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Politics of Representation and Participation in Federal Historic Preservation Programs

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Urban Planning

by

Michelle deGuzman Magalong

2017

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Politics of Representation and Participation in Federal Historic Preservation Programs

by

Michelle deGuzman Magalong

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2017

Professor Leobardo F. Estrada, Co-Chair

Professor Lois M. Takahashi, Co-Chair

Historic preservation is a significant issue for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs) seeking to safeguard important historic places, preserve unique cultural practices, and receive official recognition of civic contributions. However, few sites associated with AAPI history and cultures have been recognized as landmarks. There has been substantial movement forward by federal agencies and national organizations in developing a more inclusive and diverse approach to traditional standards and policies in order to reflect the growing numbers of underrepresented sociocultural groups, including AAPIs.

To address these issues, federal leadership in the Department of the Interior and National Park Service launched the Asian American Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative and Theme Study. The theme study, “Finding a Path Forward: Asian American/Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” is intended to help in the identification of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts associated with Asian and Pacific Islander history in the

United States, and facilitate their designation as NHLs and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places. As part of the theme study, the Asian American/Pacific Islander Theme Study Experts Panel was established under the auspices of the National Park Service Advisory Board. The Experts Panel was created to provide advice on the structure of AAPI Theme Study, and identify potential essay authors and major sources of information.

This dissertation explores the challenges and opportunities that arise when engaging citizen participation from diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups in federal historic preservation programs. The goal is to understand the political climate that lead to the initiative, the types of citizen participation that lead to the development of federal historic preservation efforts, and ultimately, support better efforts in documenting and recognizing historical and cultural contributions of AAPIs in the US through the NHL and National Register programs. The rationale is if scholars and practitioners can better understand how to document, identify, and preserve historic sites, we can significantly impact historic preservation outcomes by increasing the number of national/federal designations associated with underrepresented groups and improving historic preservation approaches to be more inclusive of and relevant to these groups.

The dissertation of Michelle deGuzman Magalong is approved.

Keith L. Camacho

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Lois M. Takahashi, Co-Chair

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University of California, Los Angeles

2017

*To my parents, Salvador and Gloria Magalong,
whose sacrifice, love, and support guided me through thick and thin,
and to my nieces, Sofia and Ava Villacorta,
may you pave your own paths with love, bravery, and grit.*

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Author's Biographical Sketch

Michelle Guzman Magalong completed her Bachelors in Arts degrees in Ethnic Studies and Urban Studies and Planning at University of California, San Diego in 2001. She completed her Masters in Arts in Urban Planning at University of California, Los Angeles in 2001. Michelle continued on to the doctoral program at UCLA with support from the Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship and numerous scholarships from the Department of Urban Planning and Asian American Studies Center. As a doctoral student, she worked on several research studies including on social capital and Filipino men living with HIV/AIDS, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders living with HIV/AIDS and viral hepatitis co-infection, and historic preservation and community economic development in Asian American historic neighborhoods in Los Angeles.

Her professional career includes working with Search to Involve Pilipino Americans, Thai Community Development Center, Japanese American Cultural and Community Center, and Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc. Michelle has worked on numerous historic preservation policy and planning projects in California including Stockton's Little Manila, and Historic Filipinotown, Thai Town, and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles. It is during her tenure as chair (and then founding Executive Director) of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation that inspired, informed, and shaped her dissertation research.

Chapter 1. Introduction

“Each of the 398 national parks represents a thread in the great tapestry that tells the story of our beautiful land, our diverse culture and our nation's rich heritage, but too often lost is the story of women and minorities who have helped build our great nation. From Angel Island where more than one million Asian immigrants arrived on these shores to the Chinese immigrants who built the railroads across the country to the Japanese American internment camps of World War II, these are stories that will be part of the next chapter in our continued efforts to better tell the story of all of America and her people.” U.S. Secretary of the Interior Kenneth Salazar (February 11, 2013).

In 2013, then-U.S. Secretary of the Interior Kenneth Salazar announced the Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study to be conducted by the National Park Service to investigate the stories, places, and people of AAPI heritage. The study was part of a larger effort under President Obama’s America’s Great Outdoors program to commemorate and tell the stories of minorities and other underrepresented groups who have made significant contributions to the nation’s history and culture (Nation Park Service 2013).

