The "Museum of the Internment:" Architecture and Cultural Representation

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Recent decades have seen the emergence of a revised approach to the writing and teaching of American history. The questions of a multiplicity of perspectives and a greater degree of inclusiveness that have concerned academic historians have also affected the presentation of history to the public. In particular, new memorials and museums have begun the address the broad array of experiences of diverse American cultural groups. Memorials such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, DC (completed in 1982), and the Witch Trials Memorial in Salem, Massachusetts (completed in 1994) indicate a greater willingness to present sites for memory of controversial or divisive events in American history. Similarly, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC (opened in 1993) presents the history of tragedy, not triumph. And, the' Museum of the American Indian, to be built in Washington (now in planning), clearly will present a new perspective on the experience of American native peoples. In this context, a design studio addressing the Japanese American experience, particularly the history of the Internment, is a fascinating problem. Although some efforts toward memorializing Japanese American history have been made, and several small museums do address the Internment, a larger scale project fully portraying the experience of Japanese Americans before, during and after the Internment has not yet been realized.'

Questions surrounding a museum of Japanese American history are complex. In particular, how the historical narrative of the Japanese American experience is to be constructed is central to such a project. Indeed, in the designs of a "Museum of the Internment" by graduate students in the architectural program at the University of Washington in Seattle, this question, how the Japanese American experience is to be understood and represented, emerged as central to any discussion of such a building. Student designs address key questions, including the relationship of the building to its contents (the "container" and the "contained), the nature of expression (abstraction and representation), and the construction of an interpretive framework, that must be faced by a museum addressing Japanese American history.

SHAPING THE "MUSEUM OF THE INTERNMENT" DESIGN STUDIO

Because one of my research interests in recent years has focused on monuments and memorials, I have been particularly interested in the question of how historical narratives are conveyed and how architecture might play a role in overcoming the distance in time and place between events in the past and people in the present.[2] In this context, I thought of the possibility of offering as a problem the design of a museum dealing with the events of the Internment of approximately 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II. Based on reading and conversations with other faculty, I determined that the Internment could not be understood in isolation.[3] Thus the museum project was extended forward and backward in time, encompassing over 100 years of Japanese American history with the Internment as the fulcrum.[4]

Studios at the University of Washington are generally presented in a conventional format.[5] Because the University of Washington operates on ten-week quarters, it was necessary to structure the studio very tightly. Students received a fairly typical museum program totaling about 25,000 gsf.[6] To develop a strong focus on the Japanese American experience, students were also given a lengthy narrative for a permanent exhibit on Japanese American history. This chronological narrative also included identification of possible exhibits (artifacts, photographs, texts) likely to be displayed in the permanent gallery.'

Most studios at this level are located on actual sites students are able to visit. For this project the site was a parking lot located at the comer of 5th and Jackson, a highly visible "gateway" to Seattle's International District.[8] It is just one block diagonally from the comer of 6th and Main, the former center of Seattle's pre-Internment Japanese American community.

A typical studio process was followed with analytical exercises leading to design. The students' knowledge of the Japanese American experience was developed through presentations and readings. For several students, Monica Sone's book, *Nisei Daughter*, was critical in bridging the gap in time

and space between their lives and the experience of the Japanese Americans.[9] Professor Tetsuden Kashima of the University of Washington American Ethnic Studies Department presented a slide lecture on the Internment which was also important in providing a range of powerful visual imagery.[10] A field trip to the Panama Hotel, an SRO hotel located in Seattle's International District, at the comer of Sixth Avenue and Main Street, was the most important single experience for the students." This hotel had been at the center of Seattle's Japanese American community before 1942. In one part of the Panama basement are still intact Japanese baths. In another part is a storage area with trunks which had been packed and stored by some of Seattle's Japanese Americans just before they were relocated in spring 1942; these had never been reclaimed.[12] The field trip included both a visit to the Japanese baths and to the trunk room in the basement. Seeing the trunks (many with contents still intact), which had been packed and stored in a period of just ten days in 1942 before the internees were moved to the Assembly Center in Puyallup, Washington, seemed to dissolve the 52-year gap in time and to personalize directly the moment in history when the Internment took place.

THE CONTAINER AND THE CONTAINED

Any museum embodies a set of paradoxes that must be addressed in its design. A museum of Japanese American history poses an additional set of problems that concern the place of one cultural group within the larger society. Finally, there are unique issues specific to the Internment.

