

Japanese American Voices in the Jim Crow South

Sonic Abundance

Episode 04: Japanese American Voices in the Jim Crow South

Hosted/ Authored by S.D.C. Parker

Duration: 36:35

Content warning: this episode contains racial epithets and discusses racial violence.

[Sounds of rural Arkansas with birds tweeting, wind blowing, and crunching gravel at Rohwer Memorial Cemetery]

JUNE T. WATANABE: It was sort of a sad feeling, I thought. Yeah, I wasn't too happy, I don't think. It was sort of a sad feeling when I got to... because it seemed like it was so far from the West Coast, you know. It was quite a distance. Yeah, I think I felt kind of sad. I really did. Yeah.

PARKER: *[background sound of car driving]* Yeah...it's definitely uh desolate. *[bird tweeting]* And even the fence of the field driving there is umm like half of its still old wooden posts that look like they've been there for a significant amount of time, sort of interspersed with these new red metal posts. It's just strange.

[podcast intro music plays]

PARKER: Hello and welcome to episode 4 of Sonic Abundance, I'm Steph D.C. Parker, from Rice University, and what you just heard is a remix of three sounds.

So first, you heard the soundscape in Arkansas at a former campsite of Japanese American incarceration. You may have also heard this historical event called "Japanese American internment," when over 130,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans were incarcerated in camps across the United States during WWII.

I took this recording of the soundscape in 2018 when I was standing in the cemetery, which is the only evidence that that this camp existed in rural Arkansas. So this was my second visit to the site.

Second, you heard the voice of June Watanabe in an interview from 2014 with Densho, a non-profit that has been collecting stories and sharing the history of Japanese American incarceration since 1996. June was born in Venice, California, in 1924, which would have made her around 20-ish years old when she traveled by train from the Santa Anita assembly center to rural Arkansas, where she lived during the war. In this clip from her oral history, June is remembering the first time she arrived in Arkansas at the Rohwer camp and felt the "sad feeling" she describes.

The last sound was my voice in 2015 in graduate school during my first trip to the memorial site. I took some voice notes to document the trip, but I never had

any intention of sharing these voice notes because I didn't have my academic voice on.

So this is the one I work on that articulates and resists my Alabama accent. Um. But I feel like, in a way, that voice never really works, because I struggle with pronunciation. I was definitely the kid who'd only read a word and then felt deeply ashamed the first time I tried to say it out loud. The out loud reveals so much about us. So when I write, I feel like I can hide behind words, um, maybe sometimes the words I can't pronounce, and when I speak, I feel vulnerable. So my granny has been in the United States for over 50 years, and she's told me many stories about responses to her Japanese accent, so stories of people who still tell her to "speak English."

There's vulnerability in the sounds of our voices, in the accents we can't fully hide, the emotions that break through, the meaning-making that happens when we hear the pause, the stumble, the scoff, maybe the twang, all of this contributes to meaning.

So those voice notes from 2015, um, in them, I hear a different person in part. I mean, not just my accent, but just, you know, 2015 was a really strange time, um, and that trip was, was a, was a difficult trip, an emotional trip. I was feeling lost.

My mentor and dear friend Carolyn Handa had passed away the previous year. And Carolyn was the person who introduced me to digital rhetoric, um who who invited me into into this area of of the discipline, and she's also the one who encouraged me to pursue my research on Japanese American incarceration. Um, which was an event that was part of her own family's legacy. So Carolyn is the one who introduced me to the work of Cindy Selfe.

So My episode of Sonic Abundance, my tribute to the legacy of "The Movement of Air," is to share part of a larger multimodal project I'm working on that explores how Japanese Americans oriented themselves in southern rural spaces under Jim Crow, so how they navigated a perceived binary and racial hierarchy in what was deemed a "in between" body.

My goal in this episode is to showcase sound and voice as important semiotic elements in the history of WWII Japanese American incarceration. Selfe's piece explores the history of sound in relation to our discipline, the cultural significance of oral histories, and she argues that access to multiple ways of composing provides, quote, possibilities for representing multiple and shifting patterns of identity. Additional potential for expression and resistance expanded ways of engaging with the changing world (p. 645). So I'm thinking about um, this world in this moment where um the stakes of expression and resistance feel, um, just as high as Selfe talks about in in the conclusion of of that piece.