The theme study, “Finding a Path Forward: Asian American/Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” is intended to help in the identification of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts associated with Asian and Pacific Islander history in the United States, and facilitate their designation as NHLs and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places. As part of the theme study, the Asian American/Pacific Islander Theme Study Experts Panel was established under the auspices of the National Park Service Advisory Board. The Experts Panel was created to provide advice on the structure of AAPI Theme Study, and identify potential essay authors and major sources of information.

The National Park Service's National Historic Landmark program was directed to conduct the AAPI Theme Study to guide future nominations of NHLs and National Register properties. The National Register of Historic Places includes more than 88,000 entries, incorporating more than 1.7 million individual buildings and sites representing local, state or nationally significant people, places and events. Just over 2,500 of these properties are NHLs, designated by the Secretary of the Interior as representing the highest level of national significance (with well-known examples like Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, the White House, and the Statue of Liberty). Less than eight percent of these properties can be identified as representing the stories associated with African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, American Indians, Native Alaskans and Native Hawaiians, LGBTQ, or women (Casper 2014).

However, federal standards and criteria in historic preservation have been ill fitted for underrepresented groups to preserve and protect their historic and cultural assets (Stipe and Lee 1997; Stipe 2003). For diverse and underrepresented groups, structural and historical forces have prohibited or restricted these groups to own, rent, or use properties that are often considered for historic preservation. On both the National Register and NHLs, there are few sites recognized to be associated with AAPIs despite that AAPIs have a long history in the United States from the earliest settlement of the country to the economic development of the West to the desegregation of public schools in the 20th century and political influence in the 21st. Key challenges for the designation of AAPI historic sites include stringent standards and policies in historic preservation that fail to consider structural forces like racial discrimination, displacement, and demolition that have shaped (and continue to re-shape) AAPI communities across the nation. In

addition, there is a lack of scholarship within government agencies on AAPIs related to historic preservation to support efforts to nominate and designate federal landmarks. Moreover, underrepresented groups, like AAPIs, still perceive the preservation movement as not representing their interests, particularly as discussion moves into the politics of race and place in historic preservation (Kaufman 2009; Magalong and Mabalon 2016). Traditionally, historic preservation standards and criteria have focused on sites that demonstrate cultural, social, economic, political, archaeological or architectural history that is significant to mainstream national historic narrative; however for underrepresented groups, these standards and criteria have been considered ill fitted to their lived experiences.

This dissertation explores the challenges and opportunities that arise when engaging citizen participation from diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups in federal historic preservation programs. The goal is to understand the political forces that lead to the initiative, the types of citizen participation that lead to the development of federal historic preservation efforts, and ultimately, support better efforts in documenting and recognizing historical and cultural contributions of AAPIs in the US through the NHL and National Register programs. The rationale is if scholars and practitioners can better understand how to document, identify, and preserve historic sites, we can significantly impact historic preservation outcomes by increasing the number of national/federal designations associated with underrepresented groups and improving historic preservation approaches to be more reflective, inclusive of, and relevant to these groups.

Preserving Asian and Pacific Islander America

Asian American studies scholars have long studied AAPI ethnic enclaves and historic sites in terms of political action, cultural expression, and ethnic economic activity. Historic preservation is significant issue for AAPIs seeking to safeguard important historic places, preserve unique cultural practices, and receive governmental recognition of their civic contributions, and social/political/economic needs. On the other hand, mainstream historic preservationists have undervalued the importance of historic places and cultural resources that are significant to traditionally underrepresented groups, including AAPIs.

Research Goals

This dissertation's goal is to understand the types of citizen participation that lead to the development of federal historic preservation efforts, and ultimately, support better efforts in documenting AAPI history through the NHL and National Register programs. The rationale is if scholars and practitioners can better understand how to document, identify, and preserve historic sites, we will significantly impact historic preservation outcomes by increasing the number of national designations associated with underrepresented groups and improving historic preservation approaches to be more inclusive of and relevant to these groups. This dissertation will explore the importance of the National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study in these aims:

Research Questions:

1. How do policy windows impact (or influence) the creation and development of NHL theme studies for underrepresented groups? How do they impact (or influence) the creation and development of the Department of the Interior Asian

American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative and National Park Service
National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study?

