and so forth. So right there we have all these limitations. You could become a doctor, but only if you were going to cater to the Japanese population, that kind of stuff. And it was all limited like this, white Canada forever kind of, you know, policy and racism all over the place. So I never thought, even though I loved the writing, I even loved the editing and making sure it looks good on paper, I never dreamt for a second that I could become a journalist for the Vancouver Sun or the [unclear] or whatever.

This commentary touches upon community race relations in Vancouver even prior to the dispossession. Frank refers to the dynamic of his childhood neighbourhood. He explains that although he was a talented student, systemic racism through government policy bred exclusion. He also conveys a sense of internalized limitation, which many children of immigrants carried with them throughout life. In this case, I argue that Frank touches upon the *citizenship* frame through his explanation of voting and civil rights for immigrants in Canada. Yet, I also argue that *belonging* can be pulled from this conversation, as Frank describes the networks (legal, social, and cultural), which simultaneously “held up” and broke down his experience, expectations, and identity as a child of immigrant parents. In the specific arrangement of property relations that Frank identifies, many families were already excluded from many legal and professional networks in the Vancouver area. These relations ultimately “structured” the Kitsilano community. Lastly, *investment* may also apply to Frank’s oral history. Despite a hesitant choice to forego university in British Columbia, he describes the multi-faceted effort put in by many students and families to be part of Christian, hard-working, “Canadian” neighbourhoods.

Both the anonymous participant and Frank include more than one value associated with memories of property loss or property relations. These values may be identified separately, yet originate from one memory or reflection. Therefore, although frames in my qualitative analysis can stand alone and have a clear message, memories and reflection of property loss often link and overlap meanings of *citizenship*, *investment*, and *belonging*. This important conclusion will structure chapter seven of this project, in which I demonstrate the ways in which these meanings interconnect.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Before I delve into framing and analysis of interviews from *LoI*, it is important to share background about *LoI*'s interview process, the selected pool of interviews that I use for this thesis project, and how I personally perceive and execute the interview process.

Interview Selection Process

I begin with the study areas relevant to my own analysis. Research in *LoI* is focused around four research sites in BC (Powell Street, Steveston, Haney, and Salt Spring Island) in which Japanese Canadian properties were liquidated. These four research sites were chosen by *LoI* as they mirror high concentrations of Japanese-Canadian-owned property prior to the dispossession era. However, the Oral History Cluster is unique. It encourages participation and sharing from everyone who has life stories relevant to the dispossession. Therefore, over the course of *LoI*'s oral history research, finding and conducting interviews has proven more effective outside of these areas.

The first reason for this is that Japanese Canadians lived all over BC, not only in the highest concentrations originally chosen for *LoI*'s oral history research. People lived and fished, mined, farmed, and laboured on the islands, all along the mainland coast, and even into areas like Comox and the Okanagan Valley (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). Those willing to come forward with stories thus may not necessarily follow this geographical prescription. In fact, many of the interviews that I participated in do not refer to losses within any of the four sites. Most were just outside of Vancouver, on Vancouver Island, or in Northern or Central British Columbia. Second, due to restrictive

settlement policies following the internment period, many Japanese Canadian families moved east of the Rocky Mountains or were “repatriated back” (exiled) to Japan (though many had never been nor spoke the language) (Adachi, 1978). This means that many descendants may have stories passed down to them from the four research sites – however, their own memories may involve new locations. Consequently, while I do utilize interviews in which participants share losses from these areas, I utilize many who do not.

For data collection, I gathered and analyzed qualitative data from the oral histories online database. Oral histories contain Japanese Canadian memories, but also memories of bystanders and witnesses of the injustice (non-Japanese Canadians), plus descendants from each category of narrators. I secured permission to use completed and transcribed interviews, which total two years of interviews (approximately one hundred and ten interviews to-date). Of the total number of interviews, my analysis works with a sample of thirty-one interviews. This sample size was chosen by general thesis relevance and to work with a manageable data set. I detail the participant characteristics (background) below:

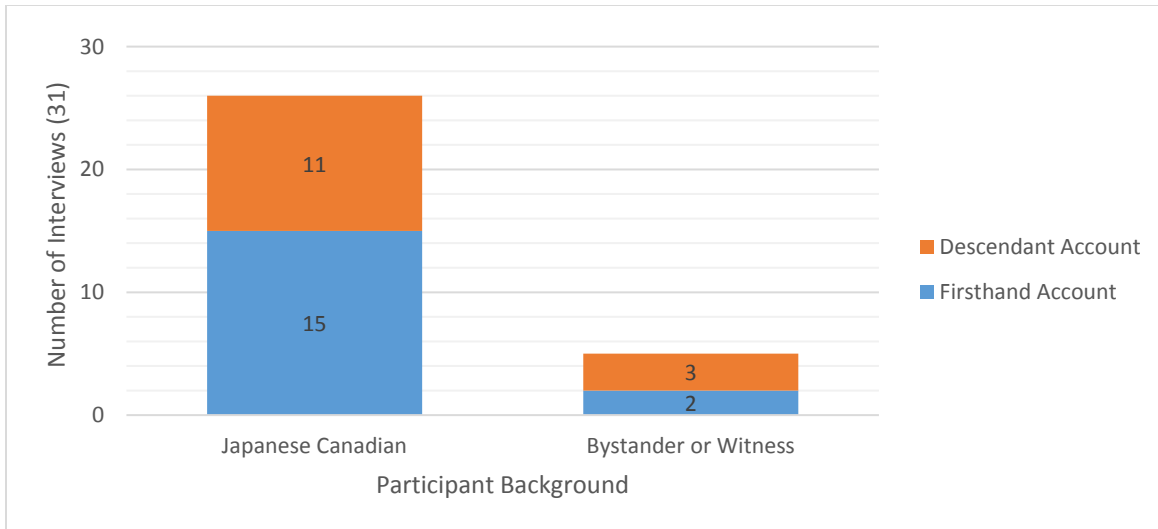


Figure 1 Interview Data (Participant) Characteristics

Of the total interview sample, twenty-six of which are from Japanese Canadians and five from bystander or witness accounts. It also is important to note that fourteen of the thirty-one interviews are from family descendants of each category. About forty per cent of both Japanese Canadian participants are descendants, while sixty per cent make up the bystander or witness category. Due to the timing of *LoI*, as many participants with firsthand experience of the dispossession enter their eighties and nineties, we experience the reality of time and the passing of various community members. While the reality of this situation is unfortunate and quite sad, I argue that these percentages send a message. The presence of intergenerational storytelling that involve learned or inherited family memories illustrate haunting based on this historic event. My choices in framing memory theory and intergenerational haunting thus interact with emergent interview selection and availability. Lastly, as a researcher with the cluster, I also utilize relevant interviews I took part in, know intimately, and transcribed. Of these thirty-one interviews chosen for my analysis, I conducted seven through my role as an *LoI* researcher. However, I conducted seventeen for the project in total. Most of the interviews I conducted apply to

the analytical objectives of this thesis project – however, time constraints necessitated a working sample. In other words, I had to choose a sample cutoff point. In the end, I rest easy knowing that this analysis may speak to and aid future reflection of other interviews from *LoI*. I expand on my own experience with interview participants below.

Interview Methodology

At the beginning of my research, I realized some differences between the qualitative work I was hired to do and the way in which I wanted to share the information created through my working interviewer-interviewee relationships. The first challenge was to find a way to marry anthropological (ethnographic) interview training with oral history methodologies, which are required when conducting interviews for *LoI*. As a standard in Oral History and Ethnography, the cluster practices co-participation and co-production of knowledge within a conversation (the interview) (Sugiman, 2004, Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2009, & Tedlock, 1991). Barbara Tedlock defines the researcher's observation of participation as "experience[ing] and observ[ing] their own and others' coparticipation within the ethnographic encounter" rather than attempting to be "emotionally engaged" yet "coolly dispassionate of the lives of others" (1991, p. 69). Research is not an account of a lone observer and analyst; rather, it is a political, self-reflexive, and engaged participation in an event (Okley, 1992). In other words, interview methodology values and prioritizes a collaborative relationship, and resultant knowledge formed and presented, between listener and narrator (i.e. "the coproduction of ethnographic knowledge") (Tedlock, 1991, p. 82).

This project prioritizes oral history interview methodology, which, to an extent, recognizes collaboration and the co-creation of knowledge. Like many ethnographers, oral historians value the interviewer as a knowledge resource and contributor – but, crucially, listening takes priority (Sugiman, 2004 & Voloda, 2008). Sugiman (2004) stresses memory as a meaningful narrative and “sociological concept”, which the researcher unavoidably “mediat[es]” and “shap[es]” (p. 263). This notion is valuable to my role as an interviewer and to my thesis project. It is especially relevant to interviews such as the Haney study area, which is my hometown and of which I possess local knowledge. Yet, a primary role as “listener” affects the extent to which I will consciously “shape” an interview through chosen questions. *LoI* provides a general set of interview prompts and topics for its interviewers. Although we are not required to follow these questions verbatim, I did not actively allow the goals of my own thesis project to interfere with the type of life story *LoI* gathers. For example, if the topic of “citizenship” comes up in an interview, I will follow the path of conversation, but I do not form the paths of a participant’s life story into this property narrative thread.

I demonstrate this process through an interview with Pia Massie. Following a larger conversation about her film *Just Beyond Hope*, in which she touches upon tactics of war used on Japanese Americans and Canadians, including the denial that internment camps were, in fact, concentration camps, I ask,

REBECA

Another thing, over and over again, that was catching my attention was – and we talked about a little bit, about ironies of democracy and citizenship, about concentration camps, but it came up in specific ways in the film in terms of the Nisei generation - this idea of repatriation and also the need to prove loyalty. So, I wanted to get your comment on that because it came up quite a few times.

Following my question about *her film*, Pia then delves into other topics that she is passionate about. She comments upon a questionnaire that Japanese Americans had to fill out to prove their American loyalty and citizenship,

Well, this is the tragedy of... what is loyalty? What are these big words: freedom, democracy? What is that funny saying? "Love is a verb." It's like, if you can't put this into action, then as a word it's just hollow. And I think the tragedy for a lot of Japanese Americans was because of question twenty-eight in that roundup thing that they did in the camps, whole families were completely, completely divided. "Are you a loyal citizen? Are you or have you ever been?" So that young men were signed up to join the army while their parents were being put in camps, which is just crazy. I mean, if you think about it, it's just crazy. It's like all your family property has just been taken away, your parents have been hauled off to camps, everybody with one suitcase full of whatever they wanted to bring and that's it, and everything else is left behind. And then, you're being asked, "Do you want to join the army?"

Considering my own thesis interests and ideas about citizenship and their connection to dispossession, it is clear I would like or intend to ask such a question. I am delighted when Pia delves into topics such as citizenship and democracy. However, my own curiosities are invited as they directly relate to the original story Pia wants to tell through her film. Moreover, the timing of this question follows the natural progression of Pia's interview. This is an example of how I *attempt* to remain a "listener", albeit an active one, of each participant's life story and follow my own research interests – only upon guidance or prompt by the participant. Of course, this effort is never perfect nor controlled (especially because I draw from the interviews of other listeners). Nevertheless, it is an important aspect of the interview methodology, and ultimately, in the process of *social memory* co-creation within this project and within *LoI*.

Note on Consent and Ethics

My thesis project operates under a relationship between Simon Fraser University, Ryerson University, and *LoI*. The ethics application and interview consent forms were designed by the Oral History Cluster Lead, Pamela Sugiman, from Ryerson University (see Appendix A). This step was reviewed and approved by SSHRC for *LoI*. In order to conduct and use *LoI* interviews for my own project, the application from Ryerson University was also reviewed and accepted by the Office of Research Ethics at Simon Fraser University. Moreover, under this relationship and process, this project qualifies as an academic output required by SSHRC for *LoI*. The different types of academic “outputs” are explained at the time of the interview and are a part of the consent form. Other examples include exhibits, other publications, teacher materials (curriculum), and an online database or “library” that will be the access point for listening to and reading project interviews. For the participants that I interviewed, I could thus give a personal explanation of my own research and interests. In fact, one participant was able to choose whether to use their real name in the context of my project.

Framing of Interviews

Although I do have specific interests in how memory and property interact – and had these interests before I gathered my data pool – choosing interviews of interest was a process of emergence. In other words, patterns found in the data prompted the framework of this project. My conceptual methodology thus includes an analysis of common themes in the data, then an analysis of the emergent literature on property and memory and the formation of an analytical framework built upon relevant literatures. For

instance, fifteen out of thirty-one interviews mention the importance of one or more places significant to their memories of loss or learning about family loss (i.e. “Place *x* is importance because of *y*.”). One hundred per cent of the interviews mention place directly or indirectly (i.e. “I am from *x* which is where I lived before we were incarcerated in *y* or moved to *z*.”) This obvious link to geographical locations allows me to identify the places of property loss and haunted sites of social memory. As Keenan (2010) explains through her theory of property as a space of belonging, I must consider how experiences of property are intimately tied to place. I also consider the sensorial and embodied aspects of memories and place, framed mainly through ethnographic literatures. What I observe in the interviews thus allows me to confirm, reject, or revise any part of my thesis framework.

Such decisions regarding my framework mainly occurred as I worked with *NVivo* 2 (qualitative data analysis software). In the proposal stage of this thesis project, my framework included *citizenship* and *investment* only. These two frames directed my initial database search (navigating the one hundred ten interview packages). Pulling an original pool of about twenty-five interviews, I also coded interview quotations into these frames. However, as I worked with the interview content, I became quickly aware of another major theme across the interviews. This “theme” was too important to leave untouched. Participants repeatedly referred to the relationships and networks that were important to community or neighbourhood experience prior to loss, and consequently lost, disrupted, or even significant to moving forward in life and personal identity after the dispossession. In contemporary Japanese Canadian literature, women are often identified as the keepers of these stories (Sugiman, 2004, Oikawa, 2012). While this

holds truth and I observe these ideas in *LoI*, I also see these ideas in the memories of men. Following this emergent frame, I collected six more interviews of relevance. At this point, “belonging” was born. I drew inspiration from Keenan (2015) to explore and construct this frame. Together, *investment*, *citizenship*, and *belonging* are thus used as the *frames* to build a pool of dynamic, yet focused, memories.

Within the three frames described above, spatial narratives are used as a tool for *analysis*. Again, I define spatial narratives as spatially grounded arrangements of memories, which can maintain or subvert dominant social discourse (Burk, 2006, Mitchell, 2003, & Azaryahu & Foote, 2008). In relation to this project, they reveal whose property claims are legally and socially recognized – and whose are not (Penalver, 2011 & MacPherson, 1978). Of particular relevance, spatial narratives allow me to analyze experiences of property loss within the three frames above; I identify *how respondents ground stories of investment, citizenship, and belonging in the places of property*. This includes their emplaced sensorial experience. I determine how loss is fixed in particular places – and, how relations of place are central to a sense of Canadian history, integrity, and personal identity and belonging (Till, 2005 & Keenan, 2010 & 2015). As discussed in chapter two (Memory in Place), I choose to be flexible with the spatialized nature of narratives, as the oral histories from *LoI* reflect life journeys across space and time. In other words, place, space, and the connections between both are significant to the interview sample. Chapters four, five, six, and seven demonstrate and expand upon these narratives.

Perhaps, most importantly, the spatial narratives of this thesis project are representative of a *select sample* from *LoI's* Oral History *collection*. This select sample,

of course, speaks to a wider pattern that I personally experienced as a listener, and read across other *LoI* interviews (of which I was not a part of). I thus remind the reader that I do not claim that this thesis project speaks for all Japanese Canadians, Canadians, or other people who come into contact with what I define or categorize as “property”. Another group within the community, outside of the community, or individual (for instance, a Japanese Canadian renter) may have an entirely different concept of what “property means”. I do not argue that the focus of this project, i.e. “ownership” experiences from *LoI*, represent all experiences of property, property loss, or memories of property loss. Rather, through a particular model of ownership that is common across colonized British Columbia, I argue that themes found within *LoI*'s memories of property loss can inform what we currently know and can learn from how “memory” and “property” intersect – from *one* important analytical perspective.

Chapter 4. Property as Citizenship

Oral histories from *LoI* have important geographic and political specificity. The interviews suggest that property ownership *in colonial British Columbia* before, during, and after *the Second World War* mean something specific to *Canadians* within these contexts. The definition of “Canadian” or “citizenship”, of course, is fluid and individual. This fact rings true in every interview. Some Japanese Canadian citizens may be naturalized, some may be Canadian-born, and some may suggest other legalities or extra-legalities define or do not define their citizenship in any way. I acknowledge these experiences - yet, there are obvious continuities of opinion and experience across the interviews. Following my main research questions - *How are social memories of property loss are “spatialized”?* and, *do social memories of property loss demonstrate haunting in sites of memory (i.e. do the places of property loss act as spectres)?* - I thus choose to focus on a specific set of sub-questions in this chapter. I ask, *for those who experienced or witnessed the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property, how does property ownership define what it means to be a Canadian in British Columbia? Which types of spatial narratives do interview participants share upon the loss of this right? How do they remain in memory and across generations?* These questions are the foundation of the frame: property as citizenship.

To begin, I explore the property structure or system within *LoI*. As outlined in chapter one, I defined property not merely as physical space, but rather as specific rights and relations (MacPherson, 1978). Japanese Canadian property owners who lived in colonized British Columbia during WWII identify property ownership as many other

Canadians did. Most who came to Canada from Japan had stayed for almost thirty years (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). As I consider the accepted system of property of the time, the history of Japanese Canadian settlement, and my impressions from the oral histories, I am lead to the “ownership model”. In this model, the legal relationship between state and owner is a significant point of interest. As defined by Singer (2000), this model prioritizes the rights of owners to manage their own assets. The state has a special role in this system, in which it legally recognizes and respects private ownership. The assets of an owner can be real estate (land) and moveable property, such as fishing boats, automobiles, and high value furnishings (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). The context of property rights, relations, and assets are also significant to property narratives from *LoI* as all function in a liberal democratic society (Singer, 2014).

There are several ways that oral histories from *LoI* demonstrate these ideas. I opened this project with a powerful quote from Bud Madokoro. Paying close attention to space, I want to share this quote once more to try and unravel what property ownership and loss of this right really means to a Canadian citizen. Prior to the response below, *LoI* interviewer, Alex, asks Bud if his family had a house in BC. Bud agrees and begins to describe its location in Storm Bay, near Tofino, which was a hub for Japanese Canadian fishermen. The conversation continues,

ALEX

And that home, whatever happened to it?

BUD

Oh some guy has it now, like, I think through the years it was left and it deteriorated, he built something new, but he has got the property. It's a fantastic setting. Every two years I go there, to British Columbia, I always drive by and look at it and shake my head. See I think our parents accepted it more than us younger generations, that's why we had that movement for

the reparations. You know, I guess that was the thing about the Japanese Canadians, the ones that were evacuated, they felt they couldn't do anything about it and they just accepted it. But that's probably the most racist thing the Canadian government did, the Liberals, to totally move people from one part of the country, to strip them of their rights. They couldn't vote until 1949, couldn't even become citizens. They finally got papers saying 'Canadian citizen' despite being born in Canada. [pause] When I still think about it - lately with guys my age, in their 70s - we talk about it, we get pissed off, to be honest. Our parents just say - they just shake their heads. There's a Japanese expression: 'you can't do nothing about it', so just accept it. Too bad we're so passive.

ALEX: When you go back to BC and see that home, what's that like?

BUD: Yeah. I get mad [laughs].

This is a rich commentary that may be unpacked in numerous ways – but, by focusing on citizenship through haunting, property loss, and space, I argue this mix of memory and reflection contains important and emplaced memories of “property as citizenship”. First, Bud appears haunted by the remains of a property that once belonged to his family. A tension exists between what the home once was (a family home in “a fantastic setting”) and the circumstances that led to the loss of this home (the “racist evacuation” and many years of mistreatment by the Canadian government towards its own citizens). Motivated by racism, the forced removal clearly demonstrates a violation of property rights. Under “the ownership model,” these rights should have legal priority. However, they are instead met with unjust actions of the Canadian government. In present day, the spatial context of the property serves as an access point into this violation and tension; it is now a place that makes Bud reflect upon the injustice in its totality. In other words, the property unsettles his feelings towards related injustices of the past. I would like to explore this unsettling a little bit further:

Buds explains that the house was once replaced and left to “deteriorate”. Yet, in its current state, the property is still an important *site of memory*. I see that Bud is physically drawn to this property. Something repeatedly pulls him in “twice a year”. One may speculate *why* he is drawn back home, but I focus on the fact that *it happens* and also *what happens* when he is there. When Bud faces the property, it exists as a *spectre* in which he *reckons* with the past. It is a place of sentimentality, reflexive practice, and anger. As Grubbstrom (2011) would argue, Bud has strong *affective bonds* with this property. These bonds are complicated and emotional, but they are unmistakably *emplaced*. Memory and emotion bring Bud to this place, and in turn, the different aspects of “what the property means” pour back into memory. As I have discussed earlier in this thesis, memories of property can be “distributive”. As Penalver (2011) would argue, this means that a particular allocation or redistribution of property remains in memory. When these allocations of property are revived in some way, tension in the face of new relations can unsettle the present. The way that Bud’s family experienced the property has clearly become an intergenerational experience, both in memory and a sensorial “gut” reaction when he is in this place (“I get mad”). Bud questions the current state of the property, remembers the way it was, and finds an *unsettling* tension between the two: “See I think our parents...” The property at hand is thus a site of memory (and opinion), in which Bud *reckons* with the past.

