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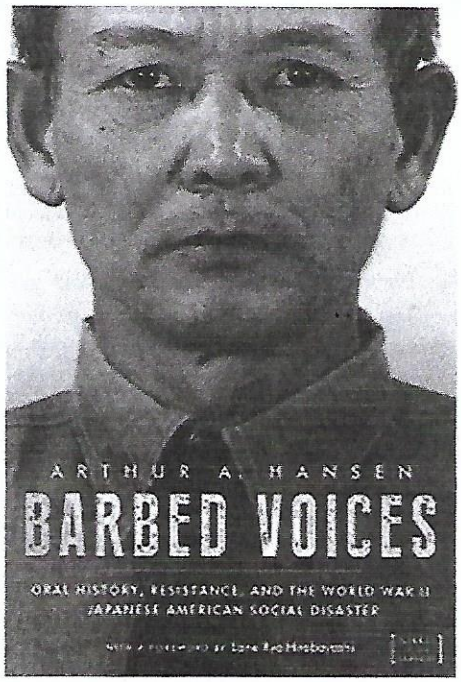
BARBED VOICES: ***Oral History, Resistance, and the World War II Japanese American Social Disaster.*** By Arthur A. Hansen with a foreword by Lane Ryo Hirabayashi. (Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2019, 252 pp., $27.95 paper).



Scholars and students of Japanese American history are indebted to Arthur A. Hansen. During his forty-plus years at the California State University, Fullerton, he dedicated his career to documenting the Japanese American experience during World War II. As founding director of the Japanese American Project of the CSUF Oral History Program, he conducted and edited dozens of interviews with individuals involved with the incarceration. Our understanding of this critical episode in American history is informed and enriched by these invaluable testimonies. But Hansen is also a prolific and important scholar. This volume, *Barbed Voices*, gathers eight of his essays, all of which reflect his dual commitment to "the historical phenomenon of social resistance and the research method of oral history" (p. 3).

Hansen's interpretation of resistance is informed by his oral history work. His interviews allow him to document the diversity of resistance activities and "develop a new and robust narrative for the Japanese American wartime experience" (p. 4). This is evident even in the oldest essay, "The Manzanar Riot," co-authored with David Hacker and published in 1974. The "riot" occurred in December 1942 following the beating of Fred Tayama, a Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) leader, and the jailing of Harry Ueno for the crime. Rather than focus on the War Relocation Authority and the JACL, Hansen and Hacker hone in on the incident's cultural meaning within the Japanese American community. Oral histories lead them to the conclusion that the event was not a "riot" as much as it was a "revolt" that was "one intense expression of a continuing resistance movement" (p. 43). Thus, when Japanese Americans gathered to protest Ueno's imprisonment, they were revealing their anger about ongoing threats to their cultural identity.

Hansen's essays, though specific to the Japanese American experience, have relevance to scholars in other fields. In another essay about Manzanar, "A Riot of Voices," Hansen provides a thoughtful analysis of the oral histories that he conducted in relation to the "revolt." His experiences suggested that many Nisei, or second-generation Japanese Americans, did not behave in ways that theorists predicted. This intracultural variety was striking, given that one would expect few aberrations during a time of crisis. Hansen concludes that scholars of similar communities need to be attuned to generational, class, ideological, and gender divisions and reject the idea that communities are static and unchanging as well.

As an appendix to this essay, Hansen includes a never-before-published 1994 letter in which Harry Ueno confesses to being involved in Tayama's beating. After nearly eighty years of speculation, this letter finally puts to rest the question of who attacked Tayama. But for Hansen, this confession is more significant for what it reveals about the work of oral historians. Over a period of twenty years, he built a relationship of trust with Ueno, one that led him to divulge this long-hidden secret. He explains, "the unfolding of this truth-telling is an ongoing process." Historians sometimes have to protect their sources and gain their trust, "even if by doing so this results temporarily in an untidy narrative record of historical 'reality'" (p. 138). Hansen's reflections serve as an important reminder of the complexities of the research and writing of history, especially when the historical actors are still alive. Even with these astute insights, however, one is still left to wonder why Hansen believed that this volume—published fourteen years after Ueno's death—was the right venue to make his confession public.