You know, since 2015, these stories that I've listened to from those who were incarcerated during World War Two, they sound more and more familiar, and not because they're telling me a history that I know, but because they seem to

be describing the news I'm seeing today, family members taken away, photos, barbed wire fences, where you have innocent people detained. So, um, even stories of people harassed for using what someone tells them is the wrong bathroom, which, um, in this episode, you'll hear a Japanese American man describe being told that that he's using the wrong bathroom. The voices you'll hear today do incredibly important work for this history, but they also do important work for our current moment and understanding the legacy of xenophobia and racism and discrimination in the history of the United States.

So, one of the reasons I love writing with sound is that it invites us to blend and to remix and to mix genre and voice and narrative, um, you know, you think about narrative as this, this, this multi-layered complex paradigm for understanding the world. Sound gives us this opportunity to showcase these different layers to quite literally lay your meaning on top of meaning. And that's powerful. So, so for me, it invites the academic to be personal, to be human and flawed and also exploratory. So I mix the academic and the personal, the historical and embodied experiences of those whose bodies did not conform to the hegemonic structures of their world. I layer their voices with sounds of the spaces they described to further encourage us to reflect on bodies in spaces.

So voices are connected to bodies and the story of Japanese Americans in Arkansas is a story of Asian bodies moving through segregated spaces that were never intended for them. The voices of Japanese Americans breathe life into this history— they showcase resistance to Jim Crow, and they help us imagine the cross walks in town, and the train and the bus rides, and the forgotten out of the way, middle of nowhere spaces where Japanese American communities lived during this time.

For this episode, I've chosen to highlight five speakers who share experiences that describe how they encountered and navigated segregated spaces. If you'd like to know more about these individual speakers and their experiences, please visit Densho.org, where you can hear their interviews in their entirety and encounter the stories of many many others who were incarcerated during this time.

First, we're going to hear more from June Watanabe as she remembers learning about segregated spaces, and from Tosh Yasutake, a member of the 442nd regimental combat team who was in Mississippi at Camp Shelby for basic training after having been incarcerated in the Minidoka camp in Idaho. In this clip, Yasutake recalls the realization that he is "in the South."

WATANABE: I went out to the town of McGehee once. I was going to cross the street and somebody stopped me and said, "No, that's the 'colored side.' You belong here." I think a white person told me that. Yeah, you know I just learned so much just being there, too, in that respect, because we didn't have very many of the uh black people in our area in Lawndale, we never did. But I-I thought that was terrible, I just learned a lot.

YASUTAKE: I remember going into Hat- Harris- Hattisburg, Mississippi, and getting on the bus. You know, and all the blacks were sitting in the back. Ya

know I heard about that [stammers], but I'd never really experienced it myself. And being really, actually into that type of culture, and it really kind of struck me when I first got on the bus. I remember thinking, and I got on the bus and I started walking back and I noticed all the blacks were sitting in the back. And I thought, "Oh my god, I guess I'm down in the South, all right." And then separate bathrooms, black and white. Drinking fountains were different, separate. I-It really shook me -- that was very, that really shook me up, I think. It was, it just struck me, all of a sudden I thought, "Oh my god, I guess I am in the South," and it was sort of an uncomfortable feeling, really. I didn't quite know how to take it. I knew how to handle it, but emotionally I had a difficulty trying to cope with it.

PARKER: I want to kind of sit in this last statement for a moment um when Yasutake talks about it being an uncomfortable feeling and he didn't know how to handle it. And then he stops and says, well, you know, I knew how to handle it, right? And I [pause] think this is important because intellectually, we can look at these things and understand the categories of language, and also to understand ourselves in relation to these structures. But even if we understand intellectually what we're supposed to do, it doesn't change what's happening internally, right? So that emotionally, having a difficult time trying to cope with this.

Segregated spaces would have been unfamiliar to many West Coast Japanese Americans whose forced removal or basic training took them to Arkansas and Mississippi.

The next clip includes an interview conducted by the Japanese American Museum of San Jose with James Sakamoto as he remembers the train ride from the west coast to Arkansas. So like June Watanabe, he and his family would remain in Arkansas until the end of the war. Here he describes the interactions he had with Black Americans who struggled to categorize him, and the white Americans who were surprised to find that he spoke English.