How does this reckoning play out? Bud explains that the property is not only the “home” that his family lived in, but also the surrounding land, which is part of a special spatial context (“a fantastic setting”). Prior to answering Alex’s question, Bud also describes his home as part of the Japanese Canadian community that once existed in the

area. For several reasons, the property has an important socio-spatial context. It represents more than a physical place; the property represents the family and community life that were once interconnected there. Critically, if I pay close attention to how Bud talks about the property in relation to the Canadian context, he gives life to the ideas of Singer and MacPherson regarding property as political *rights* and *relations* across space. First, he explains that forced “evacuation” was something unjust that happened to *Canadian citizens* even though, for many years, they were not treated as such. “Despite being born in Canada”, they were “stripped of their rights” and it took years before anyone addressed this irony in a formal manner. Bud identifies that the dispossession, uprooting, and eventual documentation for full rights of citizenship all directly involve the *Canadian government*. Clearly, the dispossession is highly political. As MacPherson (1978) argues, it is based upon power relations of exclusion, inclusion, and the legal recognition (or rejection) of a particular set of rights. As Bud’s commentary illustrates, these rights, in the hands of Japanese Canadians, were hindered and violated by the state. The dispossession is thus not only about losing an asset, it is a violation of democratic rights by those who supposedly define them. This violation is felt strongly by Bud and has a powerful intergenerational or distributive dimension. The emplaced affective bonds and political reflection prompt unaddressed frustration and hope for something more.

From just one short *LoI* interview excerpt, I am drawn in by the strong political dimension of memories of property. To enrich this topical analysis, I would like to reflect upon property loss as a “Canadian” experience. This acknowledgement – put forth by many participants – necessitates a foundation for how “Canadian-ness” relates to “property”. Here, I find it useful to use Singer’s work, as it explores the intersection of

property law and the legal structures that are relevant to Canada. Singer thus focuses on the legal relationship of property and introduced in chapter one, this relationship is embedded within a liberal *democratic* society. He argues, “Property is not merely a law of things. Property is the law of democracy.” (2014, p. 1287) Property law structures property rights across citizens, which in turn, frames and directs social life through legislative action and dissemination. He explains that property laws reflect certain value choices of lawmakers, which in turn, underpin certain rights. These rights exist in a supposedly free and equal liberal society, and thus, must interact with the principles of such a society (Singer, 2014). In Canada, these principles are democratic. Therefore, property law must interact with the principles of democracy. This point is important. Property law in Canada interacts with the fundamentals of Canada’s legal system and structure – and, Japanese Canadians owned property in a lawful manner prior to the dispossession. In a racist era in which few minority groups could “legally” own property (including Chinese Canadians, Indo-Canadians, and First Nations), Japanese Canadians were legally recognized as Canadian property owners who followed, and were thus bound, by Canadian property law (Roy, 2004 & Tennant, 1990). Despite obvious injustice within Canadian property law during this era (especially in regard to First Nations territory), this recognition and connection to ownership nevertheless shaped their lives and reality (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). Consequently, when Bud argues, “to move [Japanese Canadians]” and “strip them of their rights” and later return their citizenship “despite being born in Canada,” he gestures to an action and mentality that is inherently undemocratic.

Bud is not alone in this feeling. Of thirty-one chosen interviews, eighteen demonstrate conversations related to this theme. Within these eighteen, there are over twenty-five discernable unique commentaries regarding democracy, citizenship, and fairness or justice in government. Similar *LoI* findings can be seen in Stanger-Ross and Blomley's (2017) work, "'My land is worth a million dollars': How Japanese Canadians contested their dispossession in the 1940s" that analyses 292 letters of protest written by dispossessed Japanese Canadians during the 1940s. The authors argue,

[Japanese Canadians] emphasized owners' rights to consent, or at least be consulted, in the sale of their property. They invoked law as well as justice, fairness, and trust. They spoke about the significance of citizenship, democracy and rights. They appealed to the service they had given their country and described the benefits that they still hoped to reap for their possessions."

In this project, Stanger-Ross and Blomley (2017) highlight the way in which owners stressed the political nature of ownership and the dispossession. This topic is just as relevant decades later in *LoI*'s oral histories. In fact, each point in the quote above appear across chapters four to seven of this analysis. These experiences, if not direct memories of an individual, are noticeably distributive; they persist across generations through family memories, stories, or reflections. For example, the participant below (anonymous) talks about his father's perspective as a naturalized citizen of Canada,

REBECA

So, your father was naturalized?

PARTICIPANT

Yup, he was naturalized. He had a government paper that [states] that he's entitled to everything, a British subject, blah blah blah, of the King. Yeah, he was naturalized.

REBECA

Okay. Before you were telling me a little bit about what he said when the

war time broke out – about his citizenship – is that he lost faith in Canada. Is that what he said?

PARTICIPANT

Oh, yeah. Yes. He did. He felt betrayed. I mean, you know...you have an important document stating that you're a citizen of Canada and now you're treated like garbage. An enemy alien. That was a big blow to him.

This intergenerational memory points the listener to the building blocks of citizenship. For many, like the participant's father, citizenship was built upon legal processes and a general belief in and commitment to Canadian democracy. In fact, the basis of this idea is outlined in the very documentation of those who become "Canadian". Therefore, the right to own property, which supposedly belongs to all Canadians, is an extension of Canadian democracy and society. As Singer argues, "Property law is not just a mechanism of [social or economic] coordination; it is a quasi-constitutional framework for social life." (p. 1287) Consequently, unjust execution of such law, which is intimately interwoven across the Canadian social fabric, has heavy ramifications across citizens. The loss of property title and labeling as an "enemy" of Canada is an example of this. It is "a big blow". This sense of betrayal reveals a direct violation of a belief in and rights structured within Canadian society. Moving forward, and by drawing from Singer's (2014) work, I argue that the interviews represent the political value and meaning of property in several ways. More specifically, I reference Singer by raising questions of equality, due process, and state protection supposedly associated with property. These questions appear to haunt memories across *LoI* and unsettle the meaning of property.

Let us backtrack for a moment. As I have already suggested, "citizenship" for Japanese Canadian property owners living in Canada before, during, and after WWII has

its own history and context. Therefore, I believe it is useful to examine how interview participants may think about citizenship in general, historical, and contemporary terms. To do so, I share my first impressions of memories across the interviews. Like many people with immigrant ancestry, it appears to be a long journey of proving worth. Although many younger Japanese Canadians were Canadian-born, seventy-five per cent were British subjects (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). Many of these subjects became “naturalized” citizens and were thus supposedly protected and awarded legal privileges, such as property ownership. This usually begins with the *Issei* generation, or the first Japanese immigrations to settle in North America. Again, this topic appears distributive and the journey to citizenship remains strong in narratives across many generations (far beyond the words of parents or grandparents). For example, David Mitsui speaks to the motivations of his Issei grandfather, who is a Canadian WWI Veteran,

DAVID

Well, I think for the Japanese Canadian vets of World War One, it was demonstrating their allegiance to their new country. Wanting the respect of the government enough that they were considered Canadian citizens and could vote, because if you're able to vote in a democracy you're part of that democracy. If you're in a democracy and you can't vote then you're not considered part of that country and they wanted to demonstrate that they were truly deserving to be part of Canada and to be Canadian citizens. That's not the case with anyone else. They were denied their rights to be Canadian citizens for such a long time, even though they put their life on the line for Canada. I don't know maybe it was my grandfather's history of samurai in the blood and his father being a naval officer, and he wanted to prove that he was worthy as well.

There are some important historical facts that both enrich and complicate this conversation: Japanese Canadians, beginning with the Issei generation, experienced a long and enduring struggle to gain voting rights. Although Japanese migration to Canada can be dated back earlier than the 1900s it was not until 1931 that this right was given to

surviving Issei WWI veterans only (Ito, 1984). After years of trying to gain voting rights for all people of Japanese ancestry up to the federal level, many Japanese Canadian men still entered the armed forces during WWII. Only 32 in total succeeded in gaining political benefit. In 1945, the *Soldier's Vote Act* supported some, but only under specific conditions – if they agreed to be in the British Forces as translators. Therefore, during most of the 1940s – there was only a select group of Japanese Canadians that had the right to vote on all levels. It was not until 1949 that Japanese Canadians could vote and return to the coast following the uprooting, dispossession, and displacement. It was not until that year that Japanese Canadian rights of mobility and democratic participation conformed to the national standard (Government of Canada, 2014). Therefore, when David speaks to his grandfather's goal to “demonstrate allegiance” prior to the dispossession in 1942, Canada had already maintained (and would continue to operate under) a long history of political exclusion, even to its most dedicated patriots. As I consider this context, I am not surprised that these sentiments remain entrenched in family journeys to citizenship and, thus, in social memories of injustice.

Other family journeys exhibit this patient commitment to Canada: During Tom Matsui's interview, he explains that his father was the eldest son and was set to inherit “everything” in Japan. However, rice crop failures in 1906 motivated him to settle elsewhere. After struggling with restrictive immigration policies in the US and Hawaii, Tom's father settled in Canada,

TOM

My father became a citizen in 1914, okay? That's six years after. And at that time my mother says that the other people in Japantown said, “Why are you taking out citizenship?” Because you don't have vote, you don't

have anything. But he did take out citizenship, so I dunno. He believed in this country too, I guess.

Through the spectre of Japantown (the Powell Street area), the listener gets a sense of the political chatter and emotion of the time. Recall that despite taking out citizenship, the right to participate democratically would not occur for years to come. Many Japanese Canadian settlers were aware of this fact. People in the area were keenly aware of state inaction and its exclusionary nature. Yet, like Tom, whether by choice or by force, many of the people who settled in British Columbia “believed” in the potential of Canada’s democracy. Reading Tom and David’s commentaries, this belief hinged upon the rights one gains when they become a citizen. Despite denial of the right to vote, acceptance and participation in Canada’s democratic system is something many families worked hard at and waited patiently for. It was often a risk and a difficult choice.

Though each story has its own distinctive details, commentaries like those from David or Tom suggest a long-term investment into becoming “Canadian”. Legal responsibilities of individuals with full citizenship, such as war service, were enacted by Japanese Canadian property owners (Government of Canada, 2014). Through these actions, David sees his grandfather (and other veterans) as striving for a stable place in Canadian democracy and society. Whether it *was* due to his bloodline and their professions, proving worth to Canada clearly includes a wish for equal political respect and the formal right to participate in the nation’s political system (in this case, “the vote”). Likewise, despite the advice of others and after a long journey, Tom’s father “believed in this country, too”. As I consider the intergenerational nature of these stories, I also argue that it is important to pay close attention to any participant’s reflections about property in Canada. For those who had family experiences of “proving allegiance”,

denial of the logical reward (keeping property and gaining the vote) is, of course, illogical and unjust, and thus remains central in the family narrative of citizenship. It haunts major political avenues of social memory. To have your property – and any rights associated with this title – delayed or disrupted directly unsettles the intergenerational understanding of wider Canadian legal structures.

This observation is critical. I reflect upon Singer’s main argument, which claims that property ownership is intertwined with the rights defined by democratic law. I consider how the democracy of Canada intermingles with the memories of property loss, and, how these memories challenge or unravel the function of property law. Furthermore, I deliberate how property ownership itself may construct citizenship. As wider Canadian legal structures and property loss are often brought together in interviews, I suggest it is important to consider how dispossession and displacement may infringe upon one’s identity as a “Canadian”. To examine the enduring struggle of political acceptance and equality is to construct a broader framework to listen to memories from *LoI*: I suggest that although full rights did not come to Japanese Canadians until 1949, *settling and owning property* is a vital factor in becoming, feeling, and expressing Canadian citizenship. Across the interviews, settlement in place is how many people built their lives and sense of belonging within Canada. Therefore, the spaces of property relations, of which memories of property are bound to, are essential to this understanding.

While it is not common for participants to articulate property ownership or purchase as a method to enact “citizenship”, this idea *does* appear in memories of property *loss*. For instance, the following first-hand memory of uprooting emphasizes the

irony of property loss as related to an expression of citizenship. Kelvin and Suzy Higo describe the moment they had to leave home,

KELVIN

So they actually had to call the riot police and that kind of stuff but it was all the young guys saying, you know, 'we're Canadians. You can't do this to us.' They all got upset and they said they could and they sent them to a prisoner of war camp.

SUZY

It's amazing how all of us orderly just packed up our belongings and got on the train, for us anyway, and went to Alberta.

KELVIN

Well, I think we wanted to be loyal Canadians.

SUZY

Hm?

KELVIN

I think the Japanese Canadians wanted to show that they're loyal Canadians. I hear the story of the four-fourty-second battalion. They were cannon fodder. They would send them into the worst situations. "Oh, these guys are trapped, can you guys go rescue them?" and it was up against impossible odds. They're the highest decorated regiment in American military history only because, to me, they were trying to prove that they were true Americans, right? They sacrificed their lives.

I consider this conversation to be an important one, as the complicated effort and expectations around Canadian citizenship clearly feed into the stories of loss shared in *LoI*. Dispossession in the face of fearless war service is just one of the ways that interview narrators give context to the violation of Japanese Canadian (and American) patriotism. These memories are often strong in emotion, especially when participants describe the "Canadian" character and behavior of the owner who experienced loss. Many people of Japanese ancestry lived a certain way, often to outwardly (and vulnerably) show loyalty to Canada. As we now understand, property law is intimately bound to the principles of democracy (Singer, 2014). Property rights, which stem from

and answer to Canadian democracy, help to structure rights across citizens and on a spatial, everyday level. As I read the journeys of *LoI* participants, these rights are associated with the principles of democracy, which citizens actively perform. Therefore, to remember and reflect upon dispossession and uprooting, which were unjust acts of the Canadian government, illuminates the irony or instability of what property ownership, and thus citizenship, really means. Considering the experiences of veterans, war service *should* coincide with the right to keep one's property and reside in one's home country – and, simply put, when these things do not coincide, it's a damn big deal.

What about when the injustice is addressed by the state? What do memories of property loss tell us about the meaning of property in the context of redress? Some background: In 1988, Canada's Conservative Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, finally responded to a group of Japanese Canadians who were looking for a formal acknowledgement of the injustices of the 1940s. The response was a formal apology and some financial redress (\$21,000 per individual) (Miki, 2004).

JOSH

Your grandfather didn't live long enough to see a formal apology or redress. What do you think he would've thought had he been there to shake Prime Minister Mulroney's hand or hear those words?

DAVID

Well, he fought for redress his entire life. He always wanted to have some compensation for losing that property. He never forgave the government for the decisions that led to the internment of the Japanese Canadians and losing all the property that was involved. In fact, he was so bitter about what happened to him, he never went to a public Remembrance Day service after World War Two. He was always very supportive of the military and respected the military but he never forgave the government. And that is why on Remembrance Day he would be at home in his military uniform with his Royal Canadian Legion beret and his medals.

For David, redress was something his grandfather fought for. Despite a strong commitment to the Canadian military – in fact, especially due to this commitment – memories of property loss endured. “He never forgave the government.” As David explains, his grandfather would display his Canadian citizenship at home (on his new property) in an embodied and emplaced way. Through distributive memories of property loss (the memories David has of his grandfather over the years), one can thus see that property and citizenship are strongly connected. David’s grandfather always wanted something to be done about “that property”. For David’s grandfather, the dispossession was just one facet of the ongoing exclusion of Japanese Canadians from Canadian society. Therefore, redress not only involves financial compensation for this loss, but something more. It represents a political acknowledgement of this violation of citizenship; through the apology of a violation of property rights, the state – the creator and guarantor of these rights – admits an enduring hypocrisy of Canadian democracy. As MacPherson (1978) may argue, property law involves the critical role of the state, in which it recognizes and legitimizes property law, rights, and relations. The state is property’s guarantor, and to abandon this responsibility is to abandon the rules of property law (MacPherson, 1978 & Becher, 2014).

In the end, spectres of property unsettle social memory because they contain memories of a very “Canadian” injustice. Redress, by nature of its process, directly calls out the role of the state. Other memories stirred from questions about redress show further consideration of the Canadian democratic system and progression of political rights across Japanese Canadians. For instance, the participant below shares a memory of past reflection or reckoning of property loss. The memory summarizes feelings about the

Canadian government, including the prolonged decision to reinstate the ownership rights of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia. The memory also contains telling personal experience that mixes with international history,

PARTICIPANT

I understand in the US, the United States, as soon as the war ended the Japanese were no longer enemies. They lost the war and they had to part to be enemies, so they let them go back to...wherever they came from. Allowed them to resume life as it was before the war. But in Canada, they didn't. So, we weren't even allowed to come back to Vancouver until the end of [March] in 1949. And some Japanese protested and made some noises, so the Canadian government consented to allow them to come back to Vancouver. And at the [beginning] of April 1949 they allowed them to come back. Otherwise, anyone caught coming back to Vancouver without proper permission, they'd be sent to jail. That was a criminal offense. Yeah, so, you know, later on when I became more mature and got to thinking...how could a democratic country like Canada have treated us like that? It's almost like, you know, a country like Hitler's Germany or even Japan's militarism or even Stalin's Soviet Union. They're not democratic, they're totalitarian, they're, you know, harsher regimes. So, you might expect that kind of thing to happen, but in a country where they open up the country with one hand on the bible and one hand on the shovel...what kind of country would do that? I couldn't...I didn't...I couldn't make sense of it.

The same participant expands on this idea in a follow-up interview,

[Laughs] A democratic country like [Canada], doing that, I mean that's crazy. It's almost a tyranny and this office of the [Custodian of Enemy Property]...They're not a "Custodian"...they sold off the property left and right and for, again, peanuts. So, they're supposed to look after the property, but they didn't look after it. Yeah, so my father got not a red penny from whatever he lost.

The narrator above identifies not only a loss of home through the sale of Japanese Canadian-owned property, but that choices made by the Canadian government prolonged displacement from the Vancouver community. Simply going home became a "criminal offense". Once again, these actions engage political questions. The actions of The Custodian of Enemy Property are noted as undemocratic and unjust, and ultimately,

parallel ethnic cleansing policies of totalitarian governments. Moreover, these actions do not fit within the legal structures of Canadian society. The property of the narrator's father acts as a site to reckon with Canada; ultimately, actions directed at Japanese Canadian property owners become an irony that is linked back to a warping of Canadian democracy, state protection, and most importantly, due process.

The next generation of participants with Japanese ancestry - the *Nisei* generation – were born and raised in Canada. During the dispossession, sixty per cent of those with Japanese ancestry were Canadian-born (Stanger-Ross & Blomley, 2017). To be born in Canada offers a unique perspective for discussions around unjust property loss. The right to space and a sense of “Canadian” identity (total or partial distance from a “Japanese” identity) enters the conversation. There are many ways in which this idea appears in the interviews. Dennis Okada, a retired school teacher with his own family history of dispossession, describes a memory and teaching moment from his own classroom,

DENNIS

...it was interesting how when the Japanese group came up, it was interesting how the discussion came out, “Why could they do it to Canadians?” You know, “Can they do it? And how could they do it, too?” And I talked about and it brought discussion. So, “Look at all you guys, okay?” so I’ve got some Indo-Canadians, “Where were you all born?” “We’re all born here.” “So, do you think because something happens, we can take all the Indo-Canadians round them all up and do the exact same thing?” They’re all like, “No.” And, “Yeah, it could still be done if somebody wanted to.” And then it goes on.