In general terms, a museum is a building which "contains and maintains a collection of objects and has provisions for displaying, studying and storing them."[13] Central to any museum is a collection of artifacts which are safeguarded, preserved, studied, classified, and presented to the public. But, objects in a museum are not presented in a value-free environment.[14] Typically the artifacts are accompanied by interpretive narratives and, in the broadest sense, even the architectural setting also presents an interpretive framework. While architecture does not convey meaning in a linear mode similar to written text, it can nonetheless function as a vehicle for meaning and interpretation.

One of the key questions for the students was the relationship between this museum and its contents, that is, between "the container" and "the contained." How should a museum of Japanese American history present a context for the consideration of the artifacts and the historical narrative it would present? Should this museum try to represent what it contains? Is this even possible? Other questions had to do with the issue of representation and abstraction. Some might question whether the average person will be engaged by a highly abstract design. But, the example of the apparently abstract Vietnam Veterans Memorial, now the most visited of all monuments in Washington, D.C., indicates that abstraction is not necessarily an impediment to a powerful or engaging design.[15]

The studio project was called "Museum of the Internment," but it was to address over 100 years of Japanese American history. The students found that this made the problem much more challenging--the Internment is only one component of the Japanese American experience. To what extent is the Internment to be identified with the period of 1942-1946, and to what extent can its implications be seen as informing the past and present of the Japanese American community? Although the project was posed as a museum of history, some students eventually came to argue that it is more important to focus on the future than to look to the past. In addition, when Professor Kashima presented to the class, he argued that the Internment should be seen as an ***American*** question, not a Japanese American one. He argued that the constitutional and other issues raised by the Internment are important for all Americans. One implication of his argument might be that this should be an ***American building,*** not a Japanese American one.

THE STUDENTS DESIGN

In general, the students found this design project extraordinarily engaging. For them it was not just a matter of experience, but a question of how that experience might be transformed into architecture. What would the building say about this history? What would it present as the image of the Japanese American community? One student pointed out that in many design problems there can sometimes be a tendency to contrive a concept for the building. Here, he argued, no contrivance was necessary. Instead, developing a concept was not the difficulty; instead the difficulty was in finding and resolving an appropriate three-dimensional expression for one's ideas.[16]

Of the students' designs, that by Daniel Simon was the most literal in its adaptation of imagery associated with the Internment.(Fig. 1) In this scheme the permanent galleries are presented as five gable-roofed metal-clad blocks along the west side of the site. The form of these blocks derives from the shape of the barracks at Minidoka, Manzanar, Topaz and the other Internment camps. However, these are not literal replications of those barracks; rather these are abstracted shapes that recall the barracks only in their form and their repetitive alignment. In this scheme, the rest of the museum facilities are placed in a multi-story block on the east side of the site. The three walls of this structure facing to the outside of the site are clad in conventional masonry, echoing the context; however, the fourth wall, facing the five barrack-like forms is a curved glass curtainwall. All of the users of this building would be continually haunted by the memory of the Internment as revealed in form of these galleries. In between the office/support block and the five barrack-like galleries was a rock garden--a space that could be seen and crossed on two bridges, but a space that the visitors could never actually enter.

This scheme sparked considerable debate among the jurors at both the mid-term and final reviews. Some sug-

gested that the galleries would not only be read as metaphorical "barracks," but also could be seen as monuments or as coffins. The scheme was characterized as "angry" and it was pointed out that the barrack-like forms would confront virtually everyone who arrived at the International District. One juror argued that the scheme implies that the wound caused by the events of the Internment can never heal--that reconciliation is impossible, and that these events will forever haunt Japanese Americans as well as the society as a whole. The building was seen as forever confrontational.

The scheme by Robin Barker presented the Internment in terms of a disrupted form or disrupted space.[17] The formal disruption was derived by removing one element of the building (the Internment gallery), then reinserting it in an altered orientation as a disruption to the otherwise regular form of the block. Here the disruption of the form is a metaphorical representation of the Internment in the life of the Japanese American community. (Fig. 2) The scheme was developed by organizing the site as a continuous block divided into four bays of equal width along the front of the site. This simple order is interrupted by the removal of one of the bays forming an entry court with garden. On the second floor three rectangular galleries hold the permanent exhibit. The two galleries exhibiting the pre- and post-Internment periods are two of the rectangular bays aligned paralleling the boundaries of the site forming the rectangular block; the gallery addressing the years of Internment is turned at an angle disrupting the overall geometry of the project; this is exactly the width of the other galleries and so that it could be understood as the reinserted piece that had been removed from the whole form of the block. The building is to be clad in a light colored stone, but this twisted gallery would be clad in a darker stone. From the outside the twisted block would be evident, but the meaning of this different element would only become evident to those who entered the building and passed through the entire exhibit sequence. The sequence was arranged so that the Internment gallery formed a "bridge" connecting the other galleries—the bridge between the pre- and post-Internment periods. Robin Barker recognized that this formal gesture might be too subtle to be understood by some visitors, so she also proposed carving quotations by Japanese Americans about their own history, and particularly about their experience of the Internment, in the stone walls along the entry court. Some members of the jury found this scheme particularly elegant in its formal simplicity.