2. How does participation in the Experts Panel impact (or influence) the development of the National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study?

3. How does representation in the Experts Panel impact (or influence) the process in developing the National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study?

4. How does participation on the Experts Panel impact (or influence) what is represented in the development of the content in National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study?

5. What are the challenges, limitations, and impacts in the dissemination of National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study?

This dissertation will investigate how community participation influences the process and content in developing a federal publication on diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups in historic preservation. My qualitative research would examine the barriers to citizen participation faced by a federal advisory committee, called the AAPI Experts Panel, for the National Park Service Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative Theme Study. This research will examine: (1) the importance of policy windows in creating and supporting the theme study; (2) the socio-cultural dynamics of representation (historical contexts and racial/ethnic identities) of AAPIs – who is represented in the advisory group and in the content of the theme study (how are their histories told, what histories are represented); (3) and the challenges of developing this theme study in the field of historic preservation by federal government agencies and practitioners.

Organization of the Dissertation

The dissertation is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter provided an introduction to the research study as it explores the challenges and opportunities in engaging underrepresented groups, like AAPIs, in federal historic preservation programs. The second chapter provides a review of literature in Asian American and Pacific Islander scholarship on history and place, policy windows in shaping federal programs or initiatives, and how citizen participation can influence public engagement in policy or planning programs. Chapter Three describes the research design, conceptual model, and methodology utilized for this research study. Chapter Four provides an introduction to federal historic preservation programs, including the standards, criteria, and processes for nominating historic sites and cultural resources for federal designations. Chapter Five is a detailed analysis of federal leadership, policies, and initiatives/programs that led to the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study. The sixth chapter explores the roles of the NPS AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel and how these roles shaped the process and content of the Theme Study, while Chapter Seven focuses on issues of representation. Chapter Eight explores the challenges in completing the Theme Study and in its anticipated strategies for dissemination and engagement. The ninth chapter provides a summary of the findings and recommendations for planning and policy research and practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Politics of Representation and Participation in Federal Agencies and Programs

The rich histories of the diverse and multifaceted AAPI communities can be found in the varied places in which AAPI communities have made their homes across the nation, including historic Chinatowns, Little Manilas, and Japantowns; in temples, churches, and language schools; and in newer, emerging communities like Little India, Thai Town, Little Bangladesh, and Cambodia Town. However, few sites associated with AAPI history and cultures have been recognized as landmarks on municipal, state, and federal levels. Planning and preservation practitioners turn to federal designation programs like the National Historic Landmark program (NHL) and National Register of Historic Places for national recognition but face challenges in meeting the stringent criteria and standards, particularly given the complex and complicated socio-cultural dynamics that have shaped the built environment for AAPIs.

Traditional standards in historic preservation have been challenging for AAPIs and other underrepresented groups to preserve and protect their historic and cultural assets as historic preservation has been about protecting place-based history and architectural importance while AAPI communities have not seen place in similar importance as they deal with structural forces that affect their daily lives (e.g., discriminatory housing and labor policies, anti-immigrant sentiment, redevelopment). Further, AAPI experiences and cultural needs are distinct and varied (e.g., ethnicity, demographics, immigration wave, immigration status, geographic location, family history, political history) as there are more than 50 ethnic groups and over 100 languages and immigration waves that span over a century, and structural forces that shaped (and

continue to shape) their places are often rendered outside of traditional historic preservation standards of architectural significance

Scholars and practitioners argue for the need to broaden traditional historic preservation standards to reflect the diverse needs and issues for the diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups (Coslett and Chalana, 2016; Kaufman), 2009). Culturally appropriate policies can drastically impact not only the number of historic sites and resources recognized on the national level but also encourage civic engagement and participation in historic preservation. However, with federal agencies, it is imperative to understand the complexities of bureaucracies in changing policies and standards, particularly when engaging citizen participation from targeted underrepresented communities, including AAPIs.