“Where were you all born?” When students are asked to pay attention to who is *Canadian* and what that means or demands, the idea of Japanese Canadian mistreatment appears confusing. Dennis is probed with the question, “can they?” and “how?”. In the

context of the classroom, the place of citizenship thus becomes a strong argument and point of reflection. Japanese Canadians were born in Canada, which makes them Canadian. Therefore, they have the right to acquire property in Canada, as all Canadian-born citizens do. In turn, and under the ownership model, their right to stay at home should have been protected. Among students who are also Canadian-born this idea is seemingly universal. As a class, the students consider citizenship to be important, so should dispossession and incarceration happen to others that are Canadian-born? The obvious answer: “No.”

Due to the timing of *LoI*, many memories relate to the experiences of those who are still with us, and those who helped their parents participate in the project’s oral histories. This group includes interview participants from outside of the Japanese Canadian community. For instance, Kate Nightingale describes the Nisei neighbours (friends) of her grandparents in a particular way. Her perspective is formed through personal interaction and conversation with these neighbours in present day, which describe the actions of Kate’s grandparents during WWII,

KATE

I know that Min Yatabe said that my grandparents, he remembered them very, very well and spoke of them well. He says, ‘Your grandparents were wonderful and wouldn’t back down at the fact that this was wrong,’ what was happening to them. So, I’m really proud that my grandparents were choosing the right to stand up against the common reaction to anyone who wasn’t white in those days. They stood up and said, ‘No, what’s happening is wrong,’ and you know, ‘these are our neighbours, our friends, and, they’re Canadians.’ [laughs]. They were Canadians! They didn’t even speak Japanese [laughs]. Min said that he got sent overseas after the war, for some kind of - he was in the army, right? He joined as soon as he could, as soon as he was allowed to...got sent there, along with the other Japanese...guys, and they couldn’t even speak Japanese! They were sent over there to spy in some form, or do something. That’s how

Canadian they were. They spoke as much Japanese as I do, which is, like, about five words. So [laughs], the irony of it, eh!

Kate touches upon a few basic viewpoints associated with the dispossession and uprooting. Her intergenerational story echoes a previous conversation; like David's grandfather, she identifies that Min enlisted in the Canadian military, which is often considered the ultimate service that a citizen can offer to their home country. This choice appears common among Japanese Canadian and non-Japanese Canadians and is outlined in the responsibilities of those with full citizenship. Importantly, the story of the neighbourhood and relationships between property owners highlights a sense of friendship and loyalty among fellow "Canadians". Like the students in Dennis' classroom, Kate points to unjust behavior by the Canadian government toward its own citizens, who were entirely Canadian in birthright and cultural identity. Min's family were "friends, and, they're Canadians." Min remembers Kate's grandparents as loyal friends who embraced this fact and grieved its violation. Later in her interview, she reflects upon Min's experience in Japan once more,

KATE

It would be like the government sending me to Scotland because my family was Gaelic speaking when they came [laughs]. I can remember, I think, one word of Gaelic that's stuck in my mind. I would be like them sending me to the Hebrides saying, "Okay, listen, listen carefully and see what intel you can pick up". But [gestures she is interjecting], "Oh, wait a minute, you've got to teach me Gaelic first! [laughs]" It was the same, they had to teach him Japanese [laughs]. But he did blend, I guess.

Amidst the humour, Kate ultimately stresses Min's Canadian identity. After Min shares memories of her grandparents, Kate is proud that they recognized the rights and identities of their Canadian neighbours before, during, and after the war. They were not "white", and perhaps, the Yatabe family could "blend" in certain scenarios, but "They were

Canadians! They didn't even speak Japanese." Consequently, to dispossess property from such devout "Canadians", in Canada, is something that cannot be seen as just or logical to Kate. Similar reflections appear to haunt others, especially those who were just children at the time,

PARTICIPANT

Until [later in life], it had never occurred to me that the Canadian government had a double standard. I don't know if you can call it a double standard. I'm repeating myself, but on the one hand they welcome – on humanitarianism – they welcome people from abroad, far eastern Europe, but now you want to kick us out. [Their] own people. Sixty per cent [or more] of them were Canadian-born and they didn't even speak Japanese. They'd never been to Japan...I was a bit different because I was there for almost two years, so I knew a few things about Japan and I could speak Japanese. But, most of the Canadian-born sent there after the war, they didn't speak Japanese...Japan was a foreign country...But, the Canadian government had the instigation of the BC-Elected, hardcore racist politicians. They succumbed to them. They treated us as enemy aliens, you see? Your citizenship...it didn't mean anything.

This Canadian-born participant identifies the importance of Canadian identity in relation to property loss. Reckoning with memories of this history involves a strong comparison between the treatment of vulnerable groups of people during WWII – those from Eastern Europe (later learned to relate to a memory of witnessing Jewish refugees on a ship, though, again, I should note that Canada refused most and accepted few) and vulnerable Japanese Canadians living in Canada at the time. The spatial exclusion of each group by the Canadian government points to a lack of legal backing of *citizens*. “[Their] own people”. “Canadian-born”. “They didn't even speak Japanese”. Critical Japanese Canadian thinkers like Oikawa (2012) point to the “language” question (and ancestry question, for that matter) as time to reflect upon the seemingly unnecessary mention of non-Japanese speaking Canadian citizens, especially following the dispossession and incarceration (p. 239). She argues that emphasis put on language actually relates to the

construct of Japanese Canadians “as foreigners” in Canada. (p. 239) Without assuming that citizenship *should* be constituted by language, Oikawa directs our attention to the idea of the “right type of Canadian”. For reasons so genuinely felt and articulated by *LoI* participants and for other critical observations, like those of Oikawa, I am thus drawn in by the complex idea of “Canadian” identity. Ultimately, the definitive value of Canadian citizenship is unsettled in memory, apparently over a long period of time. Through life-long contemplation of this action, the dispossession is identified as a racist crime against “Canadians”, with legal Canadian rights and identities.

Whether a spatial right, a cultural consequence, or a life long journey, the memories shared thus far fall under the umbrella of Canadian citizenship in relation to the general topic of property loss in *LoI*. These memories give valuable context to the importance of Canadian citizenship across life stories and in the face of injustice under the Canadian government. Details regarding how the dispossession progressed in Canada, which often occurs through a comparison to the policies of the American government during WWII, only serve to enrich just how important the government is to this story of property loss. This comparison often identifies the relationship between property rights and relations, including the priority of this right over any form of intervention, including those of the state. In *LoI* interviews, memories often describe how the policies of each government interact with sentiments of citizenship. Below, I share Keo Shibatani’s opinion on this matter,

JOSH

And you’ve been back to Vancouver recently and probably seen all of this change so much.

KEO

Oh, yeah. There, again, I didn't know what it was all about before so there is no such thing as Japan-town anymore unfortunately, whereas the U.S. government were much more liberal in their treatment of Japanese-American properties and whatnot. They didn't take it over. So I'm sure that little Tokyo in LA resembles, somewhat, what little Tokyo used to be before the war. There's no such thing, no comparison here in Vancouver unfortunately. See, the whole idea was the war ended in '45 right? We were given voting rights in '48, '49, I think four years after the war we were allowed to return to Vancouver. That's ridiculous. The American government allowed Japanese-Americans to leave the camp while the war was still on to return because a lot of them did not sell. They left it in the care of their neighbours or whatever, right? That's not to say they were welcomed back because a lot of them they had people shooting at their homes at night and so on but the government policy was 'hey, we made a mistake. These people should not be incarcerated. They have a place to go. Go.' We didn't have a place to go. Nobody did.

JOSH

Did you want to go back to Vancouver?

KEO

Oh, yeah.

Keo illustrates that government processes in British Columbia during WWII muster a sense of both personal property and community. In memory, Vancouver is a spectre that gains even more significance over time. In this case, the spatial networks of Japanese-Canadian-owned property altered the social landscape in places like downtown Vancouver. Therefore, although each country experienced war in unique, yet equally unjust ways, *holding* property in the United States and *selling* property in Canada during the war marks a historic difference in experiences of property loss. As a result, "We didn't have a place to go. Nobody did."

Keo tells us something crucial at this point of his interview. The uprooting of Japanese Canadians and *liquidation* of Japanese-Canadian-owned properties by the state permanently changed residential patterns in Vancouver. This difference haunts many

participants of *LoI* and brings forth critical conversations. In most cases, memories of loss call to a specific choice made by the state. Whether through a lost home or the loss of Japanese Canadian-owned property across British Columbia as a whole, this choice is often articulated through the spaces of property. Once again, I see the arguments of Singer (2014), MacPherson (1978), and Becher (2014) (which I detail in chapter five) as relevant to narratives found within the interviews. The lack of government “protection” or preservation of property rights disrupts a collective understanding of the expected role of government within property law. For some, this critique has become an intergenerational narrative,

JOSH

Pearl Harbor sort of becomes this strange catalyst all the way up the coast.

KELVIN

I think they saw it as an opportunity to get rid of . . . because the Japanese had taken over certain industries and they saw it as an opportunity to get rid of this problem. In fact, after the war is finished, the American Japanese were allowed to go home. Here, they said “okay, your choice is stay east of the Rockies or go back to Japan.” Well, most of these people were Canadian born. You know, Japan was a foreign country to them. . . .About 4000 went back. In fact, my father-in-law went back to Japan. He was so upset with how he was treated he was getting into a boat and he threw his Canadian citizenship papers down at the foot of an RCMP officer. He says “fortunately, the officer picked it up and says “you may need this sometime in the future.” My father in law said “thank god he picked it up and gave it back to me.”

Stories of uprooting thus become entangled in discussions of government decision.

Kelvin’s story also includes a personal, yet relatable reflection of the intentions of the state during the war. He suggests that the actions of the Canadian government were unjust toward Japanese Canadians, especially as many were industrious and economically successful. The actions are thus seen as a form of undemocratic ethnic removal. In fact,

areas of forced resettlement were “foreign” and unfamiliar, especially to the Nisei generation. In comparison to the United States, the actions of the Canadian government seemingly make no political or legal sense. Kelvin’s family story illustrates just how emotionally charged reactions were to such undemocratic government action. These emotions are of course tied to citizenship and the political register of property – and once again, I am reminded of the integral nature of place to this discussion. Home supports a sense of familiarity and community through emplaced property relations, which significantly, later become central to memory-making and sharing.

At the beginning of this chapter I asked, *for those who experienced or witnessed the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property, how does property ownership define what it means to be a Canadian in British Columbia? Which types of spatial narratives do interview participants share upon the loss of this right?* To answer these questions thus far, I highlight oral histories from *LoI* that identify Canadian citizenship as a central to experiences of property and property *loss*. I began the chapter by demonstrating how the places of lost property unsettle and elicit notions of citizenship in memory. Through Bud’s experience with his family home, I argue that reckoning with property loss elicits stories of intergenerational feelings toward the Canadian government and the dispossession. I then argue that stories of property loss, rather than purchase or general ownership, are central to the articulation of this “value” of property. The experience of loss, as it exists within memory (often over multiple generations), appears to coincide with understandings of property ownership from the works of MacPherson and Singer. For instance, there are memories and reflections that question a serious violation of the rights and relations of property – as structured and expressed under

Canadian property law, and, answering to Canadian democracy. These rights and relations come across in reflections of the Canadian legal system and the ways in which Japanese Canadians performed their own citizenship. I select memories and stories of proving Canadian worth, patriotism, and earning the right to property through earning citizenship. For the Nisei generation, stories of a Canadian right to own property are important to memories of loss; many who experienced the dispossession were Canadian-born citizens with full “Canadian” identities. Compensation for property loss through redress also creates an important avenue for this conversation, such that the Canadian state is up for direct debate and analysis. Lastly, I point to conversations that address the marked difference between the Canadian and American governments during the war, including how participants viewed the effects of this difference. Participants identify a general hypocrisy of Canadian democracy within these conversations, and the American state is a useful comparative tool within this general idea.

I now visit the last question, *how do [these narratives] remain in memory and across generations?* Although I have begun to answer this question indirectly, many Canadians are surprised to learn about the history of Japanese Canadians. Understandably, there may be “silence” in family members or friends regarding the injustice. Silence may reflect pain (and a wish to not pass down this pain), a lack of memory sharing *outside* of the Japanese Canadian community (with overwhelming responsibility felt within the community itself), age and the passage of time, and even a lack of access to informed family members (Oikawa, 2012). Yet, the memories of loss and the lost places of property have a way of resurfacing into Canadian society and haunting social memory. For this reason, I stress that the persistence of each family

narrative matters. Below, I share an intergenerational narrative of citizenship and property loss,

HEATHER

Did they ever ask you about, you mentioned your grandchildren asked about the war years, did your children ever or did they kind of move away from that?

TOM

Well, I guess like most of the second generation Nisei, most of us kept quiet about those years that we were, we were in an internment camp. But gradually we started telling them about it, but for a long while when they were kids we never mentioned it.

HEATHER

Why do you think that was?

TOM

Well, let's say that we would like to forget what we went through. Now it, it will be the same if you can call, we're the Holocaust victims of Canada, we were the race that were picked out, all of our possessions sold, sent into internment camps, road camps. Only thing we didn't end up in the gas chamber, and the irony was that Canada was fighting for democracy and freedom and what did they do to the Japanese Canadians. Exactly the same thing as the Nazi government did. So anyway this is a period that most people want to forget about. So I guess that's why we never talked about it till later in life with our children, you know.

In this example, a sense of injustice is experienced in relation to others. Although the specific injustices felt across particular groups may be articulated differently by others (for example, Nazi Germany exercised a specific and brutal form of genocide, which cannot be equated with the experiences of those from a Canadian context), Tom's response matters. For some who may experience gaps and delays in storytelling, the history of dispossession often resurfaces and *unsettles* social memory. Within this thesis project, ten of the participants from my interview sample refer to gaps in awareness, sharing, or reflection of the dispossession, incarceration, and uprooting of Canadian citizens. However, in whatever form, these stories often eventually come out. Due to the

persistence of these stories, I maintain that spatial narratives – in this case, those that connect property and citizenship – illuminate the socio-spatial nature of memory-making. These narratives ultimately also reveal the gaps in dominant Canadian discourse, and thus just how important memories of property loss are to the *Canadian* narrative.

Unjust property loss thus haunts participants from *LoI* and this injustice reveals a deep unsettling regarding “who is Canadian”, “who will be treated as such”, and “why” or “why not”? The places of property loss act as spectres to question the Canadian democratic system. The ways that participants relate memories to “Canadian” rights are integral how property loss remains in and solidifies social memory. However, I think the conversation had in this chapter can bring forth yet another question or conclusion. It appears to me that the memories and reflections related to “property loss” and “citizenship” in *LoI* reflect a historical struggle – across both Japanese Canadians and non-Japanese Canadians – to reconcile with or understand a racist nation state. As Oikawa (2012) argues, there is a relationship between “the destruction of Japanese Canadian communities and the destruction of their sense of themselves to the construction of the Canadian nation and its ideal of the subject-citizen.” (p. 21) In other words, racialized violence against non-white settlers, including against Japanese Canadians, was (and still is) integral to the Canadian state (Adachi, 1978 & Oikawa, 2012). Journeys of settlement (including property ownership), worth, identity, and injustice in *LoI* reflect these ideas, especially of the notional fragility of “democratic Canada”. Across time and space, the legal structures within this system are not equal to all, nor are its actions consistent with its fundamental, skeletal rules. Democratic *injustice* haunts and unsettles the present, especially for those who strongly believe in its

principles. *Property loss* is just one avenue into this conversation. The sites of its memory, in the places of property, are a lens into this past, its meaning, and its intergenerational legacy.

Chapter 5. Property as Investment

Thus far, participants from *LoI* have shown that property owners hold more than land, a structure, or an asset. Through a process of remembering and reckoning we see that there are complex values are entangled with property. Specifically, chapter four connects property loss to spatialized journeys of patience, sacrifice, and political investment into Canadian society. This chapter continues to complicate and expand what is commonly thought of as “property” or “property ownership”. By paying close attention to memories of property loss, what *else* is observably “put into” property? To answer this question, I assess *property ownership* as a form of *multifaceted investment*. I share interview excerpts that feature different ways in which people conceptualize property “investment” within the context of dispossession. I thus ask a new set of sub-questions: *For those who experienced or witnessed the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property, how is property identified as a financial and non-financial investment? Which types of spatial narratives do interview participants share upon the loss of these efforts? How do they remain in memory and across generations?* These questions are the foundation of the frame: property as investment.

To structure this frame, I draw from the recent work of Debbie Becher (2014). Becher describes “property as an investment rather than a title” (2014, p. 236). In her critical analysis of eminent domain in Philadelphia, Becher (2014) proposes property as a form of personal investment. She explains,

We know that people put all kinds of value into real property. They use money to buy, rent and improve their properties, and they also use time, skill and physical effort for improvements. They take advantage of social networks for support and advice about their properties, and they put

furnishings and building materials into their properties. Finally, they put emotion into the decisions they make and into the time they spend with their properties. And as they sacrifice all these types of value, they expect to enjoy various types of value in the future. (p. 18)

In other words, property ownership takes all kinds of work (financial and other), but this work is thought to be worth it. This work or “investment” entails a temporal sacrifice of immediate value, which should supposedly bring forth future advantages for the owner. Becher continues her argument and claims that abuse within this structure is perceived when people do not receive “equal value” for their investment (2014, p. 12). Like Singer (2014) and MacPherson (1978), she recognizes the state as a guarantor or protector of an owner’s investment. Therefore, when this legal relationship or societal “rule” is disrupted, a sense of violation occurs. Crucially, the “equal value” at stake involves not only monetary figures, but also *time, labour, love, attachment, and relationships* (2014). One should thus not only receive a return of monetary value for owning property, but also some social and emotional benefit. These aspects of investment are typically under-recognized. As Becher argues, private property is more than “private control” of space, it is an investment and the “government protects value, and that value comes in many forms.” In relation to the self, others, and the state, property is thus a financial, emotional, political, and social process.

How does “property as investment” appear in spatial narratives from *LoI*?

Drawing inspiration from Becher, I argue that distinct “monetary” and “non-monetary” values exist within spatial narratives of property loss. However, the history discussed in *LoI* has its own character in relation to ownership and loss across space. In Becher’s analysis, eminent domain is a legal process and those affected in Philadelphia generally appear to accept the policy. Becher explains, “Citizens lodged formal resistance very

rarely...Americans whom I observed and with whom I spoke deemed the government's taking [and compensation] of property to be a legitimate use of its power when the government appeared to be protecting investments." (2014, p. 7-8). Put differently, under eminent domain, the government was fair and equitable in taking people's properties. Conversely, oral histories from *LoI* generally reflect a Canadian policy that has always been understood as an injustice of the Canadian government, especially by those who experienced the dispossession. In the letters of protest (from the time of the dispossession), Stanger-Ross and Blomley (2017) document the ways in which Japanese Canadians clearly present property as a monetary and non-monetary investment. The authors explain,

The protests of the Japanese Canadians illuminate the specific and complex harms of property loss, even in the context of a larger injustice. As Japanese Canadians articulated their attachments to property, they explained how its loss, in some senses above and beyond their uprooting and interment, threatened a permanent rupture in their sense of belonging and their faith in the state. (2017, p. 714).

Put simply, experiences related to the dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned property during WWII are very different from those in contemporary Philadelphia. The central purpose of *LoI* is to examine an unaddressed *injustice*, in which most Japanese Canadians who lost property claim that they never received fair compensation or recognition for the dispossession and sale of their property.

In addition to differences in legality, the context and data from *LoI* that I use for this project presents *memory* as the lens of my analysis, which constructs unique and complex data. Oral histories are spatialized life stories, which are formed through a unique process. Consequently, I adapt Becher's ideas to better suit the unique

experiences and memories of participants. Just as Becher speaks to investment within the context of a specific home (“real”, fixed property), property as “home” is often a site of memory for *LoI* participants – however, this “real” property usually entails a critical and comprehensive history of family settlement, the community from which they were dispossessed, and the overall sense of loss they or their family members feel. Often beginning with a conversation about place (i.e. the lost property), participants reflect upon a loss of financial assets, labour, social networks, and emotional attachment to the ownership process. In memory, conversations about property loss often begin with home, but “investment” goes into and *beyond* the home. In relation to these experiences, interviewees call out the irresponsibility and illegality of the actions of Canadian government. As seen in the previous chapter, these call-outs are explicit and mirror what both Becher (2014) and Singer (2014) describe in their theoretical work; the government is a guarantor of property rights, including the fair “value” it contains. Lastly, many identify that despite the success and general importance of the 1988 redress and apology, that neither monetary nor non-monetary values of lost property were (or can ever) be reimbursed by the Canadian government. The *memories and reflections of property loss* are, again, central to conclusions about its value(s).