Traci D'Alessio approached the galleries by creating three simple rectangular stone-clad blocks—essentially mute containers. These blocks might be considered as "vaults" or "strong-boxes" because their solidity and mass contrasted with the lighter metal framing and cladding of the rest of the building. The function of these blocks would only become apparent to those who passed through the exhibit sequence. Notably, all three galleries are treated exactly the same; the years of Internment are enclosed in a gallery which is identical to the galleries for the pre- and post-Internment years. In this scheme, all events in the history of the Japanese American community are represented equivalently. Traci D'Alessio's scheme also focused more on the garden space; persons passing through her exhibit sequence would have the opportunity to stop at the garden before or after visiting each of the galleries. The garden was considered a central place of tranquillity in contrast to the emotional demands of the exhibits.

The project by Carl Dominguez presented the argument for the building as an essentially neutral background more strongly than any of the other schemes. His project placed the offices and similar spaces along the south side of the site, placed the garden space across the center, and placed the galleries and other larger spaces to the north. The only suggestion that these might be unusual was the slight skew of the gallery block within the frame of the building; however, this effect was subtle. This approach to the design indicates that the artifacts, narratives, and texts that will be exhibited should be the primary focus, not the building; such

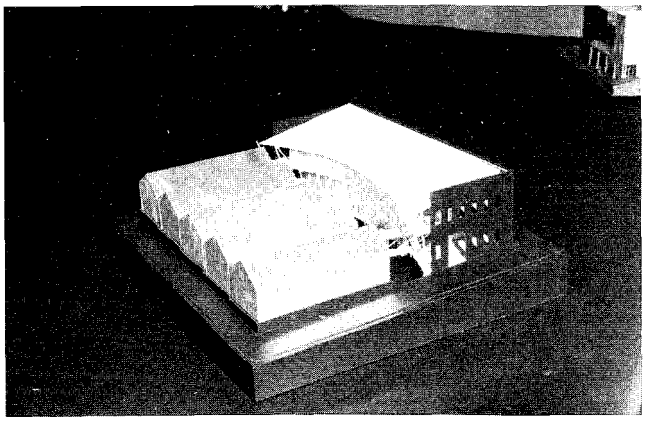

Fig. 1. Scheme by Daniel Simon. The form of the galleries is an abstraction of the shape of the barracks at the Internment camps; the support spaces housed in the block to the right all look directly toward these galleries.

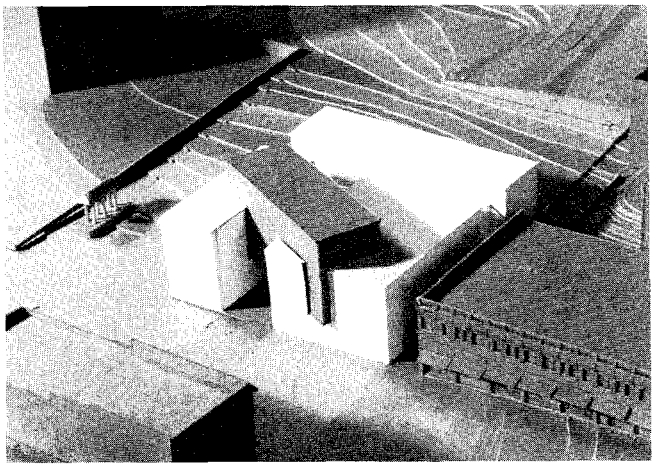

Fig. 2. Scheme by Robin Barker. Here the gallery devoted to the display of the Internment is skewed to serve as a "bridge" between the galleries for pre- and post-Internment periods, with the result that it disrupts the galleries and other spaces it intersects.

a scheme can also be seen as a critique of the idea that the architecture of the building should attempt to be representative of its contents.

Jason Andrews conceived the idea for the building as a continuous building block which would then be "fractured" and the two resulting pieces would be pulled apart. The concept behind this architectural approach was an attempt to create an analogy in three-dimensional form to the fracturing effect of the Internment in the history of the Japanese American community. In order for this fracture to be understood, the program functions were arranged internally such that visitors would be required to cross back and forth across the resulting void (which became the garden) on bridges between the two sides. The difficulty of the scheme was the challenge to make architecture that actually embodies this idea of "fracture"—buildings are usually made to hold together, not to break apart and to develop an architectural expression that had the appearance of being broken, yet actually provided the necessary functional spaces and weather tight enclosure proved to be very difficult.