Federal programs on historic preservation have sought to address these challenging issues through federally mandated theme studies. For instance, NHLs are often identified through theme studies, which help identify and nominate properties by providing a comparative analysis of properties associated with a specific area of American history, such as labor history, military history, and maritime heritage. Theme studies provide a national historic context for specific topics in American history or prehistory. In recent theme studies, expert panels for theme studies were established under the auspices of the National Park Service Advisory Board. Expert panels are considered sub-committees under the National Park Service Advisory Board. The expert panel comprises of scholars and practitioners in the areas of expertise in the theme study and provides advice on the theme study, potential essay authors, and major sources of information. Panel members also review essay manuscripts in their areas of expertise. In

federal historic preservation programs, citizen participation can be studied through the expert panels for National Historic Landmark theme studies through content, process, and implementation.

Historic preservation is a significant issue for AAPIs seeking to safeguard important historic places, preserve unique cultural practices, and receive official recognition of civic contributions. There is substantial movement forward by federal agencies and national organizations in developing a more inclusive and diverse approach to traditional standards and policies to reflect the growing numbers of underrepresented sociocultural groups, including AAPIs. With these efforts, it is important to understand the complexities of citizen participation in federal programs, particularly as it relates to AAPIs.

To better understand this movement forward in federal preservation efforts for underrepresented groups, it is important to understand the gaps in Asian American studies in understanding the history of place and representation of AAPIs, the importance of citizen participation as a necessary tool in engaging the AAPI community in federal programs, and the complexities of political agenda-setting and policy windows in supporting these programs.

History of Place and Representation in Asian and Pacific Islander America

Throughout American history, AAPIs have experienced perpetual racism, discrimination, and prejudice while creating a place for themselves. From Angel Island, the immigration processing and detention center through which passed more than one million Asian immigrants in San Francisco Bay (Lee and Yung, 2010), to the Chinese immigrants who helped build the railroads across the country (Lee, 2003), to the Japanese

American internment camps of World War II (Taylor and Kitano, 2013), to the Filipinos and Pacific Islanders who arrived in the shadow of the American empire in the Pacific (Camacho, 2011), the stories of AAPI settlement and community formation are all important threads in US history and in the American landscape. The Asian and Pacific Islander experience in the US is diverse and complex as shaped by historical origins, ethnicity, languages, religions, cultures, and institutions. The complexities of representation of Asian and Pacific Islanders as one pan-ethnic, or racial, group require a deeper understanding of the various socio-cultural dynamics embedded in it – AAPIs in American were established at different times, in different locales, and for different reasons. The racial construct of “Asian American and Pacific Islander” developed as individual Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic groups were too small in population size to wield much political power separately as Japanese American, Chinese Americans, or Filipino Americans (Chan and Hune, 1995; Espiritu, 1993). This pan-ethnic racial identity then transcended traditional nationalistic, linguistic, and cultural boundaries across Asia and the Pacific.

Ethnic enclaves have long played a critical role in building a sense of community for AAPI immigrants with socio-cultural institutions, economic opportunities, and housing. In the face of discriminatory policies and practices that excluded AAPIs from owning homes, finding jobs, and from public spaces, AAPIs created and inhabited spaces of their own. Asian American ethnic enclaves developed in the face of racial discrimination and thrived as places for economic opportunities, housing, and socio-cultural institutions. Even in the cities where their presence and cultural and economic institutions were rich -- such as San Francisco, Stockton, Seattle, and Los Angeles --

AAPIs, for the most part, did not own the buildings in their neighborhoods for much of the 20th century. This would later serve to disempower them in the face of eminent domain, freeway construction, and urban redevelopment projects that destroyed ethnic neighborhoods, cultural resources and historic sites, and displaced AAPIs through the 20th century.

In order to understand the unique community context for AAPI communities, it is important to understand the complex history of AAPIs (Chan, 1991; Lee, 2015; Takaki, 1987). Amongst members of AAPI communities arriving before 1965 -- when immigration laws were relaxed and Civil Rights legislation protected basic citizenship rights for all Americans -- there is a shared history of exclusion, denial of citizenship, landowning and voting rights, segregation, and demolition of their communities and displacement. The impact of American empire, immigration exclusion, race-based naturalization laws, Alien Land Laws and rigid Jim Crow segregation in most West Coast cities was powerful and wide-ranging, especially upon patterns of settlement, community formation, political power, and landownership.