To demonstrate how property as "investment" appears in *LoI*'s oral histories, I would like to continue with an individual from the previous chapter. Below, Bud Madokoro identifies a family property and the important structures of property authority in Canada and the United States during WWII. He explains,

My wife's aunt had about 100 acres outside of Vancouver which would be worth millions. It was a strawberry farm. And they lost it and they never got anything. There was one test case in the British Columbia Supreme

Court but its verdict was naturally overturned. It would have been like opening a Pandora's box, I guess. But in America, Japanese in California, Oregon and Washington, if the land was registered into the native-born American-Japanese, they were allowed to retain the property. Consequently, the Japanese Americans are wealthier than the Japanese Canadians, who didn't get much.

Initially, the listener forms a general sense of what kind of property Bud is talking about. Yet, once again, this property is a spectre of unsettled meaning in memory. It is the *loss* and lack of compensation for this property that conjure significant reflection upon its value or meaning. After loss is identified, the reflection includes a comparison between the Japanese Canadian and Japanese American context of dispossession. This comparison sparks an important perspective regarding state decision-making, which in Canada, led to exceptional losses across Japanese Canadians. This is an idea that I highlight in the previous chapter. However, the “*worth*” of permanently lost property directs us to something new. The notion of “*worth*” attached to lost properties has been articulated in other Japanese Canadian memory projects (Oikawa, 2012). Here, I wish to unpack the notion of “*investment*” in detail. “*Worth*”, in this example, explicitly communicates the *financial value* invested into property. As Becher explains, this form of investment normally yields an expectation of *financial returns* (“*future benefit*”). In the case of the family strawberry farm, the land could have accumulated a significant return if ownership was not appropriated and sold by the state. The 100 acres “would be worth millions”. Instead, the family experienced a significant loss in real time (at the time of dispossession), and, a future loss (the potential of the land’s value over time).

Although both groups were treated with obvious prejudice, there is a structural difference in legal processes, which we see in Bud’s description of state decision-making. The loss was unjust; despite appeal to the courts of British Columbia, the state took and

sold the properties, while the American government did not. As suggested by Becher (2014) and Singer (2014), high-level property dealings directly implicate the primary guarantor of property: the state. The state is supposedly the ultimate voice or guarantor of property rights and property value. In the case of the dispossession, this role is abused when monetary investment does not reap a fair reward. These actions affect “worth” and, in turn, Bud’s description unsettles what we know as the “fairness” of the ownership model. This unfair abuse of property authority remains spatialized in social memories of property loss. The Canadian state enacted an unjust policy across space that is within its control, while the American state controlled its space differently: “Consequently, the Japanese Americans are wealthier than the Japanese Canadians, who didn't get much.” Ken Morisawa shares a similar sentiment when asked about the fate of his parent's farm, which they owned in Victoria and lost to the dispossession,

We went back to visit...the unfair thing was when the war broke out we were forced to sell that farm for whatever we could get. I believe that my dad got something in the order of, something less than \$5,000, and I'm sure after the war it would have been worth quite a bit of money...I think in the United States, they interned...the Japanese Americans, but they got their properties back after the war, which was a fair thing. But the Japanese Canadians, they virtually had to start from scratch. So that was very tough, not so much for the children, but for my parents. You know, they had a really tough life to get started again.

After many years, Ken recalls returning to the lost property. The home stirs complex notions and memories of investment. First, Ken describes the forced and unfair compensation given for the farm at the time of the dispossession. Next, he suggests that if the family were to remain owners of the property during and after the war, that it would have accumulated value. This suggestion opens an important avenue of conversation. As Becher (2014) implies, investment is an anticipatory experience. The loss of invested

value not only occurs at the time of dispossession, but also in the *potential for these values to increase over time*. Like 100 acres "which would be worth millions", Ken assures us that "after the war [the farm] would have been worth quite a bit of money". In both scenarios above, "worth" reveals an expected financial benefit (at least "equal value") from the property investment process. Lastly, Ken points to the unjust actions of "they". He describes the action – returning properties as they did in the United States – as "a fair thing", which did not occur in the context of Japanese Canadians during the dispossession. Hence, I stress that the spatial narratives found in *LoI's* oral histories echo the arguments of Becher (2014) and Singer (2014); upon a reflection of lost property, there is a clear expectation that property investment should yield fair benefit, and, that the state plays a major part in this process.

So far, I have been talking about money. Yet, investment, as Becher argues, is supposedly “multifaceted”. So, what about other values (non-monetary) put into and expected from property investment? How do participants remember these factors of property within the context of loss? In my experience reading through *LoI's* oral history collection and through conducting interviews, I learned that family history is integral to the labour, love, and relationships associated with property ownership. For example, in a conversation about his family history, Mark Sakamoto describes the life his family built over many years in British Columbia. He also describes what the dispossession and interruption of this life meant to them,

This was a dramatic - my grandparents were second generation Canadians. Both were born in Vancouver, in BC...My great-grandfather was actually quite a skilled fisherman and quite entrepreneurial... My grandmother's sisters received post-secondary educations. The youngest whose education was stopped during the internment actually went on and received her

Ph.D.... Two fishing boats, waterfront property, living a very vibrant, dual life in Vancouver in the sense that they were integrated into the Canadian education system, but also after public school would come home and do another two hours of Japanese classes, and it was very integrated into the Steveston Japanese Canadian community.

Here, Mark tells a story of residence and its associated benefits. First, he identifies that his family has deep roots in Canada, specifically, in Steveston. After years of building a life – putting the labour, skill, money, and time into building a business (and education) - the family earned productive possessions and land. Going to school in Vancouver and living in Steveston, the family also gained respect and social integration in both communities. In other words, living in the area was not only a long financial investment, but also an emotional one. Therefore, one can imagine what Mark means when he refers to his family's property loss and uprooting as “dramatic”. By sharing the history of his family's community life, Mark identifies the deep nature of property loss. Property demands more than a financial investment, and thus, dispossession entails more than the loss of a fungible asset. The financial value of property thus may be like the tip of an iceberg; but, beyond the visible asset, like land or a boat, underneath lies years of work and relationship building – and, an emotional attachment to the emplaced lifestyle that results from this process and reward.

The emotional and social nature at the intersection of home and community open our awareness to under recognized experiences of property. To continue this discussion, I would like to scale down and focus on “home” as a site of memory. In the German context of dispossession, material possessions within the home have been cited as the keepers of memory and meaning. For instance, Ulrich Baumann (2007) gives an

example of a family who sends letters of inquiry and protest in response to the compensation given for the possessions, which were inside their family home.

[The son] pointed to the high value of furnishings, and especially to an antique from the seventeenth century that was present up until the time of deportation, adding: 'I will not allow the circumstances my grandmother and mother lived in before the war to be depreciated'. (p. 131)

Wider experiences of loss can thus be intimately connected to objects in the places property. For instance, furnishings can represent life before dispossession or injustice. They may be important signifiers of success. Whether an antique at the time of loss, or something that gained value over time, furnishings may also represent an additional loss insomuch as they represent the inability of families to pass down such objects or keepers of value to their children (Oikawa, 2012). Consequently, financial investment into the family home is integral to a sense of family identity. In the conversation between Momoye Sugiman and JoAnne Maikawa below, JoAnne comments that she was surprised her family would not return to their property on Napier Street in Vancouver after the war, as promised by the Custodian of Enemy property. This meant that “none of the family furniture came with [her family]”, and this furniture “sticks out” in her childhood memories. She discusses some items in detail,

We had a lot of bridge tables that folded up with chairs because my parents belonged to a bridge club, and every once in a while ...they would set up the card tables and people would come over...I would go to the end of my bed, and open my door and look out the door, because it was a one-storey place, though there was an attic, and watch [laughter]. And there was a large kitchen where there was a nook with a kitchen table and chair. And there was a refrigerator, and a stove, a gas stove where my mother would sit me down in front of the gas stove, with a curling iron. And she would heat the curling iron on the gas, on the flames, and she would ringlet my hair. It was painful to sit there for that long. And I remember the tiles, the big black and white tiles on the kitchen floor, because that's where I would practice my dance steps...I was a sansei dancer!

Through a perspective that engages memory, I argue that through JoAnne's detailed memories of her childhood home, one can get a sense of the different values of "property" that Becher (2014) highlights. Sparked by a discussion of dispossession and the Custodian of Enemy Property, her memories reveal what people may constitute as "property" through memory. In this case, furnishings and social networks are particularly important to the everyday value and growth of those who enjoy the home. Memories of community networks (the bridge club), childhood hobbies (dancing), are woven into family possessions that "make up" the family home. In a sense, there are multiple forms of effort and activity that are important to JoAnne's memory of the home she once had. She does not merely remember the financial worth of the property when she speaks about what was lost – she recalls detailed and emplaced memories, in which the importance of her family home comes alive through different furnishings, activities, and people.

Childhood attachment to property, as it appears in memory, is telling. As Becher argues, "an individual's attachment of value to a property gives him or her a claim to the future of the community in which that property is located...government is expected to protect investment at both individual and collective levels." (2014, p. 8) In *LoI*, this attachment often appears in childhood memory and guides the listener through social observation. Akin to JoAnne's description of home, Momoye asks Terez Hyodo whether Terez's husband shared memories of his childhood home. Terez responds,

Yeah, I remember one because it impressed me so much. Their family, his mom and dad had this place...It was sort of like a farm, and there were a lot of fruit trees. And they had the only well on the whole block. And they had the only horse and carriage. Of course, they shared their well with the neighbours, and their horse and carriage, you know, when they went to town, if anybody needed a ride. And, so I guess they were fairly well off, and Daddy kept buying land, so he owned a lot of land on that street. And

I forget the name of the street now...That's the trouble with getting old—your memory goes. So they were land-poor, property-poor. And of course, they lost it all when they were interned. And...He'd put on a slicker and a hat when it was raining, and he'd take up a lantern and light it. And he would climb a tree and pretend he was on a ship. Or he was in the lighthouse. And he'd wave this lantern so the ships would moor...[laughter]

These family memories are powerful. The memory of a child describes certain parts of the property – what is what like to physically be there, see it, who was there, and how these people treated each other. Terez gives the listener an impression of what was important about the property and community, both to the family and to the child. She recalls and chooses to highlight these memories of her husband because they seem important to her. In memory, the property is a spectre of a community space, a place of emotional labour, childhood imagination, and financial investment. Through Becher's (2014) perspective, I argue that the labour, love, and relationships intersecting the property in this example come across in an impactful way through discussions of its loss. In a way, the less obvious aspects of property ownership are what remain in social memory. In both JoAnne and Terez's stories, what "goes into property" or is valued by its owners and residents is thus not well-represented on a property title. In memory, experiences of property capture so much more.

Within the context of state takeover of abandoned or speculative properties, Becher (2014) describes the need to think harder about what is taken with those titles. She explains that invested "high real-estate values, years of residence, labor, and emotional attachments," should be protected, "even if property titles are not" (p. 228). Within the context of the dispossession and uprooting, these forms of investment were not secure nor given a high value. Becher examines the possibilities of tangible

compensation to make up for these lost investments (for instance, with relocation costs) – however, as I will explore below, compensation is quite complicated within the context of historical injustice. I was especially drawn to Becher’s notion of investment after *LoI* interviewees were asked about the apology and redress settlement from the late 1980s. As a reminder, the redress movement resulted in a formal apology and some financial compensation in 1988 (Miki, 2004). When interviewers asked participants for their opinions, memories, family experience, or reflection of the apology and redress movement, they appear to touch upon Becher’s multi-layered understanding of *what property investment really entails*. Redress is thus an important aspect of reckoning with memories of dispossession. Therefore, rather than argue whether the apology and redress were "good" or "bad", or a mixture of the two, I aim to listen for the theoretical meaning found within the reflection of participants.

Others have already formulated the building blocks for this type of analysis. For instance, in Restitution and Memory (2007), John Borneman focuses on exploring the idea of money as compensation within the German context of redress. Although he directs his attention to whether money addresses the "memory of loss" (the injustice, the burden), or, "loss" itself (the land, the assets), he begins a critical conversation. This conversation tackles how memory is involved with redress of property loss, the consequences of monetary reparations, and *what is really "lost" when dispossession occurs*. Borneman begins to question whether German monetary redress – a part of "Wiedergutmachung" or "making good-again" - can appropriately "make good" significant non-monetary effects of war (p. 35). For instance, Borneman proposes the difficulty of "making good-again" the drastic changes in lifestyle that are commonly

associated with wartime uprooting, such as slave labour or sex work. Borneman explains that financial compensation might be seen as an insult in the face of these types of injustices – but, most importantly, Borneman explains *why*. These injustices do not mix easily with a monetary value because they involve temporal, financial, social, and emotional losses (and trauma). Hence, these losses structure a complicated and challenging "exchange" at the time of reparations. In short, Borneman begins to explore the complex nature of loss and uprooting. These are the questions that I aim to examine within *LoI's* context. When listening to narrators I ask, *which property values are reflected upon when sharing memories of the redress period? Which property values are associated with the loss of family property?*

To begin, I continue to work with Mark Sakamoto's interview. After Mark describes the deep and compounded nature of his family's loss, he then transitions his commentary and shares his thoughts regarding the apology and redress. First, Mark reflects upon the immediate loss of value from his grandparent's possessions,

From a systemic level, a government level, in terms of no apology for a long time...Certainly, no meaning for financial compensation. I think my grandparents received – actually, not I think - they received \$25.16 and I think that that is quite common. That's two boats, a house. Their entire life possessions on a piece of paper. When my grandpa saw the bill, he thought for sure it was a mistake and had to go into Lethbridge to validate the claim within a court.

In this quote, Mark brings time together in memory. The "\$25.16" he describes was paid to his family by the Custodian of Enemy Property during WWII. When he says, "Certainly, no meaning for financial compensation" – Mark refers to the delay of the apology and redress to make up for the unjust compensation that his family originally

received for their property and "life possessions". For years, the financial reimbursement does not match the investment and value put into the family property. Mark continues,

What a juxtaposition to be in a Canadian Court where you are, where the 6 scales of justice are blazed on the front door, and you are there essentially acquiescing to the robbing of your entire life's possessions. And to do it because you need the fucking \$25.16. That's just terrible.

Memories of family experience at the time of the dispossession and reflecting upon financial details within the context of the apology and redress, once again, brings forward Becher's (2014) and Singer's (2014) arguments concerning state involvement. The "6 scales of justice" of the Canadian court link the state. In Mark's case, memories bound to the apology and redress include a detailed account of financial assets, but also the historic and present-day role of the government in the dispossession.

The legal relationships of lost investments are central to spatial narratives in *LoI* but, I still am trying to argue that property is more than an asset and more than a title. Earlier in this chapter, I presented a commentary from Ken Morisawa. He explained that the Japanese Canadians "virtually had to start from scratch" and that "they had a really tough life to get started again." I would like to expand upon this reality by considering what it takes to "re-invest" everything that once went into property ownership. I asked Dennis Okada to share his own opinions of the apology and redress – and, what he observed within his own family,

In one retrospect, I think I'd say yes, that was a good thing. But, in another, there was some injustice done, too... I mean, the apology was what they were looking for, but I think, financially, they lost a hell of a lot more. I mean, if they would have compensated for them in terms of what they would have lost then, I think, it would have helped.

Here, Dennis ponders on the apology and redress and whether it equates to what was lost financially. He identifies that the apology was a positive thing, however, Dennis also explains that his grandparents “lost a hell of a lot more” than redress distributed. Hearing this, I can make the simple conclusion that the monetary value put into and gained from his grandparent’s property did not have an equal or increased benefit or outcome, even later in time when the loss was addressed by the government. However, when I delve further into Dennis' interview, this conclusion gains important complexity. By reflecting upon the period of redress, Dennis does not recall family conversations, but recalls that his grandfather displayed the apology letter and certificate on his wall. He then explains,

Look at how much they struggled... because it was like being new immigrants again. Even though your parents, your grandparents...had immigrated forty, fifty years ago and started a life and got past those struggles of coming to a new country...you say, “Okay, now you have to start all over again.” Right? And maybe it would have been different if they said, “Okay, we’re going to help you get started.” But there was virtually nothing. Instead of selling all of those boats...keep them and when you come back you have a livelihood. And you have a place to stay then start from scratch. Instead of nothing. You have nothing. So, I think there was some bitterness. But it wasn’t said, it was just the hurtfulness inside.

In this reflection, Dennis’ arguments can be directly connected to Becher's (2017) theory of property investment. One does not simply lose a financial asset (“boats” or “a place to stay”) because there are temporal (“forty, fifty years”), social (“being new immigrants again”), and intense emotional values (“struggles of coming to a new country”) that construct property ownership. Dennis feels that this overall “struggle” had been ignored. To have “nothing” is to have lost the many values that go into an investment. This includes the investment itself; through dispossession, liquidation, and uprooting, one’s avenue or point of investment disappears. Furthermore, when a person begins this process

again, there will be repercussions and reinvestments associated with these very same values. “Starting from scratch” engages time, labour, money, and emotion. One can thus imagine why Dennis sees a natural discrepancy in the action of redress. Kelvin Higo expresses this sentiment concisely,

Well, you know, I commend this generation because how would you and I have reacted to being locked up, basically, for seven years and not be able to pursue your career, your livelihood, everything else? And then you had to start all over again.

How can a property title, and the subsequent loss of this title, represent every other facet of life integrated into the *process* of property ownership? How can redress capture everything associated with this process? I argue that the memories of *LoI* participants (and Becher) accurately describe the many ways in which title or redress cannot articulate the complexity of property loss. Apart from positive or negative opinions about redress, I argue that there is a natural discrepancy between *what property loss may mean for every individual or family* and what redress supposedly replaces or addresses. Within the German context, in Restitution and Memory, Sigrid Weigel speaks to this discrepancy or "asymmetry" of reparations (2007, p. 70). Weigel cites the Federal Compensation Law,

Where 'damage to life and limb, health, freedom, property and economic and professional advancement,' is supposed to be compensated in the main by financial payment of some kind, the traces of the problematic of all material compensation for nonmaterial, suffering or damage are inscribed in the intended restitution. A restoration in the sense of a reimbursement, a return to the status quo ante or a substitution can only function in the sphere of what is measurable. Inherent in the concept of indemnification in the literal sense, I.e., the removal or cancellation of the damage, is always the heterogeneity of money and what was suffered.

In short, compensation for injustice is, by nature, thought to be incomplete and incapable. Loss is inherently difficult to address, through both monetary *and* non-monetary means.

Nevertheless, there have been other important official moments in British Columbia that begin to acknowledge some of the under recognized losses that resulted from the dispossession. Like the redress and apology movement, these actions often stem from the activism from within the Japanese Canadian community. Although many claim they are imperfect, the gestures have immense weight. They unsettle social memory in relation to historical injustice and direct people to important lessons about dispossession, uprooting, incarceration, and displacement. For example, Leslie Uyeda remembers the Convocation ceremony at UBC in 2012, which was spearheaded by members of the Japanese Canadian community. This ceremony awarded seventy-six Japanese and Japanese Canadian students with honorary degrees to acknowledge the interruption of their post-secondary education during the dispossession and uprooting in 1942. Leslie, like many other descendants or relatives of the students who had passed, accepted the degrees on behalf of her aunts,

The original students came up first and we were sitting behind them and I could see that Charles Kadota was weeping, and weeping, and weeping as his daughter, Diane, wheeled him to get his degree. In fact, he died in August of that year. It was as if he was holding on, just holding out, because his health had been failing, to be welcomed back home or something like that...When it came time for us...I just thought "how will I get through this?" but then they read out my name and the names of my two aunts and I got two certificates, two hoods, and there were a lot of pictures taken that day... I can't describe what the feeling of this formal apology and first welcoming...even now it makes me very emotional to talk about this. I felt in those days after that ceremony that my family was alright. That the bitterness and the pain that they must have experienced...was healed.

Why is this reflection so important? Without making direct conclusions about healing from a very personal experience, there are several conclusions one can take from Leslie's memory. To go through the motions of convocation – whether for your own education or for that of your family member – is a unique embodied experience bound to loss, memory, and a lifelong sense of injustice. The event is a significant moment of reckoning. It addresses a historic ripple effect; the dispossession and uprooting interrupted much more than private property titles, it interrupted professional development and opportunity. What was lost, therefore, tells us something important about how property ownership interconnects with the time and effort put into the lives of Japanese Canadian property owners. Dispossession is entangled in professional labour, stability, and hope for the future.

The memories of others from *LoI* show individual attachments to the same experience. Sachiko Okuda describes those of her parents,

JOSH

That UBC sweater raises the question about how they thought about or talked about BC as the place that they had to leave. Did they ever go back? Did they want to go back?