Dan Kohn's scheme was based primarily on the idea of movement through space, but here the galleries were conceived as a series of different kinds of architectural experiences, depending upon different formal configurations and different levels and sources of natural light. A key to the design was that the route through the galleries returned on a second floor exactly above the first floor and the pre- and post-Internment galleries had essentially the same form, but the post-Internment gallery was directly above the pre-Internment gallery. Thus, the interconnection of recent history with long past history was illustrated in the sequence of movement through the spaces.

A perception of the fragmentation of Japanese American culture within the larger culture was one of the underlying ideas within Noah Greenberg's design.(Fig. 3). A regular concrete structural frame of columns and beams forms a grid over the entire site; the space is enclosed with a glass and metal curtainwall; within this enclosure the various program elements were treated as individual solid blocks (fragments) which rest on the ground or float within the grid. These blocks are sometimes irregular and their geometric order is always seen in juxtaposition to the regular order of the structural grid. The visitor moves through the ordered grid in order to reach the various elements--galleries, lecture hall, library, and so forth. The grid may be seen as neutral, or perhaps as reflecting the overall order of society, while the individual elements—solid blocks—contrasting to it are those which focus on the Japanese American experience.

JiHyun Kim designed the building as a journey winding upward along a path through a sequence of double-height spaces. The design is structured with a regular rectilinear frame, derived conceptually (but not literally) from the frame in traditional Japanese architecture. The garden was at the center of the building, always to one side of the major circulation. At each floor along the path, the visitor could move into one of the publicly accessible spaces (galleries, lecture hall, etc.), or continue upward. At the top the spatial sequence reached the library, which was seen as the site of learning and preparation for the future, with a large window wall looking back to the city. While other schemes had been ordered primarily in terms of the narrative sequence to be experienced inside the permanent exhibit, this project proposed an ordered sequence of circulation through the entire building; the permanent exhibit was just one of the possible destinations along the route. It was the library and the return to the city, as embodied in the view from the window wall, which was at the end of the sequence.

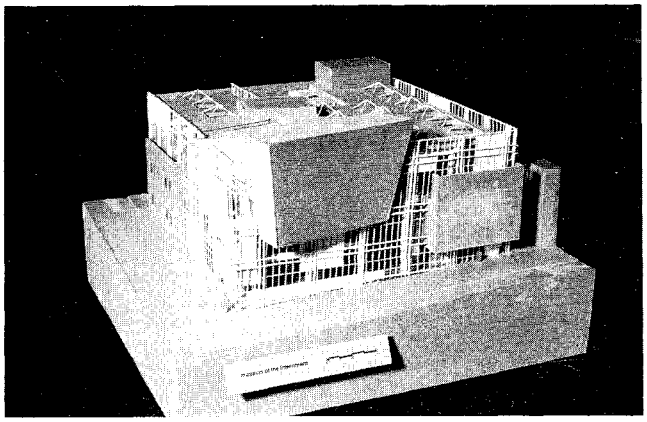

Fig. 3. Scheme by Noah Greenberg. A perception of the fragmentation of the Japanese American community was represented here by the treatment of the program elements as a series of fragmented blocks set at different levels within a rectilinear frame.

In Nancy Liu's reading of Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter*, she was particularly struck by Sone's characterization of the Japanese Americans as being "in-between."[18] As a result, this idea of the "in-between" became the keynote of her design approach. In her scheme, the permanent gallery was a block raised above the building entrance, supported by large columns. At the same time, the site was to be excavated to its original grade (the site had been filled and raised almost ten feet about 1910); this outdoor, the below grade space was to become the garden. Entrance to the building takes place across a bridge, above the garden and below the gallery. In this entry sequence, the visitor occupies the position of the "in-between." The jury saw the project as offering several two different readings: First, the original grade below can be seen as the earth of the American continent, while the gallery above is the culture, primarily understood as Japanese, of the Japanese American community. Thus, the culture is shown finding a new foundation in American soil, but still remaining separate from it—it does not rest solidly on this ground; the visitor enters through the space between. Second, the transformation by technology of this area of Seattle from its natural state was necessary in order for urbanization to take place. The rediscovery of the roots of culture in nature requires the removal of the urban layer of fill to uncover the original natural form of this site. The visitor would enter the building on a bridge level with the sidewalk---the urban level, but sees the Japanese American culture (as embodied

in the gallery above) as ultimately founded on an understanding of the human condition in relation to the natural world as represented metaphorically by the garden space at the original (natural) grade of the site. Although this scheme created daunting complexities of space, structure, program allocation and circulation, the jury generally found the design concept a very powerful one as it attempted to address not just the Internment, but the particular position of the Japanese American community.