SAKAMOTO: Well, we had five days and five nights on the train, and one night, one day they let us off in the middle of the desert, they set up the machine guns and we went out, stretched our legs. But when we got, and every time we got through a city or installation, military installation, we had to pull down our shades in the car, then when we got to the deep south, then we could open our windows, so it was kind of interesting because all along the railroad, the black people, we'd talk to 'em and they says, "What are you, Indians?" Says, "No," says, "Then you must be Mexicans." Then we tell 'em, "Well, no, we're Japanese, and we're getting sent to the camps back in Arkansas." And they said, "My, God bless you all," and they were real sorry for us.

INTERVIEWER: So they --

SAKAMOTO: And it was really experience. Then when we got to the camps, the people, the Caucasian people running the camps, they were surprised that we all spoke English, so they didn't expect people that spoke English there, so

that, so they were real surprised, so they talked to us for hours and hours about our experience.

PARKER: These two stories from Sakamoto provide an important look at how Asian bodies were being perceived by black and white Americans during this time. From this struggle to categorize, which I know many multiracial people understand. So getting the dreaded, “what are you?” from strangers. And then upon the realization that the people were Japanese, the black Americans saying, may God bless you So feeling sorry for them, whether in general, or maybe specifically, because black Americans knew their destination to a Jim Crow South, and they understood that space in a way that the Californians on the train couldn't. Also the white Americans who were surprised to find that Japanese Americans spoke English, which helps us to understand that they expected, quote, foreigners, not Americans.

The racial category occupied by Japanese Americans during this time has been referred to by other scholars as the “Twilight Zone” (Brooks) and the “Third Race” (Ward), which is this somewhat nebulous category that upsets this false racial binary of Black and white. Historian Jason Morgan Ward describes the fear felt by officials and everyday people in Arkansas– They were afraid the Japanese Americans were going to undermine white supremacy (76).

Perhaps for this reason, for all legal purposes in relation to Jim Crow, Japanese Americans were categorized as “white” in both Arkansas and Mississippi (Ward 93). but white, even as a category of being um was as W.E.B. Du Bois s identifies a-a-a modern thing (p. 923). James Baldwin talks about the discovery Of whiteness and blackness when when when people come to the shores of America, so white isn't this thing you are; it's this thing you become. So Du Bois asks, “But what on earth is whiteness that one should so desire it?” Then always, somehow, some way, silently but clearly, I am given to understand that whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!” (924).

Critical race theorist Karen Suyemoto talks similarly about racial identity as being a developmental process of becoming aware of racial distinctions and racism (2). Whiteness is a concept, it's a narrative structure, and what we see happening when Japanese Americans are invited into “whiteness,” is the attempted protection of whiteness itself.

Japanese Americans were discouraged from interacting with Black and African Americans (Ward 93). And originally, the Arkansas governor wanted to keep Japanese Americans confined within the borders of the barbed wire fences (Smith 345), which would have prevented them from moving freely around the towns. But this did not happen, so Japanese Americans explored the local towns of Dermott and McGehee where they encountered these segregated spaces with bodies that challenged, that put pressure on laws and regulations centered on Black/white binaries.

So for example, they weren't allowed to enroll in Arkansas universities because that was seen as a step towards desegregation (Ward 81, Smith 346), and so

while Japanese Americans needed to be categorized as white to maintain order, there was very much an awareness that their bodies weren't perceived as white, so weren't truly being allowed into whiteness.

In the next clip, Chico Uyeda, who was incarcerated in Arkansas and was a member of the advance team that helped to prepare the camp for incarcerated, in this clip, he describes riding the bus with his friends and what happens when they try to sit in the back. He also shares a description of an altercation he had with a salesperson.

So in both of these instances, Uyeda describes being called a racial slur. So the clip has not been censored, so please be prepared to hear a slur that refers to Japanese people:

UYEDA: Later on, I was in a camp, Jerome, in Arkansas. There were two camps in Arkansas, one was called Rohwer. They were approximately 30 miles apart and there was a little town called McGeehee, Arkansas, right smack in the middle. My first experience with prejudice per se was when we were given passes to travel to and from the other camps, provided you had a relative and you were going to see that relative. We were given a bus ticket and there were three of us. We tried to get on this bus and at that time, we weren't aware of the segregated conditions, you know, black and white. In camp, we had seen it in action, but I got on the bus and I spotted three seats open in the back so I told my friends, "Well, let's go back there and sit down." It didn't dawn on us that, you know, there were nothing but blacks in the back and whites up in front. So we went back there and we sat down and as I looked up, I see everybody in the bus turning around looking at us, you know. And I thought, "What are they staring at?" And the bus driver, he asked me, he said, "What are you doing back there?" And I said, "Well, what's it look like? I'm sitting." He says, "Well, you're not allowed to sit there." I says, "I paid the fare, I think I'm allowed to sit wherever I please." He says, "Not in this bus." So I looked around like this, then I saw a "black" and "white" situation. So I says, "Well, what's the difference where I sit?" He says, "It makes a difference." I said, "Are you aware of what I am, nationality-wise?" He says, "Yeah, you're a Jap, aren't you?" I said, "No." He said, "Well, what are you?" I said, "I'm Japanese. I come from that camp and your country is supposedly at war with my country and I'm not good enough to sit here? You want me to sit up there with the so-called white folks, is that it?" He says, "That's right." And he said, "This bus won't move until you do." Some little old lady, a white lady, said, "Please, would you come up here? I'll give you my seat." That made me feel bad. I said well, okay. So I told my friends, well, let's go up there and stand. And the lady offered her seat to me and I said no.

There was an incident in McGeehee, Arkansas, where a friend of mine bought a suit. And after he bought it, he was kind of dissatisfied with the color in the daylight, so we went to return it. And the salesman said no, so we got into an argument, we got into an argument with the manager. He said that since the salesman had spent a lot of time on us, it was his prerogative whether to take it

back or, you know, not take it back. At which time, I was very short-tempered, hot-tempered. I started to call the salesman all kinds of names, including the manager. Well, then I turned around, I started to walk out, and this guy came at me with a knife. So I put him down and he got up, came at me again, so I put him down and I told him a third time, I said, "You try to stand up and come at me again, I'm gonna really hurt you." At which time, he proceeded to do so, so I put him down and I really let him have it. There were some people across the street that saw this incident and they hollered, "Get those damn Japs." And here they come out of the drugstore, out of the restaurants, out of the department stores, so there were three of us running down the street with half the town chasing us. We didn't know what to do. We knew that if we got caught, we would be lynched; that's the South.

PARKER: So these two stories offered this clear juxtaposition, um, one, oh, Uyeda being told he was white on the bus. And then, two, despite being told this, the fear of being lynched. And there's something in the delivery of that, it's almost [pause] so matter of fact, right, that this was the South. So the idea that this could happen to feel so present and in a way, just just common everyday and I-I think that's an important that does some important work for reminding us how these spaces would have felt in this time.

So when the remembrance of the slur comes up in these oral histories on Densho's archive it often prompts this recollection of or the forming of racial identity in relation to Black and white binary. So, um, it prompts this kind of finding out of a racial identity because the physical space that they are placed into.

So in the next clip, we're gonna hear from James Sakamoto again, who describes being called a racial slur shortly upon his arrival to Arkansas, and then, and then this is where he describes being hassled by police for using the wrong bathroom.

SAKAMOTO: Well, when they led us, marched us down the, . . . from the camp to the train, all the way around, I remember the white people along the sidewalk, "Damn Japs," and everything else going to the train. And funny thing, though, when we got to the camps, and when I got released to Little Rock, I went to the toilet, and I didn't know it was "black" and "white," but I went to the "black" toilet and I came out and the policeman, he gave me holy heck because I wasn't supposed to go in the "black" toilet. Here I just got out of camp, and then, then we got to the train, and a black lady got on our same car. And they put a curtain between us and her, because all of a sudden we're "white." And it was, that part there was a little, little odd.

INTERVIEWER: In some ways you were considered white, and in other ways you were considered black.

SAKAMOTO: Yeah, well, that's the thing. In the South, when we were in Arkansas after camp, we were considered white. And here we just left the camps and we're,

INTERVIEWER: OK.

SAKAMOTO: All of a sudden we're white people.

PARKER: So we really clearly see this notion of discovery here, and also the challenge of trying to occupy yourself within this system. I can imagine internalizing the racial slur upon arrival, and that being this reinforcement that you are not white, and how that experience alone would make you think you shouldn't use the white facilities, and then to encounter an authority figure, a police officer, admonishing you for trying to follow this code as you had been made to understand it.