With the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act and continuing displacement as a result of the deterioration and depopulation of the urban core as a result of suburbanization, urban redevelopment, freeways, the structure and locations of AAPI enclaves changed dramatically. With the influx of new immigrants from China, the Philippines, Korea, India/South Asia, the Pacific, and Southeast Asia, new ethnic enclaves mushroomed and traditional enclaves quickly grew in size. While older urban AAPI neighborhoods have grown and changed, such as New York Chinatown (Zhou, 1998) and Seattle's International District (Chin, 2001), suburban areas have been

transformed. Daly City and Southern California's San Gabriel Valley have spawned New Chinatowns and new Little Manilas, and Vietnamese Americans have transformed Orange County (Vo, 1998) as have Indian Americans and South Asian Americans in Jackson Heights/Richmond Hill in New York City (Khandelwal, 2002).

Asian American studies scholars have long studied these ethnic enclaves and historic sites in terms of political action, cultural expression, and ethnic economic activity. However, there is little research on the importance of place and place-making in AAPI communities in terms of landmarks, monuments, and other historic preservation designations as they are shaped (and reshaped) by economic, political, and socio-economic dynamics. Historic preservation is a significant issue for AAPIs seeking to safeguard important historic places, preserve unique cultural practices, and receive official recognition of their civic contributions, and social/political/economic needs (Abramson, et.al., 2006; Dubrow, 1998; Magalong and Mabalon, 2016; Stipe and Lee, 1997). Emerging scholarship has critically analyzed the complexities of representation in both the histories and peoples being commemorated in the AAPI community (Camacho, 2011; Dubrow, 1998; Hayashi, 2003; Silva 2004, 2017). Furthermore, there are scholarly gaps in complex dynamics of historical representation within the panethnic category of "Asian American and Pacific Islanders," including gender (Hune and Nomura, 2003), sexual identity (Eng and Hom 1998; Sueyoshi, 2016), and ethnic hierarchy and difference (Diaz, 2004).

Needs arise especially as AAPI historic sites and cultural resources continue to deal with changing economic and socio-cultural dynamics and ongoing threats of redevelopment and gentrification. Many community residents, small businesses and local

nonprofits turn to planning and policy approaches, such as historic preservation, for help. While such designations are potential drivers for economic development, housing, and ethnic/racial recognition, the number of historic sites and resources that are significant to AAPIs that are preserved or recognized on the national level is disproportionate to population size and diversity of the AAPI community. While the importance of historic neighborhoods and sites have long been studied in academic scholarship (e.g., Asian American studies, ethnic studies, public history, sociology), studies of AAPI historic and cultural sites in the field of historic preservation are limited, particularly in culturally-appropriate approaches in working on AAPI historic sites and with AAPI communities. This includes having a better understanding of historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural structures that have shaped (and continue to shape) historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs. With traditional practices and policies of historic preservation, issues of lack of representation of AAPIs in terms of sites and histories remain. Missing from the literature is a more complex notion of AAPI history and place linked to historic preservation, public history, and ethnic studies. Whose histories are being preserved through historic preservation? Whose histories matter? Whose histories are considered significant to the larger American narrative? These questions play a significant role in the creation, development, and implementation of the AAPI Theme Study.

Citizen Participation

Citizen participation is defined as participation in the planning and administrative processes of government, in which individuals have an opportunity to influence public decisions, and ensures that citizens have a direct voice in decision-making processes.

Citizen participation emerged during the War on Poverty program as a way to politically empower impoverished communities by encouraging participatory democracy (Dybska, 2015). Citizen participation is referenced and understood using a multitude of names, including 'community engagement', 'public engagement', and 'citizen involvement' (Vigoda, 2002). At its core, citizen participation refers to different means for individuals or groups to engage in political or social activities and involve participatory decision-making. Citizen participation is also a subset of community development, which is a "process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress with the active participation of the whole community and with the fullest possible reliance on the community (Rothman, 1974)". This process involves "engaging networks of governmental (formal) and non-governmental (voluntary) organizations in coordinated efforts", which allows communities to use their networks and resources to elicit community change (Bracht and Tsouro, 1990).