SACHIKO

My parents never went back to BC and my mother, I feel, had a real resentment or she just wanted it to be behind her and yet she certainly touted the virtues of having a BC education because her English was very good, her penmanship was beautiful. She was very strict about grammar, spelling, and penmanship with us, her daughters. She deplored the English that was used in Verdun, very riddled with grammatical errors and improper usage. So that's interesting, she told me that when she grew up BC was very British and whatnot but it had virtues, the British side had virtues whereas she'd never went back and she would never consider going back. My father, I'm, perhaps connecting dots that he would not connect in the same way but I think he was very proud of having gone to university and I think his love of that time is normal when you think of the freedom and potential that youth have at that time so he had, you know,

his life before him so I think that was the charm and the nostalgia for that time. He had achievements in university, in sports, and whatnot. So, yeah, I think it was a source of pride. He did not talk about BC with the anger and the bitterness that my mom did but he never went back.

Sachiko identifies the unique perspective each parent has regarding British Columbia as a site of memory, loss, and education. The lasting effects among her mother and father differed over time – however, both deeply valued their education in Vancouver.

Sachiko’s mother has a strong sense of emplaced injustice, in which her memories haunt her and do not allow her to return – yet, she is immensely proud of the education she gained prior to the dispossession and uprooting. Her education meant something to her (though I will not fully explore these “British” “virtues” in this project). Sachiko’s father holds his university memories close as well, though his outward expression about British Columbia takes on a different form. Each story is powerful in its own regard, but I am taken aback by what Sachiko remembers when she is prompted by Josh. The labour and benefit of education, including what it represents, is strongly bound to memories of dispossession.

In *LoI*, career appears bound to memories of property loss in a similar way. A disruption in the profession of participants becomes “attached” to spatial narratives of property loss. Henry Shibata explains the change in career his father experienced upon uprooting and incarceration,

But anyways, Lemon Creek for our parents must have been a terrible place because they had been uprooted from Vancouver. My father, who was a cook and had his own restaurant, he now had to become a logger. Although, for a while he worked as a cook in the communal kitchen that was built there until all the homes were built for us to live in. There was a communal kitchen and so my father was one of the cooks there and he got me a job as a water boy because there’s no running water so water boys had to get buckets and carry buckets to the kitchen from the local stream. I

was hired as a water boy [laughs] at the age of twelve or thirteen I was working making twenty-five cents an hour being a water boy. Then after the communal kitchen closed, all the men who had been working in the kitchen and around that area became loggers. They would go into the woods, cut the logs, pile them up, dry them so that we had something to heat our homes during the winter time.

In Henry's family memory, property loss and uprooting leads to a drastic change in lifestyle. From a restaurant owner and cook (and before this, a skilled tailor in Japan), to a logger, those sent to Lemon Creek camp experienced a loss of growth or choice in profession. In addition to this loss, the new home space brought forth new, unfamiliar labour roles. Cooks and water boys aid family wellbeing in home spaces, while loggers nurture other necessities.

At the beginning of this chapter I asked, for those who experienced or witnessed the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property, how is property identified as a financial and non-financial investment? Which types of spatial narratives do interview participants share upon the loss of these efforts? How do they remain in memory and across generations? Throughout this chapter, I argue that property is more than an asset or a title. Based on an adaptation of Becher's "property as investment" work, I argue that memories of property loss direct our attention to the monetary and non-monetary values that are put into property. For some, the financial value put into property is central to social memories of property loss. For others, the time, effort, and labour put into "life in British Columbia" becomes a part of their own spatial narrative of property loss. Many LoI participants explain that redress, by nature, is thus not entirely suitable for compensation for this reason; money, time, emotion, relationships, identity, and life opportunity are felt as significant losses resulting from the dispossession. These invested values remain in memory at the time of loss and over one's dispossession journey across

space. Though one might not expect this outcome – are education and career really property? – what is “invested” into this life is often tied to a loss of property. The spectres of property act as a way into this lasting conversation.

As Oikawa (2012) argues, we must also think about multifaceted loss from the time of Japanese Canadian uprooting in relation to the passage of time. She identifies the losses of women as “material, historical, and personal” and states,

Whether ‘antiques,’ Japanese dolls,’ ‘boats,’ ‘houses,’ ‘farms,’ or other items, these possessions symbolize what has become heritage for others through Japanese Canadian dispossession. The normalization of this dispossession – not to question how one becomes entitled to own what belonged to others or how we benefit from others being dispossessed – leads one ultimately to questions of who is entitled to pass down and inherit Canada, and how this is intrinsically colonial inheritance is acquired. (p. 231)

Hence, to contemplate loss is not only a historical or intergenerational exercise within the Japanese Canadian community. It is a meaningful point of reflection for *all* who encounter its spatialized ramifications.

Chapter 6. Property as Belonging

In the fourth chapter of this project, I argue that memories of property loss designate citizenship as central to property ownership – and vice versa. I studied *LoI*'s oral histories and found that many align with Singer's work (2014), which states that the political, legal, and spatialized structures of property rights within Canadian society are central to one's sense of citizenship. Property is structured as a citizen's right within the colonized context of British Columbia, and therefore, a violation of this structure seemingly deconstructs what it means to be "Canadian" within Canadian society – especially after many years of proving or "investing" into this loyalty. In the next chapter, I argued that memories of property loss categorize property as an investment of monetary means, but also of social and emotional value. Memories of loss connect to an investment of time, labour, relationships, and emotional sacrifice. This investment should present future benefit for property ownership, with the state as the guarantor of this fair or "equal" value. Therefore, when people speak to the loss of their properties, property, as it exists in memory, is not merely a financial asset. Memories of property loss engage a place, which, critically, is underpin by all the moving parts of "building a life in British Columbia". Thus far, spatial narratives appear critical in demonstrating that property is a complex formation of fluid value, legality, labour, society, sentiment, time, and a sense of personal worth.

With the knowledge that emplaced memory tells a much wider, layered story of property, I wonder, are there other forces that structure property in memory? For instance, how else do participants from *LoI* think about the "wider context" of property

and the effect on this system when it is disrupted? How do participants articulate the ripple effect of property loss across space and time? In this chapter, I observe the importance of socio-spatial and socio-legal networks in *LoI* interviews. I argue that through spatial narratives of property loss, *relationships across space* prove essential to memories of property ownership. These “relationship” narratives usually take the form of intersecting and interconnected networks within a person’s neighbourhood and home. Though operating from an “investment” perspective, I have partially begun to examine these networks. For instance, discussions of loss can involve family businesses, close community relationships, or specific daily interactions between particular people in particular places. However, this thread of conversation runs much deeper. As critical thinkers with intimate family knowledge, *LoI* participants identify how life changed from before to after the dispossession. These “stages” of emplaced experience are articulated on a household, community, and even national scale, including how these types of networks also play a part in resettlement. Memories about one’s home or community illustrate that relationships are central to personal experiences to property and even point to wider demographic change following the dispossession.

To help organize this collection of memories, I draw from Sarah Keenan’s approach to property, which builds from critical race theory and feminist literatures. Previously introduced in this project in the “Property-Memory Theory” section, I utilize Keenan’s (2015) theory of property as a space or network of “belonging”. Keenan argues that when studying property, theorists should focus on space and a sense of belonging, rather than merely rights of exclusion or the relationship between object and subject. She claims that property is “held up” or structured by spatially contingent networks. Time is

also an important factor in this structure. In Keenan's explanation of this idea, she describes her relationship with her house at "27 Ritches Road", which involves *place* (the house and land) and the *subject* (herself) – and, crucially, the *wider context* (networks) that intersect and "hold up" the relationship between object and subject. In other words, Keenan aims to identify where the subject is situated within the broader socio-spatial context – as a part in relation to the whole. She explains that she and her house are "at a particular moment, in a relationship of belonging recognisable as property because the various social, cultural, legal and other networks in which we are embedded hold up our relationship as such." (2015, p. 81) Moreover, Keenan suggests that this formation of property unavoidably traverses with and constructs identity. Inclusion, belonging, and space all factor into one's sense of self across a specific space and time.

LoI's sites of memory (the places of property) are "held up" in a similar manner. Many participants from *LoI* refer to the spatial relationships they once had, lost, or were central to a sense of home, community, and identity. Therefore, I argue that Keenan's understanding of property relations (and identity) can be used to frame some of the most emotional and intimate aspects of property loss and/or ownership. I suggest that by recognizing that property is socio-spatially and temporally contingent, Keenan's approach to property relations can help one to understand the multifarious consequences of property loss. I ask, *what kinds of networks exist within experiences of property ownership and relations from LoI? Which are lost when specific arrangements of property relations are disturbed? How do these networks appear in memories of property loss? How do these memories relate to a sense of spatialized identity?* I ponder these questions with an awareness that acknowledges the imperfect nature of

social memory and interviewing; although not every memory that I share in this chapter is directly related to “the family home” or conventional focal point of property, each memory, in its own specific way, exists in relation to the topic of dispossession as it relates to the participant or participant’s family. For instance, some memories relate to the home itself, to neighbours, to the place of family in relation to community, or even to redress.

Beginning on the home and neighbourhood level, I share a response from JoAnne Maikawa’s interview. When JoAnne is asked whether her parents passed down memories of white neighbours in Vancouver with her, she reckons with her own family home and its connection to others in the community,

Well, you know, my parents were such regular guys. Well, our neighbours where we lived...they lived on the street a year before I was born, so we’re talking seven and a half at least years they were there in that house. While they did have a very active life in the Japanese community, of course, you’re side by side with neighbours. You have a little bit of a street life. And my parents were outgoing. So, yes. There was a Scottish family. I did the Highland Fling. Did I tell you that story?

This memory of neighbourhood relationships illuminates a few important points regarding “networks of belonging”. Largely in response to the structure of the question (about “white neighbours”), these spectres of property (“the house” and “street”) describes a relationship between property owners of differing ethnicities. Through memory, the conversation begins with the family home – however, the spatial relationship between owners appears to be more than a simple answer of “yes” or “no”. First, JoAnne provides some temporal context regarding her family and their neighbours. She identifies that there was a “seven and a half” year period of property ownership, which gives the listener a sense of community establishment for the family. The element

of time is not an insignificant point of interest. As Keenan (2010 & 2015) argues, time often validates spatial arrangements as networks of belonging; the longer a network prevails, the more legitimacy or sense of legitimacy it receives. Therefore, it is not surprising that time, as a community investment, comes early in JoAnne's response. Next, JoAnne describes the dynamics of her parents within the wider Vancouver context. They were "regular guys", "active" in the Japanese community, and "outgoing" with other people on their community street, including their Scottish neighbours. In several ways, JoAnne considers her parents to be general Vancouverites with a connection to their own ancestry. These personal characteristics are emplaced – yet, they are emplaced in a complex way; the ways in which her parents are "regular guys" and also connected to the Japanese Canadian community intersect the home, "street", and Vancouver level. In each context, characteristics appear to formulate facets of her family's identity. For instance, relationships between immediate neighbours are friendly and even a point of cultural exchange. JoAnne recalls dancing the Highland Fling, and, later in the interview, I learn that "everyone" was doing the dance in Vancouver, especially because of the local Scottish population. The listener also learns that although the neighbours were not part of the same social groups, there was a strong sense of trust, and even shared childcare between families. JoAnne's family appears to experience property relations through a complex network that is directly "held up" and supported by relationships of *friendship* and *culture*. Of course, there is also a legal network that underlies these relationships, that being the law which supports property ownership in this particular neighbourhood. Through her memories, this network of belonging underlines and creates a sense of "regular" life, community inclusivity, complexity, and family identity. In this memory,

ethnic identity intersects with the spatial relations and personal characteristics of property owners in those places and spaces.

I share JoAnne's response to give life to Keenan's notions of networks of belonging, but most importantly, to illustrate that participants often articulate ideas about the topics of "property" through memories of spatialized social networks. Friendship and culture – what Keenan may identify as "social" or "cultural" networks – appear important to JoAnne's story and family experience. Does this topic also appear in memories at the time of the forced sale? Are these social networks still important? To emphasize the significance of relationships to memories of property loss, I would like to share a conversation from Grace Omoto's interview. Grace describes her family's experience during the beginnings of the dispossession period,

I know Mom, I know she had a problem selling the store because at that time they were confiscating all the Japanese property. And my mom fortunately being a Nisei, being able to speak English, was able to come to authorities and say "Look, my son needs a tonsillectomy done. I have no money. You have to give me the money that I sold the store for." So I think they gave her \$200 or something.

Alex

Where was her store?

Grace

On Georgia Street East. It was not in the Japanese section of Vancouver, it was more closer to what they used to call Chinatown. It was a mixed neighborhood. My neighbors were Italian, I remember, across the street. And we had one Chinese family next door, but most of them were, you know, white Canadians. Business people.

Grace

I'm sure it was Georgia Street East. Can't remember the number. It wasn't too far from Main Street. I think in Vancouver, Main was the middle I think and then the numbers started east or west from Main Street. [pause] So Vancouver before the war, just going to school, there's a park not too far where we used to go swimming. On Sundays the family would take

you to Stanley Park, things like that. Occasionally we would take the streetcar and go to Steveston to visit dad's mom's friends, relatives. It was an ideal life I think in Vancouver in those days. [Pause] I don't think my mom made a lot of money on the store, but enough to keep the family going. Then as I said my dad was working on the boats too, so that what is it.

In relation to the places of property as sites of memory, this intergenerational memory is full of insight. It contains emplaced memories of property loss (and negotiations in the face of loss). The listener gets a sense of the legal networks that held up the family store prior to the dispossession, during the dispossession, and how they are recalled and dismantled following the dispossession (as it exists in memory). First, Grace recalls a *change* or *disruption* in legal networks. This change - the dispossession policy - affected her family in a particular way in relation to the rest of the neighbourhood. Her family is Japanese Canadian and thus had “a problem selling the store” in light of the confiscation of Japanese Canadian-owned property. Yet, Grace also engages memory of her mother’s identity which intersects this change in legal networks. The family store is an asset of a Nisei citizen, and as such, Grace’s mother could attempt to negotiate financial losses and family needs. In relation to the events and politics at this point in space and time, the character or identity of Grace’s mother *as a property owner* represents a specific relationship in place. At the same time, social memory as a construction through memory-making and remaking appear significant in this conversation. When Grace is asked about the location of the property, the conversation opens to an enlightening description of the community of the store. In this part of her memories, the listener gets a better sense of the community relationships that exist *prior* to a disruption of the legal networks that supported a sense of belonging. Grace articulates *who* and *where* makes up the neighbourhood, and how her family transects people and space. Prior to the

dispossession, Grace's family store was "held up" through those who own it, their relationship to people of differing ethnicities in the surrounding area, the wider politics of Vancouver that created the social geography of "Chinatown" at that time, the urban geography that fed family life and scheduling prior to the war, and the surrounding spaces of activity that were important to Grace as a child. In memory, Grace and her family are in a relationship of belonging through overlapping networks at a particular place and time. Relationships to people and space accentuate a sense of family belonging, and in Grace's mind, "an ideal life". Importantly, the disruption of the legal network that upholds property ownership and this "ideal life", by extension, also disrupts the complex sense of belonging.

A sense of belonging is unique to every individual and family. For instance, broader community networks in Nanaimo are important to belonging in the life story of Shig Uyemama's grandmother. Arriving in 1913, Mitsue Kosawa had a special relationship with her home community,

She was sort of a midwife, so when she moved to Nanaimo she ended up eventually working for a Doctor Drysdale. But, there was sort of discrimination against Orientals, so she couldn't be a regular nurse. But, she was a midwife to the Japanese Canadian community, the Chinese community in Nanaimo, and the Native Indian population in Nanaimo. So, I'd hear these stories about these, sort of, war canoes coming up to my grandparent's place and my uncles hiding for cover because they'd seen too many western movies. And they thought, "Oh! They're coming to scalp us." But, the Native people would bring foodstuffs to say thanks to [her]. But I think most of the Japanese Canadian kids who were born in Nanaimo, were... my grandmother helped bring them out. And somebody was telling me that there's one reference to a Japanese nurse or midwife in Nanaimo in "The Concubine's [Children?]"...the book, but it doesn't say who it is, but it must have been my grandmother.

What contributes to a sense of “belonging”? In this example, there are social, cultural, legal, and professional networks intersecting and “holding up” Mitsue’s place in the Nanaimo community. Through intergenerational memories - “these stories about” – one gets a sense of this system. First, the reader gets a sense of her professional development, and place within the relevant professional network of Nanaimo. Mitsue is a nurse, however, due to the legal networks of the time – hiring laws that are discriminatory toward Asian Canadians – she is a nurse restricted to specific populations (and most likely, with restricted pay). Consequently, the populations that she becomes involved with become culturally, socially, and spatially restricted or focused. As a “midwife”, Mitsue travels to the Japanese Canadian, Chinese Canadian, and First Nations groups in the area. She is part of a strong network of belonging made up of many groups, who at this point in history, experience laws of marginalization as well. Race and ethnicity intersect the spaces of those who reside in the community. Quite literally, Mitsue’s “place” in Nanaimo is structured through layered networks of inclusion and exclusion. As a subject in space, she is an important part of a wider socio-spatial context. Most importantly, memories of this context echo the importance of *emplaced relationships* related to home and community.

I would like to further investigate the layers of this story. It would be superficial to identify Mitsue’s experience as only “restricted”. Specifically, I want to better understand how networks of belonging are simultaneously *exclusive* and *inclusive* in *LoI* narratives. Keenan (2015) proposes this inclusive and exclusive nature of networks a critical point of property relations – and, inclusion can be subversive. She also argues that we must pay close attention to legal networks, which in Mitsue’s case, structure

exclusion and professional marginalization. However, drawing from legal geography, Keenan suggests that these legal networks do not simply act “upon” people across space (2015, p. 76). Rather, in relation to property, legal structures exist through pluralism, interpretation, and depend on the spatial characteristic of the relationship of belonging at hand. In other words, there are multiple legal networks and actors across space, which determine the relationship of belonging at a particular time and place. Although Mitsue is excluded from a profession as a “regular nurse” through legal structures of marginalization (colonial provincial policy), “Doctor Drysdale” hires her as he operates within his own medical network and legal agency. This enables Mitsue, to then, subvert these relations through her own agency to accept, and gain acceptance, within the professional, social, and cultural networks of Nanaimo. These complex relationships “hold up” Mitsue’s place within her community. They also play a part in how Mitsue navigates the properties of others and enters the world.

As previously seen through the memory of Grace’s mother, it is also Mitsue’s character, identity, and agency that allow her to formulate relationships of belonging in Nanaimo prior to the dispossession. Within the context of *LoI*’s oral histories (to hear those who experienced or witnessed property loss), one must consider the effects of the dispossession itself in relation to this matter. It would be logical to think: The disruption of property ownership will lead to a disruption of this memorialized unique sense of belonging. *Losing property will change the relationship as a subject as a part of and relation to the whole.* However, this disruption can affect memory of the subject and sense of belonging in unique ways. For example, after dispossession and uprooting from this community, from this network of people, and as this experience crosses generations

of memory, these relationships also maintain Mitsue's spatialized identity. Mitsue, in memory, remains as a traveling midwife who is important to many groups, especially in relation to the Nanaimo community. Drawing from Avery Gordon and hauntology, Keenan (2015) explains that a subject, even beyond passing, maintains her or her place within sense of belonging of property. Like Penalver's (2010) "distributive" description of property and Grubbstrom's "affective bonds" to property (2011), Keenan identifies the importance of family-as-connected-to-subject within property's networks across time. She explains that *space* is key in upholding a sense of belonging, and that new subjects can inherit belonging long after the "ghosts" of property (subjects) pass on. In the complex network of "Shig's memory of Mitsue's Nanaimo", I see a sense of belonging that remains. Most importantly, I see that spatial narratives of property loss contain important signifiers of the relationships which underscore community property relations as they exist in memory.

This complex perspective of property also exists on an address-specific basis. If I "scale down" the spatial narrative, relationships still appear significant to memories of loss. For instance, Harold Steves describes the importance of an emplaced friendship between his white family and the Kojiro family of Richmond,

My next memory, very vivid, is going to the tram on the day of the evacuation with Mrs. Kojiro, my playmate Fumiko, my mother and my brother was in a baby carriage and we walked all the way down to the tram and they said goodbye. From then on in, I've got scans of letters from the Kojiros and from all kinds of other Japanese families as they corresponded from after the evacuation because they left all their belongings behind. The Kojiros left their house intact, all furnished, and I remember my father constantly going up, he had put boards over the windows and people were smashing the windows and stealing the stuff. I remember going with him over to the house, as he would try to board things up and eventually whatever was left they took out of the house and

brought it into our house. We corresponded back and forth and Mrs. Kojiro set prices for the furniture and the things that remained, and my parents sold them for them, some of the stuff they bought themselves and we still have [laughs].