Masayuki Sono argued that the strongest emphasis should be on the future rather than the past of the Japanese American community.[19] (Fig. 4) Therefore, he focused on the temporary gallery as the most prominent space in the museum and he designed it in part as an enclosed gallery and in part as an open framework element (almost like scaffolding) right at the front comer of the building. He suggested that Japanese American artists would use this as a space in which to erect works of art in the future—these would be new constructions of all different kinds and would be highly visible to passers-by. In contrast, his proposal removed the permanent galleries to the back of the second floor—a visitor would need to seek them out specifically. One members of the jury questioned the degree to which the permanent galleries were relatively unobtrusive, but another suggested that they should be seen as analogous to a Japanese "treasure box"—something that is closed from the outside, only revealing its contents when opened. The idea here was that visitors who wished to see the permanent exhibit could do so, but what would bring people back to the museum again and again would be the changing temporary exhibits. Also, this. scheme could be seen to argue that coming to terms with the Internment and with the full history of the community is a very personal process, not one that needs to be prominently displayed. Instead what is on display is where the community is now as embodied in the new constructions of its contemporary artists.[20]

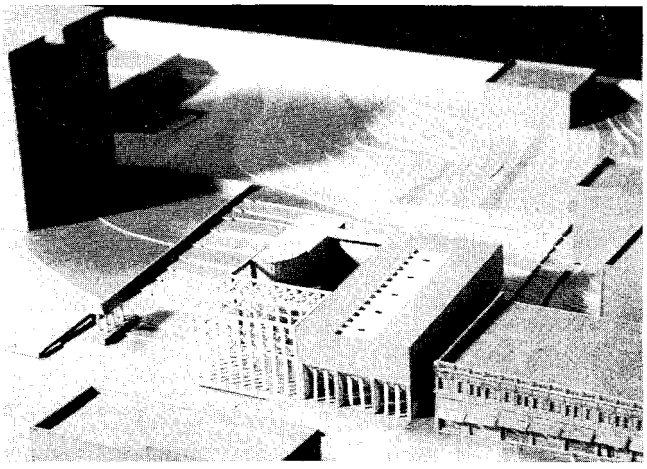

Fig. 4. Scheme by Masayuki Sono. The focus of this scheme was the future of the Japanese American community rather than the past. The trabeated framework at the front comer is meant to serve as scaffolding for the future creation of changing art and/or constructions by Japanese American artists.

QUESTIONING THE MUSEUM AS A TYPE OR THE TYPE OF MUSEUM

The range of ideas and approaches evident in the students' work suggests possible interpretations of this history as well as different attitudes towards the capability of architecture to represent or embody such interpretations. The schemes raise the general question of what is central to the Japanese American experience. Some projects clearly suggest that the Internment has been and will continue to be a major factor within the history of the community. Whether this is to be presented confrontationally or is to be experienced as a tragedy which may invite pathos is an evident question. Alternatively, other projects appear to position the Internment as only one part of the continuous experience of the Japanese American community. Finally, at least one scheme proposed an alternative focus, primarily on the future, with the past history of the community contained within and not at all evident in the exterior shape of the museum.

In focusing on these questions, the studio instructor and students implicitly accepted the validity of the museum as an institution and took a generally positive view of the role of this institutional type. In this the studio was closer in its sensibility to the positive view of institutions held by an architect such as Louis Kahn, who expressed the idea that institutions such as museums serve to mediate between individual human beings and mass society, than the more recent critical view that has often seen institutions such as museums primarily instruments of power.[21] Of course, some members of the studio would argue that museums are instruments of power, but that this museum, by presenting the history and experience of Japanese Americans, challenges the hegemonic norms imposed by the wider culture.

In addition, most of the students' work implicitly rejects the position argued by Adorno and others that objects removed from use and placed in a museum are consigned to a kind of death.[22] These projects implicitly argue for the multivalency of objects—that is, objects have been created and used for many different purposes. Placing objects in a museum, which makes them more accessible to more people, may change the balance of these uses, but does not necessarily negate them. Indeed, the power of the Panama Hotel trunks and the objects found inside them lies in the fact of their survival without use; the very disruption of the normal course of human lives that they make real for us, collapsing the time and distance between the Internment and today, gives them a kind of life and a level of meaning which they never would have possessed had they continued in normal use.[23] Thus, the issue for architecture was seen by most students as creating a setting that provides a context for the kind of connection that such objects can evoke not in challenging the basis of the idea of the institution itself. The question thus became: What is the appropriate context—what is the relationship between "the container" and "the contained"?[24]