So in the final clip, you'll hear another story of discovery, from Grace Sugita Hawley, who lived in Honolulu until she and her family were taken to the Jerome Camp in Arkansas. So here she describes the joy of visiting town with her mother, and the revelation of finding out that she is quote "not colored."

HAWLEY: We were able to get passes to go out. My mother used to take me. She took me out to a hick town called McGehee.

INTERVIEWER: And what was that like?

HAWLEY: Well, I mean, just to get out and go and see stores and walk around freely, it was an experience, you know. It was kind of fun, she said, "You don't have to go to school tomorrow, I'll take you out to McGehee." I guess she needed the company, so she took me, and just going shopping. But the stores are so small, and nothing special, but for us, it was a thrill to get out and go to real stores, 'cause we never got to see real stores.

INTERVIEWER: How were you treated by the people in the town?

HAWLEY: They weren't very nice. They weren't very nice. That's when we began to feel the difference. They, I don't remember too many incidents, but I know they weren't very friendly. But we also didn't know where to go in the bus, because the colored in the rear, they always have a sign, "colored in the rear." And the bus driver, we don't know what to do, he looked at us and he says, "You stay in the front." Oh, so we found out we're not colored, so we stay in the front. So we get in the station and the restrooms are "colored" and "white." So we decided we'll go to the "white" section since the bus driver told us not to go in the back. But that's when we first learned about segregation. We never had that here. So it's kind of sad, you know, we had to learn all those things. Because we were in the South, too.

[...]. They didn't know what we were, we were kind of in between.

PARKER: So I love this last line that we were kind of in between, because we can hear the hesitation, the hedging with "kind of," and then the landing on "in between." So as a kid and later an adult who is asked often, "What are you?", I recognize that my own understanding of racial identity has largely to do with what I became in relation to others. So I have access to whiteness in

most spaces. I consider myself, um, white, privileged, and yet I am, “what are you?” white.

And I think because of this, it's why I'm so fascinated by this moment. So this decision moment we see in all these narratives, when this body comes in and messes up the categories, um, when, when you're standing there in front of a bathroom or a bus or or you're you're looking at these signs, and you have to make a choice. So this moment captures so much of the complexity of being human, of of identity, race, gender, all these ways we categorize and create these boxes and these categories and this language, because we have to find a way to to name the world around us and to understand our bodies and the way our bodies move in the world around us. But simultaneously, these categories and the words-- they're always going to be lacking. Always. And, and this moment in history for Japanese Americans during World War II in Arkansas, it gives us this moment. It just highlights that and calls all of us to think about the ways that we form our identities in relation to these categories.

So it's because of these experiences and my own orientations that I practice something of what Mira Shimabukuro describes as “rhetorical attendance” -- so this infusion of personal memory and cultural know-how that, “together, create a felt sense about the ways we conduct research” (p. 27). Shimabukuro builds on feminist scholarship that sees research as a “lived process,” inspired by and continually engaged with the personal, with the person conducting the research (Royster, Kirsch; Kirsch, Rohan; 2008).

So I know my experiences drive my interest in this subject. So in some ways, I feel my interest in this particular aspect of the Japanese American experience in the South has less to do with my Japanese heritage, or maybe even my ethnic or racial ambiguity, and more to do with just the experience of navigating binary spaces and boxes where I do not clearly see how I belong.

And, you know, I'm still figuring out how to understand my sense of belonging, and that it really lies in the convergence of aspects of my identities, so, um, the intersections of my neurotype and gender and sexuality, my race. So all these different pieces that resist the typical, so that resist checking this single box. All of that informs my research interests. It informs my interdisciplinary methods, my love of multimodal and multi genre projects.

So I am incredibly grateful to Cindy Selfe and other digital rhetoric scholars, to feminist researchers and writers who have paved the way for a different kind of scholarship.

You know, Selfe closes “The Movement of Air” with the assertion that, in this moment in a world, um, plagued by wars and poverty and disease and racism and ecological degradation, Selfe says we need all available means of persuasion, all dimensions, so that we can navigate the complexities (645). And Selfe talks about the stakes being high for students, you know, for young people, and that they should have this “full quiver of semiotic modes” to help them think critically, and then also to communicate with audiences.

So I-- sharing this history, hearing these voices, the humanity of the people who were there. I-I feel those stakes. The stakes are high, and we need that quiver full of semiotic modes. Our students need that, our community members.