Citizen participation occurs across multiple levels (e.g., neighborhoods, interest groups, national advisory groups) and can occur individually (e.g., volunteerism) as well as collectively (e.g., organizational involvement). Benefits of citizen participation may include information sharing, public support, minimized conflict, and increase in cooperation and trust (Cogan, Sharpe, and Hertzberg, 1986). One of the biggest questions on citizen participation regarding civic engagement and public participation in government decision-making is determining how much participation is enough or meaningful in both the deliberative and decision-making processes (Callahan, 2007; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Other scholarship shifts from this debate to examine which type(s) of participation works best (Konisky and Beierle, 2001). Participation can offer a variety

of rewards or benefits to participants, from involvement (through the act of participation) or instrumental (resulting from the opportunity to contribute to public policy) (Cogan, et al).

Various models measuring citizen participation examine varying levels of participation from indirect involvement to direct and deliberate collaboration. Citizen participation literature in urban planning focuses on the motivation for utilizing

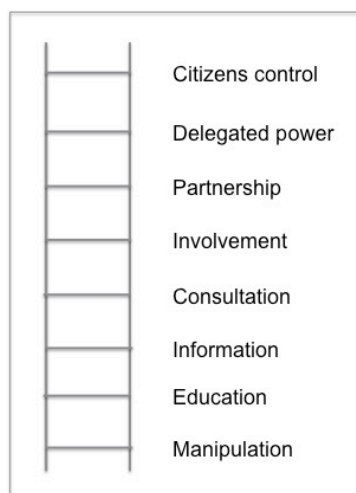


Figure 2.1. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969).

involvement or participation. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation provides types of participation that spans from nonparticipation (manipulation and therapy) to tokenism (informing, consultation, and placation) to citizen power (partnership, delegated power, and citizen control) (1969). In this model, the focus is the use of participation to enhance citizen power. Rocha builds on Arnstein and provides a ladder of empowerment that has 5 types of empowerment from individual (atomistic individual empowerment) to community empowerment (political empowerment) (Rocha, 1997). Wiedemann and Femers (1993) present an alternative ladder of citizen participation where participation ranges from general education with little direct influence on decision making to public

participation in the final decision-making processes. Citizen participation in urban planning is often contested on how much participation is enough with its varying degrees of involvement (Day, 1997). Soliciting input can range from passive involvement to active involvement as Cogan, Sharpe, and Hetzberg (1986) examine techniques for citizen participation that includes publicity, public education, public input, public interaction, and public partnership. Irvin and Stansbury (2004) examine the advantages and disadvantages of community participation in government decision making processes and as well as the conditions under which participation may be costly (or ineffective) versus effective.

Citizen participation is one approach that the National Park Service can use to help generate consensus and approval in its decision-making in federal historic preservation programs. It is one means of obtaining grounded information from the targeted audiences, including underrepresented ethnic or racial groups, while directly engaging them in the process. A variety of techniques exist that solicit participation effectively. Planners and participants can derive a number of tangible benefits from an effective participation process that may reduce concerns of tokenism and support more partnerships, delegated power, and citizen control. However, the importance of culturally-appropriate approaches for underrepresented groups, like AAPIs, needs to be examined. For AAPIs, issues of mistrust and tokenism may deter participation in governmental programs due to political, economic, and/or socio-cultural dynamics experienced by these communities (e.g., mistrust of government officials, history of discrimination). This includes having a better understanding of historical, political,

economic, and socio-cultural structures that have shaped (and continue to shape) how AAPIs participate in government programs and with governmental agencies.

Policy Windows and Agenda Setting for Federal Programs and Policy

According to Kingdon's (1984) policy window model, a policy agenda is the list of issues or problems to which government officials, or those who make policy decisions (including the voting public), pay serious attention. Three 'streams' must be aligned for an issue to be dealt with in the public policy arena: the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream. Problem streams refer to the process of persuading decision makers to pay attention to one problem over others. Policy streams represent the process by which policy proposals are generated, debated, revised, and adopted for serious consideration. Political streams are political factors that influence agendas (e.g., legislative leadership, changes in elected officials, political climate, and the voices of advocacy or opposition groups). When these three streams (or at least two of these) come together at a critical time, a window of opportunity opens and action can be taken.