In Harold's memory, relationships are an important aspect of the dispossession. Harold describes the importance of this network to the survival of the Kojiro family property, including the various assets that makeup the investment. If Becher (2014) were to comment on this excerpt, I would expect her to identify the labour, love, and relationships that "make up" or maintain this property, even upon a loss of ownership. Yet, there are wider, intersecting forces that also "hold up" the property. If we recall Keenan's advice, which tells us to pay attention to intersection and interaction between the various networks, people, and spaces that constitute "property" – their importance to memories of property loss become obvious. These forces come forward through Harold's unsettling and "vivid" memory of the Kojiro family uprooting, which then flows into stories of the property left behind. Harold identifies the close relationship between two families, which stems from the system of property relations in the neighbourhood. There is an obvious trust between them, including a willingness to stay connected through times of injustice. During the incarceration years, the Steves family try to protect the Kojiro family home and prevent damage and theft. This effort evolves into a protection and eventual sale of items through the Steves family home. This friendship, mixed with the wider legal policies of the dispossession, and in relation to the property itself, form a subject-subject-object-law relationship. Upon loss, the interaction and layering of these networks are simultaneously exclusive and inclusive; the Kojiro family is forcibly removed from their community and from their home, yet, their relationship with the Steves family maintains their place within the community – and, in a sense,

maintains their sense of “property”. For the Kojiro family, property ownership spans further across space and via social ties. The friendship between the two families is also part of a complicated neighbourhood network. The neighbourhood consists of owners with differing behaviour during the dispossession period. I cannot assume the logic of each neighbour, but some choose to maintain community property relations, while others do not. In regard to this specific home, and in relation to the wider context of the dispossession, the intersection of all of these moving parts “holds up” the Kojiro’s relationship of belonging. Therefore, it also makes sense that the memories of its loss and evolution are emplaced in a complex way, too.

This way of thinking can be “scaled up”. The dispossession, by the forced sale and relocation of Japanese Canadians, disrupted significant networks of belonging across British Columbia. Through multiple ways of existing – through homes, businesses, and diverse social interaction and cultural practice – Japanese Canadians had a tangible effect on the coast. Therefore, when these spatial networks and relationships are disrupted, a wider sense of loss occurs. I revisit a quote from the previous chapter – however, I would like to think about it differently in order to demonstrate this idea. Keo Shibatani speaks to watching the coast change over time,

JOSH

And you’ve been back to Vancouver recently and probably seen all of this change so much.

KEO

Oh, yeah. There, again, I didn’t know what it was all about before so there is no such thing as Japan-town anymore unfortunately whereas the U.S. government were much more liberal in their treatment of Japanese-American properties and whatnot. They didn’t take it over. So I’m sure that little Tokyo in LA resembles, somewhat, what little Tokyo used to be before the war. There’s no such thing, no comparison here in Vancouver

unfortunately. See, the whole idea was the war ended in '45 right? We were given voting rights in '48, '49, I think four years after the war we were allowed to return to Vancouver. That's ridiculous. The American government allowed Japanese-Americans to leave the camp while the war was still on to return because a lot of them did not sell. They left it in the care of their neighbours or whatever, right? That's not to say they were welcomed back because a lot of them had people shooting at their homes at night and so on but the government policy was 'hey, we made a mistake. These people should not be incarcerated. They have a place to go. Go.' We didn't have a place to go. Nobody did.

JOSH

Did you want to go back to Vancouver?

KEO

Oh, yeah.

Keo captures many of the themes from this project, such as political rights and governmental responsibility, but he also alludes to wider, context-specific effects of the dispossession. Through his memories, Keo demonstrates how networks of property ownership structure wider society. In the American context, Japanese American "ways of existing" were interrupted, but many of the places remained and were eventually returned to their former owners. In the Canadian context, these places were lost, and without the return of Japanese Canadians to the coast, their "ways of existing" were also lost across space. Oikawa (2012) shares interesting examples of this in her own work in the context of Powell Street, including the erasure of Japantown (and consequent visibility of Chinatown) as a result of dispersal. Likewise, in Keo's words, there is no "Japan-town anymore". Of course, losses exist on all levels and can be seen through affective bonds to and memories of place: "Did you want to go back to Vancouver? Oh, yeah."

As one may suspect, conversation in the interviews point to a distinctive perspective of “Canadian-ness” for this generation. Henry Shibata comments on his own identity while discussing the politics of “choosing sides” during WWII,

JOSH

But no matter what group you were on, did you feel . . . I mean, whether you thought Japan could win or Japan can't win, did you feel Canadian? Are you Japanese?

HENRY

Me?

JOSH

Yeah.

HENRY

No, I felt I was Canadian because I was born in Canada. I was educated in the Canadian system. Although I had to go to Japanese language school, I never really thought I was quote ‘Japanese.’ When I got to Japan and went into the system there, I again felt the difference that I was not really Japanese because no matter how, you know, I tried hard to fit in with the Japanese system, my background being born in Canada and having a Canadian education made me different from all the rest of my classmates and so forth. . . . So, in Vancouver, when we were kids all my boy friends were calling me Rusty, never called me Henry. They called me Rusty. So even in Japan, when I told my classmates my name was Rusty, they started calling me Rusty. In a way, I was different and I always felt different, so, yes, I felt Canadian more than Japanese.

Despite time and effort put into resettlement following the dispossession, Henry maintains a strong “Canadian” identity. This identity appears to be supported across space. Living in Vancouver as a child and attending school, Henry is embedded within strong networks of education and friendship. To be “Rusty” is to belong to these networks, while in Japan, the fit is just not quite the same. This experience of belonging and Canadian identity in some Japanese Canadian youth demonstrates another “way of existing” across coastal British Columbia. I say “some” youth, as the memories of Japanese Language school are generally quite complex and individual. However, many,

like Henry, recall that as children, it was an obligation or something outside of their “Canadian-ness”, rather than something exciting. Yet, upon reflection later in life, this obligation becomes significant to the topic of dispossession and community loss. For Henry, property loss leads to a disruption of the relationships that structure his identity as “Rusty”.

If I consider the disruption of these networks a little further, perhaps, I can also see a broader sense of loss as well. In another example, Ken Nishibata remembers his experience with schooling in Vancouver,

...myself I was in grade five, Lord Byng. I think my younger sister could have just started grade one there...the other two brothers were not in school at that time...most of us went to Japanese school after I think I know after our regular English schools because I guess the parents wanted us to retain or learn some Japanese but I didn't like it. So I don't know, I didn't do very well. I think I had grade one Japanese and grade two...I think it might have been 1942 or 1941 and it ended there so I didn't get that much Japanese schooling. That's about all.

Through Ken's memory, I observe the erasure of a network of education and cultural practice. Following property loss on the coast, there is an interruption of public education and a loss of specialized heritage networks. Ken was embedded in both of these networks. Even though he “didn't like it” as a child, Ken and the others (“most of us”) began to experience Japanese schooling. At the same time, these children were an important part of the public education system. Therefore, when the dispossession and uprooting occurred, there is an interruption of Ken's relationship to Lord Byng and the Japanese Language School in Vancouver. As Ken explains, “it ended there so I didn't get that much Japanese schooling.” In a sense, there is a loss in that moment, but also of what may have been. Specific networks of belonging across space – in this case, dual

education – are disrupted through the removal of Japanese Canadian families. Through Ken’s childhood memory, one might imagine all of the unique “ways of existing” and “belonging” that once characterized the coastal geography of Vancouver. Through this example and through Keo’s reflection of “Japantown”, I argue that when major socio-spatialized networks are disrupted, the overall geographies of that context change dramatically. Furthermore, as seen in Henry’s explanation of “Rusty”, the individual identities embedded in this geography are also affected. In memories of property loss, individualized loss and demographic change is thus a consequence of spatialized injustice.

In the context of Jewish loss in rural Southern Germany, Ulrich Baumann (2007) describes the complex nature of property systems, the consequences of dispossession and, by extension, the complexity of restitution. Baumann refers to “Ordinance No. 120 on the Return of Stolen Items of Property (November 1947)”, which was issued by the French Occupational Authority. This ordinance mustered extensive reflection across affected municipalities. Baumann reflects on this process,

After all, what was at issue in the villages was not just the homes and household effects of the individuals expropriated but also the businesses of dealers, the extent of their businesses and circle of clients, as well as the ownership of gardens and plots of agricultural land. (p. 131)

In this example, property assets, owners, and their networks matter to the examination of property’s worth. Therefore, these relationship networks *matter* in the analysis of dispossession. In each chapter, I continually argue that spatial narratives of property loss tell us something. I suggest they illustrate that property encompasses more than a person and their asset. This chapter is no exception to the rule. In memories of property loss,

there are palpable social networks that extend and converge around spectres of home. As I observe and suggest through Keo's commentary, property owners construct space through emplaced relationships and spatial activity. In Keenan's words, there is a much wider context that "holds up" property systems. Therefore, loss involves a much wider context as well. In reflections of compensation in *LoI*, I see reference to this geographical reality. For instance, Dennis Okada identifies the substantial effect as he reflects further upon redress,

Well, I think it was...there are parts of me that think the redress was great, but I think those people lost more than just...I don't know. I look at what the Americans did...how whatever was taken was kept, right? So, when the war ended, when they came back, they came back and had everything. Whereas here, everything was sold...When I read what happened in the States, you know...things changed, demographics changed, the whole...what they owned changed. They could've had more.

What kinds of networks exist within experiences of property ownership and relations from LoI? Which are lost when specific arrangements of property relations are disturbed? How do these networks appear in memories of property loss? As seen in Dennis' reflection and those of other LoI participants in this chapter, the systems that "hold up" property also seemingly "hold up" memories of property loss. The spatial relationships of these systems direct us to the extensive nature of property relations. They also re-inform and broaden our perspective of property's meaning across time and generations. This chapter delves deep into the layered relations of property ownership – it focuses on the relationships and networks that are integral to property, not only in its investment or political meaning, but in its existence and legacy overall. How do these memories relate to a sense of spatialized identity? Networks of belonging inform context; the relation of the subject "as part of the whole" appoints the individual and the

subject and objects connected to them (relationships between people and places). Although Keenan's (2015) theory of property and belonging is not the only critical approach to understanding property, it points to an important, more subtle structure that is hard to pin down. Keenan's perspective is thus a useful tool, especially when examining the intricate and slippery content of spatialized memory. Spatial narratives of property loss can encompass so many aspects of life in the past and unsettle life in the present. Despite this intricacy, there is tangible value in unpacking these memories.

To acknowledge what "holds up" property and belonging in memory is also food for contemporary thought. Some argue the lost relationships of belonging associated with the dispossession structure present day property relations across Japanese Canadian owners. For instance, the value of disrupted relationships can be witnessed among people who were neighbours prior to the 1940s. Their reunion is "a phenomenal reconstruction of a network of relationships, rendered in seconds before my eyes." (Oikawa, 2012, p. 256) I end this chapter with a quote about redress, followed by a question,

AILEEN

It was a symbol of . . . yeah. As he said, some lost a lot more than others. It was just the fact that it was done and, as I said, that's why you'll find that the Japanese community on the whole, especially the other generation, the first, second generation, are more open to give back in some way whether it's monetarily or through community volunteerism, or just being good neighbours. You know, let's face it that's what we're here for is to help each other and if you can't help your neighbours . . . I shudder when I hear of people that have fighting neighbours and they want to move away. We're so blessed that we have wonderful neighbours, you know? Just generally I think it's made a difference, uh, I think, uh, for the good even though there were losses. Yeah, so let that be part of your research [laughs].

HEATHER

It will be! That's a beautiful sentiment that you're expressing, Aileen.

Can this sentiment, perhaps, also allude to the power of unsettling social memory across all Canadians? What do we learn from Japanese Canadian narratives of belonging? As Recall that memory, according to Nora, is “in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive formations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived...a perpetually actual phenomenon...tying us to the eternal present.” (1989, p. 8) How, then, does the sharing of formative, lost, and new relationships across Japanese Canadians and others continue to shape Canadian interconnectivity?

Chapter 7. Intersecting Narratives

In chapters four, five, and six I unpack three distinct themes from a sample of *LoI*'s oral histories. I illustrate ways in which memories of property loss can relate to notions of citizenship, investment, or belonging. Yet, these themes or “values” do not exist in isolation. Early in this thesis project, I identify the imperfect nature of social memory. Through the work of Nora (1989), Assmann and Shortt (2012), and Cubitt (2007), I define memory as necessarily social, and in a sense, inherently difficult to decipher or categorize. Furthermore, I argue that this fact does not decrease the value of social memory. Rather, it reflects a reality across space, time, and people – and, that place can actually provide a way in. In this section, I would like to delve deeper into this reality. I draw from the dense memories of *LoI* participants in order to demonstrate the fluidity and complexity of property's value in memory. I argue that property can be “citizenship”, “multifaceted investment”, and “belonging” all at the same time – or any intersecting variation of the three.

I begin with a childhood memory that follows the dispossession, uprooting, and incarceration of Japanese Canadians. This memory is tricky to unpack. I have highlighted a specific (political) portion of this memory in chapter four, but with our knowledge of citizenship, investment, and belonging, we can now see that the memory contains multidimensional meaning. The participant begins by describing incarceration in Slokan Valley (the interior of British Columbia),

PARTICIPANT

So, I had a grand time, always romping in the hills, you know? Watching these wild deer and all that. Bear and deer all over. Wild hares, rabbits, and watching these things. I had not bad of a time because I had...in

Vancouver the atmosphere was so thick and ugly, and you know, that was a real haven for me. I don't think the adults were thinking the same thing. They lost all of their property.

REBECA

So, you think it was different...it was different for children.

PARTICIPANT

I imagine so, you know? I never really talked to parents about that, to adults about that. But, in hindsight it's common sense. Knowing that we lost so much and had nothing to fall back on. I understand in the US, the United States, as soon as the war ended the Japanese were no longer enemies. They lost the war and they had to part to be enemies, so they let them go back to...wherever they came from. Allowed them to resume life as it was before the war. But in Canada, they didn't. So, we weren't even allowed to come back to Vancouver until the end of [March] in 1949. And some Japanese protested and made some noises, so the Canadian government consented to allow them to come back to Vancouver. And at the [beginning] of April 1949 they allowed them to come back.

As a result of the dispossession policy, the narrator identifies an entirely new experience of childhood in the place he or she lives. Although Slocan was an incarceration camp, visions of nature remain in memory and retain a positive sentiment. The participant "had a grand time" and Slocan was "a haven" in comparison to previous experiences of Vancouver, which carry a "thick" and "ugly" feeling. For a child of Japanese descent, the memories of WWII in British Columbia are socially illustrative. Clearly, both Vancouver and Slocan have emplaced sentiment in memory – but, I can also observe unique sensorial experiences of very different networks of *belonging*. Over the course of this interview, the listener learns that relationships in the spatial and temporal context of Vancouver are "thick" and "ugly" as a result of adverse tension, family loss, and individualized school experiences. In other words, the participant belongs to specific legal and social networks prior to dispossession. These experiences were socially, politically, and spatially isolating for the narrator. Therefore, one may imagine how refreshing Slocan may have felt for a child. As Keenan might suggest, the contexts of

Vancouver and Slokan have a different way of “holding up” where he or she lives. The identity of the participant intersects various social and political networks across space, and thus, creates a very different feeling of “home”. Put differently, a sense of belonging (via inclusion and exclusion) evolves through processes of property loss, uprooting, and resettlement.

However, this change in belonging was individual, especially from the perspective of a child. As the narrator explains, “I don’t think the adults were thinking the same thing.” For adults navigating the same politicized experience, property loss was felt intensely as “they lost all of their property” and “had nothing to fall back on”. For an adult, property as an asset or *investment* is fundamental. In the narrator’s memory and reflection, property loss is the loss of time and money, and thus, stability. At the same time, the illegality in property loss is important to the “adults”. *How was this investment taken away? Who was involved? How did it feel?* Due process and Canadian identity is central to a sense of this injustice. The labeling as “enemies” across Japanese Canadians, in combination with spatial exclusion in years that follow reflect an understanding of unjust action. This action was led by the Canadian government, which again, is observed as very different from the actions of the American government during WWII. This injustice sparks years of political protest direct at the Canadian government – the guarantor of Canadian rights and representative of democratic status quo – in which some Japanese Canadians aim to return back home to the coast. These ideas about injustice and enemy aliens of the state engage those of Singer (2014), MacPherson (1987), and Becher (2014); property is more than assets and land, it is a political factor of *citizenship* that must employ and underscore the principles of democracy.

The memory and reflection of this participant construct a multidimensional understanding of property value in memory. Values of belonging, investment, and citizenship flow into each other and tell a unique, yet comprehensive story of property loss. I choose the word “unique” inasmuch as it is individual. Consequently, it is exceptionally important to recognize that these values exist through the memory and reflection of one person. This fact is not limiting, rather, it illuminates the social nature of emplaced memory. Although he or she “never really talked to...adults about that”, there is a process through which these conclusions arise. Whether affected by personal observation and reflection (or a combination of these factors) – these values are formulated through social memory. Their layering is therefore complex and demonstrative because social memory naturally and *necessarily* crosses paths with memory sharing, space, and time. It is thus as important to draw out the values of property through spatial narratives of property loss as it is to recognize their imperfect and compound construction.

How else does the “construction” of these interwoven narratives appear in *LoI*? Leslie Uyeda describes their grandfather’s store and the lasting effects of its loss within her family.

Growing up with the silence and...So because my family was so silent about it, I don’t know whether there was shame involved which I understand there was with a lot of Japanese Canadians or whether they were just in a rage. I really don’t know. I do know that my grandfather’s silk store, Yamato Silks, on Granville at I think it’s Dunsmuir. It was right beside the old [OB Allen?] jewelry store. That started to be . . . it was a very successful silk importing company, I guess. I know that when the war started lots of racist, nasty slogans were spray painted on Grandpa’s windows and my dad had to go out and wash them all off and things like that. So I knew it existed.

The intergenerational memory begins at her family's property – Yamoto Silks – which Leslie “knew existed”. As a Nisei, Leslie experiences silence regarding the dispossession era for most of her life. Regardless – or perhaps, as a result – she has various guesses as to why this might be and feels emotional about the events. Through the memories she *does* have of the store, she describes it as a “successful” family asset. However, she also recalls the store as a site of racist behaviour during WWII. Therefore, the store also contains unsettling family memories from this period. As I consider the details of this story, I argue that this memory contains themes of both *investment* and *belonging*. I identify investment due to the description of the business and its importance within family memory. The store was an asset that clearly brought the family financial stability and success. Its “success” as a “silk importing company” yielded significant returns on the investment and thus was important to their livelihood. Still, this investment exists within a particular network of belonging, which evolves with the wartime mentalities described in Leslie's memory. There are emplaced political and legal networks that structure racism and traverse the silk store in Vancouver. Within this context, there are also social networks that often embody the sentiments behind the political and legal networks at hand. The intersection of these networks at the family store “hold up” a particular sense of belonging. One cannot assume what this sense was prior to WWII, but at the height of tensions in Vancouver, these appear to be very complicated for Leslie's family. Leslie continues to develop the meaning associated with her family's story of loss, in which we get a better sense of family life prior to the dispossession.

I also know that in the '30s my grandparents, whose names were [Kimmy and Bunjiro?] Uyeda, had donated 1000 cherry trees to the city of Vancouver. I thought, “well isn't that ironic?” You donate something to your adopted city and then a few years later you are *persona non grata*.

Their house in Dunbar, I have gone by that many times. I have pictures of it from 1942 when they lived there and I thought “what happened to that house? Who lives there now?” I’ve never gone any further in that to try to search records and ring on the door bell and things like that which I have been emotionally tempted to do. I just haven’t done it. I just simply cannot imagine what it would have felt like to be living in a beautiful house in Dunbar, to be going to university, to be running a successful business, for my grandfather to be a pillar of the Japanese Canadian community. He donated a lot of money, helped a lot of new Japanese immigrants and I know this from reading Reverend [Shimizu’s?] diaries. He did everything anonymously. So when I read Reverend [Shimizu’s?] diaries I started to understand that grandpa just wasn’t a publicity hunter. So that just made it all the more difficult.