And in showcasing these voices today, I hope to honor them and their experiences. I-I hope these stories encourage us all to reflect on this nation's past and present and future and on the ways we are all oriented to dominant social constructions. I-I hope we feel encouraged to embrace the in-between-ness in ourselves and our lives and also in our scholarship even though i know that it's not comfortable or easy.

So I actually think that sound texts and composing with sound, with these multilayers with our voices, where we can't hide behind those words. I think that it helps us live more in these in-between spaces in the both and where we share our academic work and ourselves.

So thank you for listening today. And please visit densho.org to learn more about their amazing work. And yes, they're an archive, and you can hear stories, but, um, they are so much more than that.

Thank you

[end of transcript]

References

- Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects, others*. Duke University Press.
- Anderson, E. (2014). Toward a resonant material vocality for digital composition. *Enculturation: A Journal of Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture*, 18. <http://enculturation.net/materialvocality>
- Baldwin, J. (1998). On being “white” . . . and other lies. In D. R. Roediger (Ed.), *Black on white: Black writers on what it means to be white* (pp. 177–180). Schocken Books. (Original work published 1984)
- Briones, M. M. (2012). *Jim and Jap Crow: A cultural history of 1940s interracial America*. Princeton University Press.
- Brooks, C. (2000). In the twilight zone between black and white: Japanese American resettlement and community in Chicago, 1942–1945. *The Journal of American History*, 86(4), 1655–1687.
- Densho Digital Repository. (year). *Interview with Chico Uyeda* [Video]. <https://ddr.densho.org/interviews/ddr-densho-1012-4-1/>
- Densho Digital Repository. (year). *Interview with James Sakamoto* [Video]. <https://ddr.densho.org/interviews/ddr-jamsj-2-1-1/>
- Densho Digital Repository. (year). *Narrator: Grace Sugita Hawley* [Video]. <https://ddr.densho.org/narrators/393/>

- Densho Digital Repository. (year). *Narrator: June T. Watanabe* [Video]. <https://ddr.densho.org/narrators/820/>
- Densho Digital Repository. (year). *Narrator: Tosh Yatsutake* [Video]. <https://ddr.densho.org/narrators/131/>
- Du Bois, W. E. B. (1987). The souls of white folk. In *Writings* (pp. 923–938). Library of America. (Original work published 1920)
- Howard, J. (2008). *Concentration camps on the home front: Japanese Americans in the house of Jim Crow*. University of Chicago Press.
- Kirsch, G. E., & Rohan, L. (Eds.). (2008). *Beyond the archives: Research as a lived process*. Southern Illinois University Press.
- Mao, L., & Young, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Doing Asian American rhetoric*. Utah State University Press.
- Ong, W. J. (2012). *Orality and literacy: The technologizing of the word* (30th anniversary ed.). Routledge.
- Royster, J. J., & Kirsch, G. E. (2012). *Feminist rhetorical practices: New horizons for rhetoric, composition, and literacy studies*. Southern Illinois University Press.
- Sano-Franchini, J. (2018). Sounding Asian/America: Asian/American sonic rhetorics, multimodal orientalism, and digital composition. *Enculturation: A Journal of Rhetoric, Writing, and Culture*, 27. <http://enculturation.net/sounding-Asian-America>
- Selfe, Cynthia. (2009). The movement of air, the breath of meaning: Aural-ity and multimodal composing. *College Composition and Communication*, 60(4), 616–663.
- Shimabukuro, M. (2015). *Relocating authority: Japanese Americans writing to redress mass incarceration*. University Press of Chicago.
- Smith, C. C. (1994). The response of Arkansans to prisoners of war and Japanese Americans in Arkansas 1942-1945. *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, 53(3), 340–366.
- Suyemoto, K. L. (2018). Ethnic and racial identity in multiracial Sansei: Intergenerational effects of the World War II mass incarceration of Japanese Americans. *Genealogy*, 2(3), 27. <https://doi.org/10.3390/genealogy2030027>
- Ward, J. M. (2007). "No Jap Crow": Japanese Americans encounter the World War II South. *The Journal of Southern History*, 73(1), 75–104. <https://doi.org/10.2307/27649317>
- Zapsplat. (n.d.). *Sound effects*. <https://www.zapsplat.com>