While historians may aim for an objective presentation of

what occurred in the past, it is now generally recognized that all historical narratives are extraordinarily selective--not every single event that occurred in the past can ever be presented—and these narratives typically involve the construction of an interpretive framework through which the events that are presented can be understood.[25] The first challenge of any museum will, in fact, be the construction of this narrative., Even in a Japanese American museum that dealt only with the years of Internment, this narrative, as presented in exhibits (with texts), cannot be a simple linear chronology. If the narrative is to be complete, it will need to be inclusive, showing, for example, the range of opinion and response within the Japanese American community relative to the Internment experience. If, as in this studio, the museum extends to the pre- and post-Internment period, the narrative becomes even more complex, and the implications of the Internment within the larger history of the community must be considered. While it might be thought that such questions will have little bearing on the architectural design of such a museum, this student work makes clear that the form of the building can embody, to a greater or lesser extent, an interpretation of the Internment and the history of the Japanese American community.[26]

NOTES

Early drafts of this paper were reviewed by University of Washington Professors Tetsuden Kashima of the Department of American Ethnic Studies Program and Gail Dubrow of the Department of Urban Design & Planning.

[1] Museums that address Japanese American history and/or the lnternment include the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles and the Topaz Museum in Delta, Utah. The Western Treasure Valley Cultural Center in Ontario, Oregon, includes a museum that focuses primarily, but not exclusively, on Japanese Americans. The sites of the WRA "relocation centers" are generally marked with small monuments or markers. A Japanese American Historical Plaza including a memorial has been built in downtown Portland, Oregon.

In 1996, the National Japanese American Historical Society, San Francisco, will open a 4000 square foot permanent exhibit at the Fort Mason Center, Pier #1, in San Francisco.

The Japanese American Historical Plaza in downtown Portland, Oregon, is a memorial that incorporates a historical narrative. The memorial is a series of large rocks each with an inscription that relates to one segment of the chronological experience of Portland's Japanese American community. Together they provide the outline of a narrative. However, their full meaning can probably only be gleaned from the publication which explains their significance; see: Mark Sherman and George Katagiri, eds., *Touching the Stones: Tracing One Hundred Years of Japanese American History* (Portland OR: Oregon Nikkei Endowment, 1994).

A Japanese American memorial to be located in Washington, D.C., is now being planned under the direction of the National Japanese American Memorial Foundation.

[2] Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "The Space of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial," paper presented at the Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, 1994; and Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, "Understanding the Holocaust through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum," *JAE: Journal of Architectural Education* 48 (May 1995): 240-249.

[3] My initial reading included Roger Daniels, *Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993); Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1991); Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (1969; Niwot, Colorado: University Press of Colorado, 1992); Yoshiko Uchida, *Desert Exile: The Uprooting of a Japanese American Family* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1982); Valerie J. Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993). Reading also included portions of Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1988); Peter Irons, *Justice* at *War: The Story of the Japanese American Internment Cases* (1983; Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993); and Wakako Yamauchi, *Songs My Mother Taught Me: Stories, Plays, and Memoir,* Garrett Hongo, ed. (New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 1994).

I also received assistance from Professor Gail Lee Dubrow of the University of Washington Department of Urban Design and Planning, who had recently co-authored a context document for the preservation of cultural resources relating to Asian and Pacific Americans in Washington. See: Gail Lee Dubrow et. al., *Asian/Pacific Americans in Washington State: A Historic Context Document* (Olympia WA: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Department of Community Development, State of Washington, 1992.) And, I received assistance from Professor Tetsuden Kashima of the University of Washington's Asian American Studies program.

[4] The permanent exhibit was conceived as a narrative organized according to a historical chronology divided into three primary areas: 1880 to 1940; 1940 to 1946; 1946 to the present. Each area was further sub-divided according to specific events and of the history of the Japanese American community. This twelve-page text identified individual exhibit sequences and provided descriptions for the kinds of artifacts, photographs and texts likely to be displayed. The ideas for these exhibits were based on my understanding of the history of the Japanese American community gained from my reading, the kinds of exhibits that had been included in an exhibit at the Wing Luke Asian Museum in Seattle, my own experience of historical artifacts and exhibits in other museums, and the kinds of artifacts I imagined might survive and be available within the Japanese American community. Some of the ideas about artifacts that might be included were based on David Takami, *Executive Order 9066: Fifty Years Before and Fifty Years After: A History of Japanese Americans in Seattle,* exh. cat. (Seattle: Wing Luke Asian Museum, 1993), and on June Mukai McKivor, ed., *Kenjiro Nomura: An Artist's View of the Japanese American Internment,* exh. cat. (Seattle: Wing Luke Asian Museum, 1991); this is the catalogue from an exhibit of Normura's paintings.