As Leslie elaborates on the family story, she deepens the meaning of the dispossession. She identifies Vancouver as an extensive space of property loss and unearths its haunting through personal reflection. Through the story of the cherry trees, the listener gets a sense of her family’s love for Vancouver. The Uyeda family cared for their “adopted city” through community action. The trees reflect a formidable sense of community responsibility and love. Later in the quote, we also learn that the family had a “beautiful house in Dunbar” and that Leslie’s grandfather attended university, ran a “successful business”, and was “a pillar of the Japanese Canadian community”. To me, these behaviours reflect a life with a strong sense of emplaced *belonging*, which is co-constructed through social, professional, and cultural networks. These networks also intersect and construct the spatialized identity of Leslie’s grandfather. Through the description of his interaction with the community at large, the listener sees that he is a devoted Vancouverite with Japanese ancestry. Overall, this sense of belonging holds up his experiences of property ownership. At the same time, this sense of belonging feeds community *investment*. Leslie’s story depicts multifaceted values put in by committed property owners. The family invests labour, love, time, and money into the community, their store, and their family home. Therefore, to lose this sense of belonging and

investment and to witness racist behaviours, like graffiti at the silk store, causes distress regarding equal value. Leslie explains that her grandfather becomes a “*persona non grata*”, or a legally unwelcome or foreign person. For Leslie, the dispossession and uprooting from Vancouver thus results in a defilement of *citizenship* that is underlined by a deep sense of belonging and attachment to the very place her family identifies with. Therefore, to reflect upon family history in Vancouver and to learn more about it later in life after years of silence by reading the Shimizu diaries musters serious emotion for Leslie. To become individual “non grata” is a profound injustice.

In Leslie’s interview, the three themes of property from this project do not only overlap or occur in the same narrative, they *interact*. This interaction necessitates an important pause in thought. Over the course of my analysis I attempt to highlight unique themes related to memory and property, and even explain that these are not neat and tidy. In memory, these themes can integrate in the same breath. Therefore, at the point of integration, it is critical to recognize each theme as a function of the other. Across a narrator’s life story, citizenship, investment, and belonging integrate or build from one another at some point. In this project, I temporarily highlight each theme to demonstrate their unique importance. Together (and by nature of spatial narratives across space and time), these themes inform and/or provide additional context to the larger story of dispossession.

Below, I provide another example to strengthen this point. Sachiko Okuda describes the lasting effects of property loss in her family – especially in relation to her mother,

My mom associated what happened to the Japanese Canadian community and to her and to her entire family with great shame and she was very much “let us not expose ourselves to that kind of vulnerability, let us not show ourselves to be different, let us not stay in an ethnic enclave and just speak Japanese, and let us not be too visible, and let us not appear different in public.” So she was very much of that mindset and she was not in favour of Japanese Canadian redress. Although she died in the early ’80s so at that point the movement was still not, shall we say, well established across the country. The reason she was not in favour of redress was because of the financial aspect and the attention that that would put on the Japanese Canadian community again. There would be criticism and there would be detractors and she said “you can’t put a dollar value on suffering.” As well, she was deeply, shall we say, adverse to criticism of our community and she felt that the Japanese Imperial armies’ activities, particularly in Hong Kong, reflected badly on the Japanese Canadian community which I certainly don’t see the link but she was of a time where, as long as you looked Asian you were suspect to begin with so she was hypersensitive about that. I respect her point of view although I don’t share it.

Memories of Sachiko’s mother contain an elaborate web of meaning and value associated with property loss. After the war, Sachiko’s mother feels a loss of comfort in the Canadian context and instructs her family to re-*belong* through a specific praxis of *Canadian identity*. Despite her love for the Japanese Canadian community, a new sense of belonging is to be constructed through an erasure of Japanese identity and cultural networks. “Let us not” becomes a way to *belong* as “invisible” and “indistinct” *Canadians*. This pain also underlines Sachiko’s memories of redress. She explains that her mother was not in favour of redress as it would only further highlight the Japanese Canadian community as separate or “different” from other Canadians. Moreover, she was not in favour of “the financial aspect” involved with redress. In her mother’s words, which I have drawn previously from Jewish experiences in the German context, “you can’t put a dollar value on suffering”. Understandably, she feels that the *investments* and *belonging* lost during the dispossession era cannot be addressed through monetary compensation. Rather, she feels it may only prolong the profound sense of injustice

experienced during the war by highlighting the characteristics that supposedly set Japanese Canadian property owners apart in the first place. The memories of Sachiko's mother and Sachiko's own perspective of these memories thus tell a layered story of the dispossession. It is a story of identity, but this story is constructed through the lost values of citizenship, investment, and especially belonging among Japanese Canadian property owners.

Spatial narratives of property loss from *LoI* often include a history lesson, or deep insight into history that precedes injustice. These are articulated through the personal experiences, opinions, and life path of each narrator. In Sachiko's memories, these relate to the history of Imperial Japan, what may have made Japanese Canadians "different" before the war, and its effect on her mother following the dispossession. Therefore, the histories of social memory matters. These histories inform the meaning attached to memories of property loss. For instance, there are important ways in which the different values of property overlap and characterize life and identity leading up to the dispossession era. In the quote below, one can get a sense of what it was like for Japanese Canadian youth to grow up, dream, and feel limitations in the Vancouver context,

FRANK MORITSUGU

The reason why a lot of the parents, the immigrant parents, didn't send their sons to university, was that there was no point because no one is going to let them because there was a whole limitation partly because back in the 1890s, the British Columbia government, the provincial government, had passed rules where people of Japanese origin, or Chinese origin or East Indian origin could not have the vote. If you didn't have the provincial vote you could not vote federally and you couldn't vote municipally either, ok. So you know, by the time I'm growing up and getting into my teens and understanding all of this, it says that we're not one hundred percent Canadian. And that meant that there were so many

professions like pharmacy, law and so forth where you had to be a citizen, and had the vote rather -- we are supposed to be citizens -- have the vote to be able to get the job and so forth. So right there we have all these limitations. You could become a doctor, but only if you were going to cater to the Japanese population, that kind of stuff. And it was all limited like this, white Canada forever kind of, you know, policy and racism all over the place. So I never thought, even though I loved the writing, I even loved the editing and making sure it looks good on paper, I never dreamt for a second that I could become a journalist for the Vancouver Sun or the [unclear] or whatever.

With a newly trained eye and ear, one might argue that this explanation contains an integrated narrative. Frank articulates all that characterizes *citizenship* in British Columbia prior to the dispossession. He recalls restrictive “rules” from the Canadian government that limited the political rights of visible minorities. In turn, these “rules” affected the professional options for these groups and created serious “limitations” in life; one needs “the vote to be able to get the job and so forth”. While this explanation alludes to professional, financial, and even social barriers, this political othering also seemingly penetrates the participant’s identity or sense of *belonging*. He recalls that he understood the undertone of these policies and, consequently, did not feel “one hundred per cent Canadian” as a teenager. This system of “white Canada forever” – most likely drawn from Peter Ward’s book, White Canada Forever (1978) – characterized by “policy and racism all over the place”, is strong within the narrator’s story of property loss. These “limitations”, in fact, indicate specific legal, professional, and social networks in Vancouver, which also intersect the identity of an individual who is situated within them in a particular way. In a specific time and space, Canadian political systems structure work across specific groups of people. Pharmacy, law, and journalism are only accessible to people of certain ethnicities and races, while others, like the participant, “never dreamt” of these careers.

This historical context of narratives like “citizenship” and “belonging” is valuable to this project for several reasons. First, it solidifies our understanding of social memory. Memories of life in Vancouver are central to understanding the context of the dispossession era. Memories convey the different ways in which all themes contextualize the dispossession and uprooting. They highlight events that led up to property loss, which gives pretext for what feeds social memory around this topic – especially across those belonging to the Japanese Canadian community. Interconnected spatial narratives of property loss, in this sense, are just one lens into a longer history of colonial racism (“white Canada”), spatial marginalization, and injustice.

Conclusion

As I reflect upon the context, cogs, and layered processes of this project, I seek to understand deeper implications of these findings. What have I said about the meaning of property loss in Canadian social memory and how does this relate to study of this juncture? Over the course of my analysis, I have demonstrated a formidable relationship between memory and property. I have asked, *how are social memories of property loss “spatialized”?* *Do social memories of property loss demonstrate haunting in sites of memory (i.e. do the places of property loss act as spectres)?* To answer these questions, I have drawn from memories of property loss from the *Landscapes of Injustice* SSHRC-funded research project. Bound to the places of property, firsthand and intergenerational memories contain meaning that haunt and unsettle the wider effects of property loss in the Canadian context. Through these sites of memory, I identify spatial narratives or distinct threads of conversation, which illustrate different meanings and values of property in memory. In chapters four, five, and six I establish that property as citizenship, investment, and belonging enrich emergent conversations regarding what is important about property in memory. In chapter seven, I also stress that these themes intersect in important and necessary ways. This intersection demonstrates how vital it is to acknowledge the character and power of social memory; the mixing and layering of each theme provide a way of seeing memory – and its social, spatial, and temporal reach – in action.

Perhaps, these are values that property gains only within memories of loss. Perhaps, not. As previously mentioned, Stanger-Ross and Blomley (2017) identify the

diverse meanings of property that come across in letters that protested dispossession. In this critical work, citizenship and multifaceted investment certainly appear central to the arguments of each voice. In both Stanger-Ross and Blomley's work and in my own project, loss and impending loss are key to unpacking the values associated with property ownership. Still, I argue further, that the unsettling nature of dispossession in memory brings forth an important reckoning; the passing of time and intergenerational nature of these memories inform Canadian social memory. They contain memories mixed with reflection, personal experience, family life paths, and spatial journeys before, during, and after the dispossession of Japanese-Canadian-owned property. These memories do not stop at the time of protest or dispossession. Dispossession is a force in evolution, in which its narratives tell a two-fold story: one of a world at a particular time (contextualized experience) and one of social remembering (how the world is understood after the experience) (Penalver, 2011 & MacPherson, 1978).

I acknowledge the deep importance of Canadian social memory to this project, not only because I believe in the demonstrative power of social memory, but also because through social memory, *LoI* participants point to the larger implications of dispossession in British Columbia. I ask, based on impressions from the interviews from *LoI*, how *is* the world understood after the dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned property? Participants often make a point of explaining how their own memories of loss are a part of a socio-spatial butterfly effect. Consider an interview with Harold Steves (a white bystander of the dispossession), in which he recalls the immediate and lasting effects of property loss in Steveston,

KYLA FITZGERALD

...Looking back on what had happened, I mean I think you've touched on it multiple times, but to sum it up, how do you feel about the whole situation, what had happened to the community, how it had impacted Steveston as well. You know?

HAROLD STEVES

Oh gosh, that's what we never talked about, was how it impacted Steveston. It was unbelievable! Basically, the whole town was empty.

KYLA FITZGERALD

Was it?

HAROLD STEVES

And um, a couple things I'm not going to tell you, but it wasn't a nice place.

KYLA FITZGERALD

Really?

HAROLD STEVES

Basically what they did, they said, "Come to Steveston and go fishing because we got no fishermen left. And there will be no questions asked." We had no police. My parents wouldn't allow me to go into town. I remember sneaking off into Steveston one time with a friend of mine, Ray Rattan, and walking down Moncton Street. We weren't allowed to go there. There were prostitutes on the corner...My recollection was that people came here because there were no questions asked that there were some rather unsavory characters out on the fish boats for a while. But after the war, the Japanese came back, those people all went away and the people like the Icelanders and the ones that brought their families stayed on and so we had a new community of people and with roots in the fishing industries that they brought with them or brought back from when they came back from the evacuation. But, yeah it was, it was certainly interesting.

[Long pause]

Yeah, we heard stories of people, and these were just stories during the war years of people, not just the Chinese laundry guy but . . . well there's one story I can relate, one of the houses that belonged to our family, to my grandmother's sister became a bootlegger's joint. A fellow named Wong was running it as a bootlegger and because we had no police, somebody got shot on his doorstep and the police came in and investigated and went home. Never did a thing. The story is that Mr. Wong told him he didn't speak English and they said, "Okay fine," end of investigation [laughs]. I

remember the first policeman I ever saw after the war, my parents, I guess we were in the car coming down Moncton Street from the west to the east and there was a policeman standing on the corner of Number One Road and Moncton Street, and I had never seen a policeman before.

In Harold's memory, the dispossession creates a very different Steveston. The community networks of belonging seemingly change in a drastic way. The places and spaces he experienced as a child evolve and those who took over the spaces of previous property owners had different ways of existing, using, and investing into the community. This not only affected the overall social landscape of Steveston, but also its networks and the ways in which an individual co-constructs the places of property. Effectively, dispossession and liquidation were forms of *displacement* and spectres of lost properties are sometimes the strongest way into truly understanding what once was. Of course, this situation can evolve further over time. In the case of Steveston, the community (especially the waterfront area) now acts as an important site of memory and commemoration for Japanese Canadian history. Yet, Harold's memories of property loss uncover others who walked, worked, and owned Steveston in the years to follow – others who had their *own* sense of citizenship, invested, and/or belonged to the spaces of dispossession.

What about those “others”? If we pay close attention, there are memories of *LoI* participants that may heighten our awareness of life in British Columbia before (and after) the dispossession, uprooting, incarceration, and displacement. These memories involve direct personal experience and remind us that experiences of Japanese Canadian “ways of existing” that I have gestured toward do not exist in a vacuum. For instance, Shig Uyeyama describes the relationship between his father and the First Nations in Nanaimo before the dispossession,

SHIG

Yeah, well they'd say that my dad didn't like trouble so he always fished at...they almost called it "Norman's Cove". Because he'd go to the same place every day just to keep out of everybody's hair [laughs]. And even though there may be no fish, didn't matter to him. He just went there. Stayed out of trouble [laughs]. That's the type of guy he was.

REBECA

Right, right. So, he formed the relationship through boundaries and respect, it sounds like.

SHIG

Oh, yeah, yeah. Whereas, I think some people thought my cousin or my uncle may have cut across their lines, so. Yeah, they didn't have the same feeling towards them that they did towards my dad.

In another interview, Tom Matsui tells a story of incarceration and food,

HEATHER

There was a lot of fear at the time. Speaking of the tomatoes, one side interest that the project has is food. Do you have any memories of food associated with your time in the...?

TOM

Well the one that's is funny is that there is an Indian reservation across the river, okay, and they are only, the Indians are only supposed to fish and hunt only for their use okay? The very first year, at night, they would come around the back door, knock on the door and they would sell us salmon for 25 cents. Next year it was a dollar [laughs]. And then they would sell venison, but my mother didn't like venison so. But salmon we did.

As both "a part of" and "beyond" the experiences of the Japanese Canadian community, these stories illuminate different yet simultaneous ways of existing. As Shig suggests, prior to the dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned property, there were important ways in which different land users would interact, share, and even clash across space. In Tom's interview, we see the ways in which both groups can use and, perhaps, challenge the events and colonial "rules" of dispossession. Such complex experiences are thus present not only *within* the Japanese Canadian community before, during, and after the

1940s – there are other groups embedded within the same networks, context, and system of social memory. Of course, I do not argue that every group embedded in this larger picture experience, perform, or even define “property” in the same ways that Japanese Canadians do. As Paige Raibmon (2008) stresses, it has been historically dangerous and misleading to use “private property and its approximations...as sacrosanct.” (p. 58) Rather, I argue that the experiences of these entangled groups are situated and *sometimes* remembered within the context of dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned property. *LoI* “hints” at those who are a part of larger Canadian history and social memory.

In this project, I explore just one case study in relation to dispossession. Memories shared, often in an intergenerational way, are further constructed through topic, emotion, and of course, individual personality, positionality, and experience – but, even with this in mind, *LoI* provides a bountiful point of reflection for both listener and narrator – *if* we choose to exercise this awareness (where do those “hints” lead us?). Haunting tied to experiences of Japanese Canadians in *LoI* is an important point of reckoning for entangled injustices. Pia Massie reflects upon property investment and belonging in the American, Canadian, and Australian context,

PIA

I mean, Japanese people took the west coast of this continent and turned it from desert into the richest farm land there is. With their bare hands. And because Japanese people are the best gardeners. Hands down. And, you know, then the war came along and these two California businessmen were like, “Whoa. Whoa, this is a really good opportunity.” and they wrote the first draft for Executive Order 9066. Two California businessmen. The internment times is the second largest land grab after Columbus sailed over in 1492, I think, is the rhyme. You know, it’s ridiculous. And as far as apologies go or reconciliation here, I look at what’s happened in Canada or Australia, it’s like, “Great, great.” It’s good that you can get the words out of your mouth, that you’re apologizing. But here, after two hundred years of genocide, you’re going to have to do a lot

more than apologize. There's no amount of money that you could ever pay for the lost lives and the lost property and the lost...the destruction of families.

Pia, then, thinks about dispossession in Canada in relation to “land” that has been set aside as property,

It's not mine, it's not yours, it's everybody's. We live on unceded Coast Salish territory. The fact that I think that “I own this house” – technically I have a deed for this house – but, the whole country belongs to the aboriginal people who we have completely neglected and mistreated.

As Pia demonstrates, remembering *socially* (in relation to others in Canada) can also be used to think about what spatialized injustice means to you or me. To think about property dispossession historically and to include the origins of colonial dispossession in British Columbia is essential. It unearths painful social memory and re-imagines how we may feel about “property loss”.

As Dara Culhane (1998) argues, racialized property dispossession (and thus the origins of colonial Canada) entails a legal imagination founded in legitimized inequality. *Terra nullius*, defined by British imperial law, declares land to be “uninhabited by human beings” by way of contrived and biased definitions of *human*. This notion allowed and still allows for the violent dispossession of Indigenous land use (Culhane, 1998, p. 47-48). Other also urge us to think specifically and critically about the place of *Japanese Canadian history* in relation and *contribution to terra nullius* in Canada (Ishiguro, Yakashiro, & Archibald, 2017). I reflect upon glimpses of this idea in memories from *LoI*,

PARTICIPANT

I told you about when I was brought from Japan in 1941. Six months before the war, I met a lot of culture shock. One thing I just detested -

made me feel very uncomfortable - every afternoon the teacher, grade one teacher, would make each boy partner with a girl and she would make us sing, “*How do you do my partner? How are you today?*”

REBECA
[Laughs]

PARTICIPANT
And the boy sings, “*Will you dance in a circle, I will show you the way...*”
And you’d take the girl’s hand and [twirl her]. Before, you would bow...we were little Englishmen, right?

What does this story begin to tell us? At first glance, the systems of education reveal an obvious colonial mentality. Those who settle in British Columbia were expected to enact British ways of existing; such behaviours embodied an ideal subject of the province (Oikawa, 2012). What if we ponder this idea in direct relation to property ownership – and property ownership that precedes any settlers? Although Japanese Canadians experienced significant racism and oppression before, during, and after the dispossession, by owning property in British Columbia and under the Canadian state, they too, become a part of the colonization process (Ishiguro, Yakashiro, & Archibald, 2017). In fact, *any* settlement under the Canadian state depends upon a belief in *terra nullius*, which by nature, perpetuates the dispossession of Indigenous land claims.

In a sense, I am trying to convey a fifth critical meaning that can be found in social memories of property loss. This meaning, put simply, is property loss as a facet of Canadian history and a central function of the Canadian state. To solidify my argument, I share an example from Kelvin Higo. It begins with a Japanese saying “*shikata ga nai*”, which I am told, roughly translates into English as “it cannot be helped”, with an underlying message of “move forward”. *LoI* interviewer, Josh, asks about this saying in relation to the dispossession, uprooting, and incarceration,

So when you hear folks say “shikata ga nai” is that kind of wrapped up in that? That we sort of put the past behind us and look forward?

KELVIN

I think to a certain extent. I don't dwell on the injustice. That happened, you can't go back in time and correct it. Redress was one aspect of trying to reconcile that. I liked the process that the Aboriginal or First Nations are going through with the reconciliation. I think there needs to be reconciliation more so than with the Japanese. That to me was cultural genocide. They don't like to use that terminology, but I think that's what happened to the First Nations where you took children away, you put them in residential schools, and then you mentally, physically, and sexually abuse them. You know? And they say 'well, why can't they get over it?' Well, it's going to be a generational correction. They were without their parents, they didn't know how to parent, none of that was passed onto them, and then they sunk into alcohol and drug abuse, there's high unemployment. What do you expect? Anything we do to help that population we should do because of the genocide we perpetrated on the culture. Now, having said that, the things that happened to the Japanese was bad. It was related to civil rights and human rights and everything else but, again, to me that's passed. That's why I focus on what's happened since 1950.

JOSH

Sure, I mean I guess sometimes I find myself focusing on it only in so far as 'could it happen again?'

KELVIN

Well it can! You just heard about it in the States. They want to monitor the Muslim communities, they want to restrict Muslims from coming into America.

JOSH Sure.