Other essays extend beyond Manzanar to explore resistance in diverse contexts, from incarceree resistance at Gila River and Heart Mountain to the progressive politics of Nisei social scientists who documented camp activities and the anti-JACL stance of journalist Jimmie Omura. But perhaps the most intriguing essay is one not explicitly related to resistance, an analysis of Ben Kuroki, an aerial gunner in the United States Army Air Corps. In 1944, Kuroki traveled to Heart Mountain, Minidoka, and Topaz, where he faced a mixed reception among incarcerees who viewed him either as a war hero or coward. Kuroki himself labeled draft resisters as fascists and traitors. Rather than critique Kuroki, Hansen provides an explanation for his views, concluding that his time in the military meant that his loyalties were mediated by his interactions with his fellow bomber crew members rather than his ethnic subculture. As a result, Kuroki failed to see his Japanese American detractors as allies in a larger fight against intolerance. Hansen's analysis is sharp and nuanced, demonstrating that there was no singular idea of loyalty and patriotism for Japanese Americans during the war. He concludes that both Kuroki and the draft resisters were "courageous American heroes" (p. 263).

If there is a weakness to this collection, it is Hansen's tendency to provide theoretical frameworks for his essays without fully analyzing how they apply to the incidents under discussion. For instance, his essay about resistance at Heart Mountain uses philosopher Roger S. Gottlieb's concept of resistance as its organizing theory. After explaining how Gottlieb defines resistance and its different modes, Hansen discusses several acts of resistance at the Wyoming camp. However, he does

not explain how these incidents illuminate Gottlieb's ideas about European Jews during the Holocaust or how the theory helps us to understand Japanese American resistance more broadly. Similarly, as the subtitle suggests, the volume argues that the Japanese American incarceration was a "social disaster." In the introduction, Hansen introduces a definition of disaster, as put forth by British sociologist Stanley Cohen, and asserts, "it is hardly an exaggeration or a distortion to style what the Japanese population underwent a disaster" (p. 6). The goal of the anthology, he explains, is to explore how, why, when, and where some Japanese Americans responded to this disaster with resistance. But once again, he does not return to these questions. In reflecting upon the significance of his scholarship, Hansen misses the opportunity to develop some broader conclusions that synthesize the points raised in the individual essays and provide some overarching thoughts about the nature of resistance.

Despite this shortcoming, *Barbed Voices* is an impressive achievement that demonstrates how Hansen has shaped our understanding of the Japanese American experience, particularly through his gathering and analysis of oral histories. He has built an important legacy, one that continues to develop and evolve in the present. Students and scholars are fortunate that Hansen remains involved in disseminating the history of the Japanese American incarceration and committed to exploring how Japanese Americans protested and sought to challenge their oppressive imprisonment.

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FRUTEROS: *Street Vending, Illegality, and Ethnic Community in Los Angeles* Rocio Rosales (University of California Press, 2020, 208 pp., $29.95). Reviewed by Sarah Portnoy

Los Angeles County has approximately 50,000 sidewalk vendors, 10–12,000 of whom sell food on the city's street corners every day. Around 20–25% of the food vendors are *fruteros*, street vendors who sell sliced fruit on the sidewalks of Los Angeles County and the subjects of this fascinating ethnographic study. Until 2017, both the city and county of Los Angeles had strict anti-vending ordinances in place. For decades, vendors were subjected to the crackdowns from the city health department and the Los Angeles Police Department. They received fines, had their merchandise confiscated, and were even jailed and occasionally deported. While not all vendors are undocumented, the immigration status of most only added to the challenges of participating in a prohibited industry. The greatest challenges, however, stemmed from vending's illegal status, a factor that made vendors' networks far more complex and challenging. As author Rocío Rosales points out in this humane portrayal of the obstacles vendors face in their struggle for survival, "(T)hese strict antivending ordinances and the corresponding crackdowns were a perpetual risk to