The permanent exhibit program was also important as a way to provide to the students a condensed summary of the historical experience of the Japanese American community and to help to focus the project on those experiences.

[5] At the University of Washington, the graduate level design studio curriculum is structured within an overall framework such that students in parallel studios at the same level are addressing similar kinds of issues. Within this framework each faculty member develops his or her own design studio problems for each term. Thus, at the 500 level, Fall Quarter studios are typically institutional building types (school, library, museum, etc.) and these are sited in an urban context usually with

historical significance. Within this general framework, the problems offered can be drawn from the real world or invented, but specific sites are most often actual locations in Seattle. In recent years studio programs have included buildings such as a museum of the moving image, a museum of Northwest arts and crafts, a museum of environmental arts, a school of architecture, and a school of glass art. Sites are frequently in or near one of Seattle's urban historic districts such as Pioneer Square. At UW, 500 level studios include a mix of students coming from pre-professional undergraduate programs as well as the first year of the Department's three-year program.

[6] The program for the museum included publicly accessible spaces (lobby, permanent and temporary exhibition galleries, children's exhibit, lecture hall, library, archives, and bookstore and cafe), and non-public spaces (staff offices, conference room, work rooms, exhibit preparation spaces, conservation spaces, storage, and receiving room/loading dock). A publicly accessible meditation garden was also required. The areas totaled about 25,000 square feet.

For the overall building program see: "ARC 500: 1994 Fall Quarter Studio: The Museum of the Internment; Term Problem Program," 28 September 1994; and "ARC 500: 1994 Fall Quarter Studio: The Museum of the Internment: Term Problem Program: Addendum," 12 October 1994 (typescripts available from author); for the permanent exhibit program see: "ARC 500: 1994 Fall Quarter Studio: The Museum of the Internment; Term Problem: Program: Preliminary Permanent Exhibit Program," 28 September 1994 (typescript available from author).

The temporal structure of the permanent exhibit was modeled after the "Executive Order 9066" exhibit that had been mounted at Seattle's Wing Luke Asian Museum; see Takami, *Executive Order* 9066.

[8] The site measured 120 feet east to west and 105 feet north to south. A site of this size required students to design a building with at least three floors. This contributed to the complexity of the design problem by requiring that multi-story formal, spatial and structural and vertical circulation be addressed.

[9] Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter* (1953; Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1979). Because this book is set within the city of Seattle, the locations described could be visited by the students enrolled in the studio. This served to make the experience of the Japanese American community in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s much more real for today's students.

[10] Tetsuden Kashima has published several articles on the internment experience including: "Japanese American Internee Return--1945-1955: Readjustment and Social Amnesia," *Phylon Quarterly* 41 (June 1980); and "American Mistreatment of Internees During World War II: Enemy Alien Japanese," in Daniels, Taylor, and Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress.*

[11] The Panama Hotel is a four-story brick masonry structure completed in 1910. It was designed by Sabro Ozasa, a Japanese architect who practiced in Seattle between 1908 and 1912 before returning to Tokyo.

[12] Gail Dubrow has several articles forthcoming on her research concerning the Panama Hotel and related Japanese American cultural resources including: "Japanese American Cultural Resources in the Western Region," *CRM* (forthcoming 1996, in a special issue on Asian and Pacific American cultural resources, edited by William Chapman); and "Asian American Imprints on the Western Landscape" in Arnold Alanen and Robert Melnick, eds., Preserving Cultural Landscape in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming). The Panama Hotel and other sites associated with Japanese Americans are addressed in Bail Dubrow, Jennifer Meisner, et. al., *Plan for the Protection of Asian and Pacific American Heritage in King County* [WA] (Seattle: King County Cultural Resources Division in cooperation with the Preservation Planning and Design Program at the University of Washington, forthcoming 1996).

[13] Joseph Wilkes and Robert Packard, eds., *Encyclopedia of Architecture, Design, engineering and Construction,* vol. *3* (New York: Wiley, 1989), pp. 501-29.

[14] On the place of the object within the museum, see, for example: Walker Percy, *The Message in the Bottle: How Queer Man Is, How Queer Language Is, and What One Has to Do with the Other* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975), pp. 46-63. While works in an art museum are often presented with little in the way of accompanying texts, in history museums narratives are almost always included. Significant objects are also often presented with accompanying photographs which can provide a visual/historical context in which the object is interpreted. In recent years, the problem of the interpretive framework has sometimes provoked intense debate; while the example of the display of a portion of the *Enola Gay* at the National Air and Space Museum in Washington has received extensive publicity, many similar less publicized controversies have occurred over the question of appropriate interpretation.