SUZY

That's Trump saying that.

KELVIN

I know but there's about fifty percent of the Republicans believe the same thing. In fact, you're seeing this manifesting in Europe also in Germany, France, and places like that.

SUZY

But realize, America was not a white country until all these immigrants came from Europe and other white peoples' country in order to make America. The American Indians were the first people that lived there.

KELVIN

And yet these newcomers perpetrated a genocide on that population.

JOSH

Yeah, there's a long history of that in Canada, too.

KELVIN

Oh, yeah. We don't have clean hands. They talk about 'Oh, the Underground Railroad' and how we got all the slaves to Canada. Well, we treated them like shit when they got here. So what happened is that they talked them into going back to Africa. That's why Freetown got established. Right?

JOSH

Sure.

KELVIN

Look up in your history the guys that were in Nova Scotia, they were living in hovels, basically holes in the ground with mud thatched roofs; no jobs, no agrarian culture. So what they did was to solve that they said 'oh, what you need to do is go back to Africa.' So they went to Africa, established Freetown and right across the harbor they could still see ships taking black slaves to America. These guys were, you know, it was almost like a full circle. Canada has got dirty hands in this. They were just as racist and... They weren't slave owners per se but they discriminated against the blacks and everything else. This whole thing where they all came in the Underground Railroad and Canada saved them was bullshit. We never did that. If you look at our history with the First Nations and all the incoming countries, they've practiced the same thing.

JOSH

Head tax, Aboriginal injustices across the country, internment and dispossession.

KELVIN

Yeah, it just goes on, and on, and on...

Evidently, deep reflection of injustice in the Canadian context can open many doors of targeted reflection. This particular reflection is interesting for several reasons. First, Kelvin relates the experiences of Japanese Canadians to those of other Canadians. In the context of redress, he identifies appalling injustice among First Nations, including the need to remove blame from those affected by these injustices, followed by some form of

reconciliation. Although Kelvin does not perceive the experiences of Japanese Canadians as the same, he then explains that he tries not to “dwell” and “focuses on what’s happened since 1950”. Josh presents the possibility of such an injustice as something that might “happen again” and Kelvin not only agrees but provides additional reflection on contemporary and historical injustices of Canada (it should be noted, however, that Canada did practice legalized slave ownership until the 1830s) (Henry, 2016). Even among those who do not actively remember or “dwell” on their own experiences with injustice, by reflecting upon the dispossession of Japanese Canadian-owned-property (and the other racist policies that precede and follow it), there is an important reckoning with past and ongoing injustice enacted by Canadian state.

Consequently, we may all ask, *how do the experiences of Japanese Canadians relate to the experiences of others in Canada over time?* Recall that spatial narratives of property loss can serve to form or subvert dominant discourse (Burk, 2006, Mitchell, 2003, Azaryahu & Foote, 2008). Recall, also, that the stories of “ingroups” often form a shared social reality, while the stories of “outgroups” can reveal counter-realities and reform one’s understanding of history (Delgado, 1989, p. 2412). We must consider the stories of outgroups. In fact, the invisibility of particular people from the storytelling of others is what (re)creates and maintains exclusion. Consider the example above, in which the enslavement of black Canadians is unintentionally misunderstood or misremembered. *Why is this so? Why, across LoI’s oral histories are there detailed and accurate accounts of injustice of some and not others?* This question must be asked not only generally, but especially in relation to those who traverse the same spaces, time, and systems as those from *LoI* – namely those of Indigenous people also living (and

experiencing dispossession) on the Canadian West Coast. In the interviews, there are glimpses of individuals crossing paths – however, these stories are not as common as one would imagine, especially considering that the two groups often came into contact (and conflict).

Recall two stories that I have shared in this project, narrated by Shig Uyeyama. Shig remembers his grandmother, Mitsue. In Mitsue’s case, we get only a short glimpse of her involvement in midwifery in Nanaimo, which brought forth visits (by water) of thanks from First Nations in the area. Shig also remembers his father, Norman. He speaks about “Norman’s Cove” (cited earlier in this conclusion), in which his father had positive experiences fishing alongside First Nations in the area. Notably, Shig explains that his uncle and cousin did not have the same amicable relationship within this context. Here, I choose to follow a “hint” from *LoI*. I move outside of the project to do so. In a profoundly self-reflexive piece for the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Kirsten Emiko McAllister (2011) shares her own experiences and family history from Nanaimo (she identifies four generations of her Japanese Canadian and Scottish-German heritage in British Columbia). Drawn from memory and from her own research later in life, McAllister gives various examples of complex and intersecting cases of injustice within this context. These injustices involve legal policies of exclusion, displacement, and racism among Japanese Canadians (including reference to the dispossession and in reflection to her own family), Chinese Canadians, and Sikh Canadians in Nanaimo. Yet, McAllister gets at a fundamental invisibility in memory. She explains, “In writing this piece, I came to realize with terror – I cannot recall any Indigenous children from

Nanaimo attending my schools...where were the children my age?" (2010, p. 427) As she moves through the piece, she later shares,

I keep going back to my inability to recall Aboriginal students...Surely there had to be some Snuneymuxw students...Searching through the local history books, I came across a few lines that indicate children from the Nation went to 'Indian Day Schools' in the late 1800s in Nanaimo but then later were sent to Kuper Island Residential School. My heart starts racing.

McAllister continues to describe her research into the school,

[Kuper Island Residential School] was a nightmare residential school, a reality ripped out of the most terrifyingly sick horror film...The only way to get to this island was by boat. The island is across from Chemainus...where, eerily, there were Japanese Canadian communities before the war. The children sent to the residential school on this island – an island probably much like the islands around Nanaimo where my brothers and I played as children – would have been trapped. There are accounts of children who courageously tried to escape the cruel predatory Catholic sisters and brothers...If this was the reality for the Snuneymuxw children...was this horrific nightmare happening while I was a child, safely tucked in bed at my home in Nanaimo? (p. 434-435)

McAllister's line of questioning and research is a critical gesture. In this moment, I think of many things, but especially about the physical separation of Indigenous children in McAllister's story, and I then wonder about the possibilities of the spaces between Mitsue, Norman, and First Nations in Shig's story (visits by canoe only, interaction by water only). Most importantly, I think about the way that McAllister questions emplaced memory and the absences she feels across time and space. This opens the conversation in regard to those who experience the racist arm of the Canadian state, though these experiences differ greatly. On an even deeper level of interconnectivity, McAllister then ponders that fact that some First Nations welcomed

close Japanese Canadian friends into their territory to avoid incarceration in the 1940s.

She deliberates,

I wonder how the First Nations would have viewed my mother and her generation, interned on their territories. My mother was interned on the territory of the St'át'imc Nation. How would have the St'át'imc Nation viewed her and the other Japanese Canadian children—all those small children—incarcerated on their land by the federal government? (p. 438)

Here, McAllister questions and *make visible* the potential entanglements she draws forth.

Without speaking for others, she chews on historical suffering within shared space and time. I am reminded of differing cases of shared space here, such as forcing Chinese migrants on reserves in the Okanagan to reduce Chinese “ambitions”, in which the conflicts that result between Chinese migrants, white settlers, and Indigenous people only serve to highlight the convenient abuses of private property on racialized people (Raibmon, 2008, p. 65). In McAllister’s case, she seeks to understand absences, but also to understand interconnected experiences that she knows occurred between people in Nanaimo. Crucially, when originally approached, McAllister explains that it “was not easy” to contribute her piece but feels that “stepping forward is necessary” (p. 424). She explains that,

...it is only recent that researchers have begun to examine the nature of the relations between Indigenous people and racialized migrants...[solidarity and] an honest acknowledgement of the fact that Japanese Canadians have contributed to, and benefitted from, building the infrastructure of the British colony is necessary, in themselves they are insufficient...[and] do not allow us to understand the intricacies of these relations, both in their insidious forms and the possibilities they hold to create something else. (p. 425)

Through McAllister’s process of detailing injustices toward several racialized migrants in Nanaimo, she also questions why it is important to make visible and question any

absences in her own memory, family story, and wider narratives of the space. Finally, she argues that it is not enough simply to recognize absence or make it visible, but that this must be done carefully and without assumption of understanding – especially in relation to injustice felt across Indigenous people.

As Dian Million (2009) argues, historical discourse often ignores emotional narratives within the realm of colonial injustice. Through the sharing of unaddressed and often emotionally-charged memories from *LoI*, I gesture toward the importance of these narratives. At the same time, given what we learn from McAllister’s emotional journey in remembering (and questioning remembering), we must consider stories in their most intimate and complex forms. For example, in Northwest British Columbia (and in the same spaces that Japanese Canadians later lived and laboured), Martin Weinstein (2000) explains that coastal Nisga’a and Gitksan property systems involve formal fishing territories that “belonged to house groups, or *wilp*, whose membership was defined by matrilineal descent rules...every household had exclusive controlled rights to a territory and its resources.” (p. 390) The lands in which these systems exist(ed), and within the dispossession of most Indigenous lands in North America, are affected by the “stories” of the legality and rationality of private property, which are (re)told across the spaces of British Columbia (Raibmon, 2008, p. 62 & 66, referencing Blomley, 2004). Val Napoleon (2010) explains that according to these Indigenous systems and rights, the Nisga’a and Gitksan (and Tsimshian, the third closely related coastal peoples) have fiercely resisted the Canadian state, both in colonization of land and of the imposed reserve system. Napoleon shares five stories of this resistance and of life in these traditional territories. In particular, I am struck by “story five”, in which Napoleon shares

Tony Penikett's memory of an "unsettling" meeting in the treaty office of Hazelton in 2004, which lies in Gitksan territory (2010, p. 9). At this public meeting, audience members are given "observer" status only. Penikett recalls a "tiny Aboriginal woman" (with the wing chief name, Suu Dii) who was asked to leave seemingly for no reason. The woman questioned this request and was quickly "handcuffed" and "fell to the floor [crying]" (2010, p. 9). Only two women in attendance helped and comforted the woman. Napoleon ends story five by identifying the complex politics and failures of the meeting space and of the legal structures across Gitksan and Canadian law.

Issues surrounding dispossession, loss, oppression, and exclusion in areas like Hazelton press on in British Columbia. Today, and in conflicted and complex ways, there is still struggle and resistance toward Canadian state and the relations of power that it calls to centre stage. *Why was the woman asked to leave? How might the specific needs, wishes, and rights of Suu Dii enhance what we know about this conflict? How might the needs and inaction of others tell us more?* I pause in asking these questions.

As Napoleon argues,

There is always a danger in focusing on the moments captured by memory. The stories can create a false sense of stasis and permanency, whereas, in reality life has not stopped for any of the characters in them... These stories may be seen to represent an integral and ongoing part of all indigenous politics today – they are part of its unacknowledged underbelly. (2010, p. 10-11)

Napoleon is correct in saying that we risk misrepresenting Indigenous experiences by focusing on memory. I, myself, am not well versed in Indigenous narratives of loss, resistance, and ongoing action on the West Coast of British Columbia. Yet, it would be uncritical to conceptualize Indigenous land and settler land only as separate entities,

especially given that settler policy is what constitutes “the original sin” of Indigenous dispossession (Raibmon, 2008, p. 78). I am also reminded that, “Our individual choices as scholars do not align by accident. We would do well to investigate the sources and implications of our own narrative commonalities” (Raibmon, 2008, p. 60) Consequently, as I have attempted to do with memories from *LoI*, there, too is a pressing need for a deeper interest and understanding associated with questions of Indigenous experience(s). It is exceedingly important to continually remember that *LoI* features oral histories from those who lived and fished in areas like Hazelton or Nanaimo (for instance, Prince Rupert and other northwestern areas that lie in or cross paths with Gitskan territory) – but, that any articulation of Indigenous presence is rare. *So, why are stories of Indigenous dispossession, resistance, and unsettling not easily accessible in the memory sharing circles of others who traverse these spaces?* It is also important to note that this invisibility is not isolated to the processes of *LoI*. For instance, there are local interviews with Japanese Canadian Centenarians from Hazelton – see works cited, “An interview with a Centenarian” by Bennett (2017) – in which we are met with the same absences.

I want to make one thing clear. The oral histories from *LoI* hold a special place in my heart. In my experience, interviewing and listening to the interviews of others has only garnered the greatest level of respect and connection toward those who share their memories. I have learned more than I could have imagined and met several kindred spirits along the way. However, I must question the habits (and perhaps, methods) of life story, memory-making, and the spatialized narrative. I wonder, *is this because of the time that it has passed – in this case, why has it been forgotten? Is it a result of the questions directed to the narrator – in this case, what are the ways in which oral history*

methodology and life story shape memory sharing (a question McAllister (2010), too, asks)? Do people inherently focus on their own story and those of their individual family members and friends, perhaps in effort to honour them in that moment? Are other memories simply too painful? Are there unpleasant conflicts of the past that are difficult to articulate, especially regards rights to land, resources, and differing experiences with an inhumane and undemocratic Canadian state? Most likely, it is a mixture of all of these things. Still, to ask “why?” and “how?” is not an insignificant undertaking.

This project is, in a sense, a form of discourse analysis. It is, firstly, an analysis of the interconnected meaning(s) of property that I observe in haunted spatial narratives from *LoI* – but, it is also an analysis of what is readily available in the imperfect and evolving Canadian narrative. This includes the (in)visibility of the Japanese Canadian community – as Oikawa remembers, “military service usually so revered in Canada as a symbol of citizenship and patriotism seemed incongruent with [my father’s] experience, which was never acknowledged during our annual Remembrance Day memorials in public school.” (2012, p. xi, emphasis not mine). Other “hints” in *LoI*’s spatial narratives that engage entanglements are explored in this conclusion, which speak to the essence of social memory, both in remembering and forgetting. In the end, experiences of life and loss in Canada are unavoidably linked to the experiences of others. In many ways, these experiences differ and even challenge the other. Those who have experienced and still experience dispossession have their own context, systems, complexities, spaces, time, and needs – but, perhaps attention given to a) memories of property loss and b) who and what is not a part of these memories, is something we can all do.

Finally, this project is also a study and example of Canadian knowledge co-creation and re-creation. As Sugiman (2004) wisely reminds us:

The literacization of memories is always a political act.

Through the chosen focus of this project – the intersection of memory and property – by sharing a specific sample of interview excerpts from *LoI*, and through my own variegated positionality to *LoI* and “Canada” itself, I, too, contribute to and politicize Canadian social memory. I value the sentiments from Sugiman, and also from those like Oikawa (2012), which face a lasting Canadian ignorance and stereotypes of “Japanese Canadian silence” and “shigata ga nai”,

That Japanese Canadians feel responsible and are held solely responsible for this re-membering and speaking, especially by non-Japanese Canadians, obscures relations of power and the effects of Internment, for those interned, their children, and for other persons whose ‘not knowing’ is an effect of forgetting of the Internment. It also ignores the fact that survivors live and struggle with the limits of what they know and remember, and what they feel they can impart to their children about the complex experiences of expulsion, incarceration, forced labour, deportation, and dispersal. (p. 242)

May we consider this statement in the politicization of all social memory and in our own projects of narrativity.

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Appendix A.



Ryerson University Consent Agreement

You are being invited to participate in a research study. Please read this consent form so that you understand what your participation will involve. Before you consent to participate, please ask any questions to be sure you understand what your participation will involve.

LANDSCAPES OF INJUSTICE PROJECT ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH CLUSTER

INVESTIGATORS: This research study is being conducted by Dr. Pamela Sugiman, from the Department of Sociology at Ryerson University.

This study is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact:

Dr. Pamela Sugiman Dean, Faculty of Arts Ryerson University 350 Victoria Street Jorgenson Hall 106 Toronto, ON M5B 2K3 416-979-5000 x. 5198 sugiman@arts.ryerson.ca	Joshua Labove Research Supervisor Department of Sociology Ryerson University 350 Victoria Street Jorgenson Hall 306 Toronto, ON M5B 2K3 416-979-5000 x. 2604 jlabove@arts.ryerson.ca
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PURPOSE OF THE STUDY: Landscapes of Injustice is a 7-year, multi-institutional project which explores the operation of racial ideology in the dispossession, displacement, and internment of Japanese-Canadians during WWII.

Led by Dr. Pamela Sugiman, the Oral History Research Cluster of the project will conduct filmed and/or audio-recorded oral history interviews. The interview questions will focus on the topic of property during the dispossession, and on the inter-generational transmission of memory. Interviews will be conducted with 40 Japanese-Canadians who experienced the internment and members of their families. Researchers will also interview 20 non-Japanese Canadian witnesses to the internment, and members of their families.

Research findings may be published in academic journals, books, and/or community newspapers. Research findings may be publicly available through public presentations, workshops, documentary film, museum exhibitions, and/or www.landscapesofinjustice.com

WHAT PARTICIPATION MEANS:

- Interviewers will record the interview using digital video, and/or audio. If the interview is conducted over a telecommunications application such as Skype, the interview will be recorded using a third-party recording application such as Vodburner.
- The interview may be conducted at your home, at facilities provided by Ryerson University, or at another appropriate place.
- You will be asked questions about your background, your education, your family, and your thoughts concerning the dispossession of Japanese Canadians during WWII.
- Interview questions may include:
 - Can you tell me what you know about the internment of Japanese-Canadians during WWII?
 - (If a generation removed) How was the story of the internment passed down in your family?
- You may choose to discuss any aspect of your life and you may refuse to answer any questions.
- Interviews normally take approximately 2 hours, but you may take as long as you like and are free to withdraw your consent at any time during the interview.
- Demographic data such as your ethnic background, date of birth, and place of birth may be collected.
- A transcript will be made from the video and/or audio recording. Upon request, you will be given the opportunity to review the transcript prior to its future use.
- You will be personally informed upon completion of the research and provided with a copy of your interview and any published material upon request.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS: Your participation in this study will contribute to the preservation of the history of a community. I cannot guarantee, however, that you will receive any benefits from participating in this study.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL RISKS TO YOU AS A PARTICIPANT: Describing difficult experiences can be upsetting and emotionally traumatic. You may, at any time, temporarily or permanently stop the interview. If you would like to talk with someone, the interviewer can refer you to the list of resources attached to this document.

CONFIDENTIALITY: All interview material will be stored indefinitely at the Nikkei National Museum and the Simon Fraser University Library. Any member of the public may access the raw audio and/or video and transcripts. The recordings may be used for educational purposes and may be used in publications, documentary film, presentations, and/or the website, www.landscapesofinjustice.com. You will have the opportunity, upon request, to review the recordings or transcripts prior to their being made available to the public.



VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL:

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If any question makes you uncomfortable, you can skip that question. You may stop participating at any time. If you choose to stop participating, you may also choose to not have your data included in the study.

Study results may be published or on public display within or after one (1) year of interview date. If you choose to withdraw your data from the study, you must notify the interviewer in writing within one (1) year of the interview date. It is important to notify the interviewer as soon as possible as publication and presentation are ongoing and your results may be made public before the end of the 7 years. Your choice of whether or not to participate will not influence your future relations with Ryerson University or the investigator, Dr. Pamela Sugiman.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE STUDY: If you have any questions about the research now, please ask your interviewer. If you have questions later about the research, you may contact your interviewer, or:

<p>Dr. Pamela Sugiman Dean, Faculty of Arts Ryerson University 350 Victoria Street Jorgenson Hall 106 Toronto, ON M5B 2K3 416-979-5000 x. 2602</p>	<p>Joshua Labove Research Supervisor Department of Sociology Ryerson University 350 Victoria Street Jorgenson Hall 306 Toronto, ON M5B 2K3 416-979-5000 x. 2604 jlabove@arts.ryerson.ca</p>
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This study has been reviewed by the Ryerson University Research Ethics Board. If you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in this study please contact:

Research Ethics Board
Office of the Vice President, Research and Innovation
Ryerson University
350 Victoria Street
Toronto, ON M5B 2K3
416-979-5042
rebchair@ryerson.ca



**LANDSCAPES OF INJUSTICE, ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH CLUSTER
CONFIRMATION OF AGREEMENT:**

Your signature below indicates that you have read the information in this agreement and have had a chance to ask any questions you have about the study. Your signature also indicates that you agree to participate in the study and have been told that you can change your mind and with- draw your consent to participate at any time. You have been given a copy of this agreement. You have been told that by signing this consent agreement you are not giving up any of your legal rights.

- I consent to the use of my real name in all published material
- I consent to being audio recorded.
- I consent to being video recorded (if applicable)

I agree to be audio and/or video recorded for the purposes of this study. I understand how these recordings will be stored.

If you have given physical objects for research purposes today, please fill out below:

- I have given the following items for research and archival:

Signature of Participant

Date

Name of Participant