A good introduction to issues and controversies surrounding the presentation of history in historical museums is Warren Lion and Roy Rosenzweig, eds., *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Reassessment* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989); and also Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in Susan P. Benson et. al., eds., *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press: 1986), pp 137-164.

[15] The Vietnam Veterans Memorial has been the subject of a continuing dialogue in scholarly literature over how it communicates. See, for example: William Hubbard, "A Meaning for Monuments," *Public Interest* 74 (Winter 1984): 17-30; Charles L. Griswold, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (Summer 1986): 688-719; Peter Ehrenhaus, "Silence and Symbolic Expression, *Communication Monographs* 55 (March 1988): 41-57; Marita Sturken, "The Wall, the Screen, and the Image: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, *Representations* 35 (Summer 1991): 118-142; Carole Blair, Marsha S. Jeppeson, and Enrico Pucci, Jr., "Public Memorializing in Postmodernity: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial as Prototype," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 77 (August 1991): 263-288.

[16] Comments by Daniel Simon, graduate student in architecture, University of Washington.

[17] Because Robin Barker's mother is Japanese American and went through the Internment as a child, this project was particularly compelling for Robin. Her final presentation not only included drawings of the building, but also contemporary images of Japanese Americans and several quotations from Internees, indicating a powerful emotional investment in the project.

[18] Monica Sone, *Nisei Daughter;* see especially the introduction to the 1979 edition by S. Frank Miyamoto. Because Nancy Liu is Chinese American, having immigrated to North America from Hong Kong when she was sixteen, the concept of the "in-between" may have had direct personal meaning for her.

[19] Masayuki Sono is an exchange student from Japan. He first arrived in the United States in September 1994, approximately two weeks before this studio began.

[20] The presentation of the work at the mid-term review and at the final review sparked intense discussions. In addition to the specifically architectural critique, there was considerable debate about the meaning of different approaches and the character

of each of these building proposals. Even among the reviewers there was no agreement as to the appropriate approach.

[21] For Kahn's attitude toward human institutions, see: Louis Kahn, *Louis I. Kahn: Writings, Interviews, Lectures,* ed. Alessandra Latour (New York: Rizzoli, 1991), esp. 191-207, 263-269. For the recent critique of the museum, see, for example: Douglas Crimp, *On the Museums Ruins* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 1993), and Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff, eds., *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

[22] Theodor W. Adorno, "Valery Proust Museum, in *Prisms,* trans. Samuel and Shierry Weber (London: Spearman, 1967), pp. 173-85.

[23] On the role played by these kinds of ordinary objects exhibited at the Holocaust Museum, see: Ochsner, "Understanding the Holocaust," 242-244.

[24] Clearly, these schemes reflect very different ideas about the ways architecture can (or should) embody or represent the history of a community (and whether or not it should even try to do so). Most of the choices made by the students are can be characterized as metaphorical interpretations in three-dimensional form. Ideas about disruption, fracture, and fragmentation in the experience of the Japanese American community all brought forth architectural interpretations in terms of disrupted space, fractured forms or fragments within a regular structure. Similarly, the condition of being "in-between" was interpreted in architectural terms. Still, at least one scheme eschewed any attempt at representation and argued for the museum as an essentially neutral enclosure. At the opposite extreme one scheme drew directly upon the imagery of the barracks in discovering a form for the museum galleries. No scheme suggested building a literal copy or reconstruction of a barracks as a part of the building. It was understood that such reconstructions would likely be part of the exhibits, but they were not seen as an appropriate response to the design of the museum building itself. In this sense, all of these schemes involved some level of abstraction; however, the differences among these schemes also show differences in the degree of abstraction and metaphorical reinterpretation that could be considered representational.

[25] The Museum of the Internment must first address a very high level of historical ignorance; as a result, it will require a strong didactic component. However, if the Museum of the Internment is actually to address over 100 years of history of the Japanese American community, then it must embody a complexly woven historical narrative and a wide range of attitudes and interpretations.

[26] Experience has shown that student design projects often do uncover specific approaches or individual design elements that architectural professionals in actual practice, who are designing similar buildings for actual paying clients, develop in their work. As a result, these projects can be considered as useful explorations relative to real projects that are currently being proposed or considered on Japanese American history and/or the Internment. In one sense, these projects can be considered as "research" into alternatives ways of conceiving of this design problem; these design solutions can be understood as showing the potential implications of different approaches. As groups in different places begin to develop ideas about the kind of museum or memorial they may be seeking to create, these design ideas may serve as points of departure for the development of a discourse framed around the issues of "the container and the contained," "abstraction and representation," and the interpretation in three-dimensional form of the experience of the Japanese American community.