Political scientists have long studied how governmental policies are formulated and implemented, particularly on how policy communities work through processes, problems, and political climates, and how these converge at critical junctures for political action (Sabatier, 1991). Kingdon's model explores the complex dynamics in what policy windows are and why they open; limited research explores is when and why policy windows open, particularly when multiple streams converge (Zahariadis, 2014).

In the literature on policy windows, various actors play critical roles in formulating and implementing policy, including participants inside the government (e.g., administration leadership, civil servants, and elected officials) and outside of the

government (e.g., interest groups, academics, researchers, media, general public). These actors influence and shape the agenda. These actors play essential roles at various junctures in the process; what is less understood is the impact of when key actors leave the process due to political streams or other disruptive dynamics (Baumgartner and Jones 2010). Furthermore, what are less understood are the cumulative effects of the various actors, forces, and institutions that interact in the process and in shaping its outcomes, including how long a policy window may stay open or how quickly one can close. For this study, a major concern is when a policy window closes while the project is still in progress, how can this affect subsequent actions (e.g., completing the project, disseminating the information, garnering support for future funding and/or staffing).

Citizen Participation and Federal Historic Preservation Programs for Asian and Pacific Islanders

Asian American studies have long studied the socio-cultural, political, and economic dynamics of ethnic enclaves but there is little research focused on historic preservation efforts in designating, preserving, and protecting historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs. Further, there is a gap in the literature on planning and policy issues that can support historic preservation efforts in AAPI communities.

Although there are recent historic preservation efforts in addressing issues of diversity and inclusion, there are substantial gaps in scholarly understanding of how the influence of policy windows and citizen participation can be utilized to improve access and representation of underrepresented groups in federal programs. Though scholars have studied historic preservation as an approach dealing with protecting and historic landmarks, there remain important questions about the longer-term impact of citizen

participation in traditionally underrepresented communities in federal programs, particularly in understanding socio-cultural, economic, and politics dynamics that can impact how AAPIs participate or engage in these programs. In terms of participation literature, there is a gap in understanding socio-cultural dynamics can influence or impact how and to what extent underrepresented groups, like AAPIs, may participate in governmental processes. Citizen participation in federal programs can serve three key purposes in engaging diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups in historic preservation: (1) address issues of representation in content and in process, (2) develop or support engagement with political actors and decision-makers to address the issues, and (3) develop or support citizen participation and partnerships with governmental agencies.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

Overview of Conceptual Model, Research Design, and Methodology

This dissertation is a mixed-methods study using qualitative methods to analyze data collected from in-depth interviews, archival materials, and participation observation field notes. This dissertation has three research goals based on a conceptual model on the dynamics of policy, planning, and participation in the National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study: (1) to determine how policy windows affect the content, process, and relevancy of federal historic preservation programs related to diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups; (2) to determine the types of participants and participation in developing a federal publication for federal historic preservation programs related to diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups, and (3) to understand how issues of representation affect the process, content, and dissemination of a federal publication for federal historic preservation programs related to diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups.

Conceptual Model

The conceptual model focuses on the types of participation and participants used in the development, content, and implementation of a theme study on AAPIs as part of the National Park Service's AAPI Heritage Initiative. In this analysis of participation in federal programs related to historic preservation, the argument is the following (see 3.1): The context consists of existing federal policies, programs, and initiatives that guide and led to the development of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, which in turn, are comprised of (1) the participants in the Theme Study, (2) the process and content in developing the Theme Study and (3) the dissemination/applicability of the Theme Study. The process of

interest is the (1) policy windows that led to the Department of the Interior Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative and National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Asian American and Pacific Islander Theme Study, (2) participation in the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, and (3) the politics of representation in the process and content of the Theme Study. The results of interest are the content and dissemination/applicability of the Theme Study. The hypotheses are that the results are dependent on the types of participation in the AAPI Experts Panel utilized in the process and how participation impacted the content and dissemination of the Theme Study.

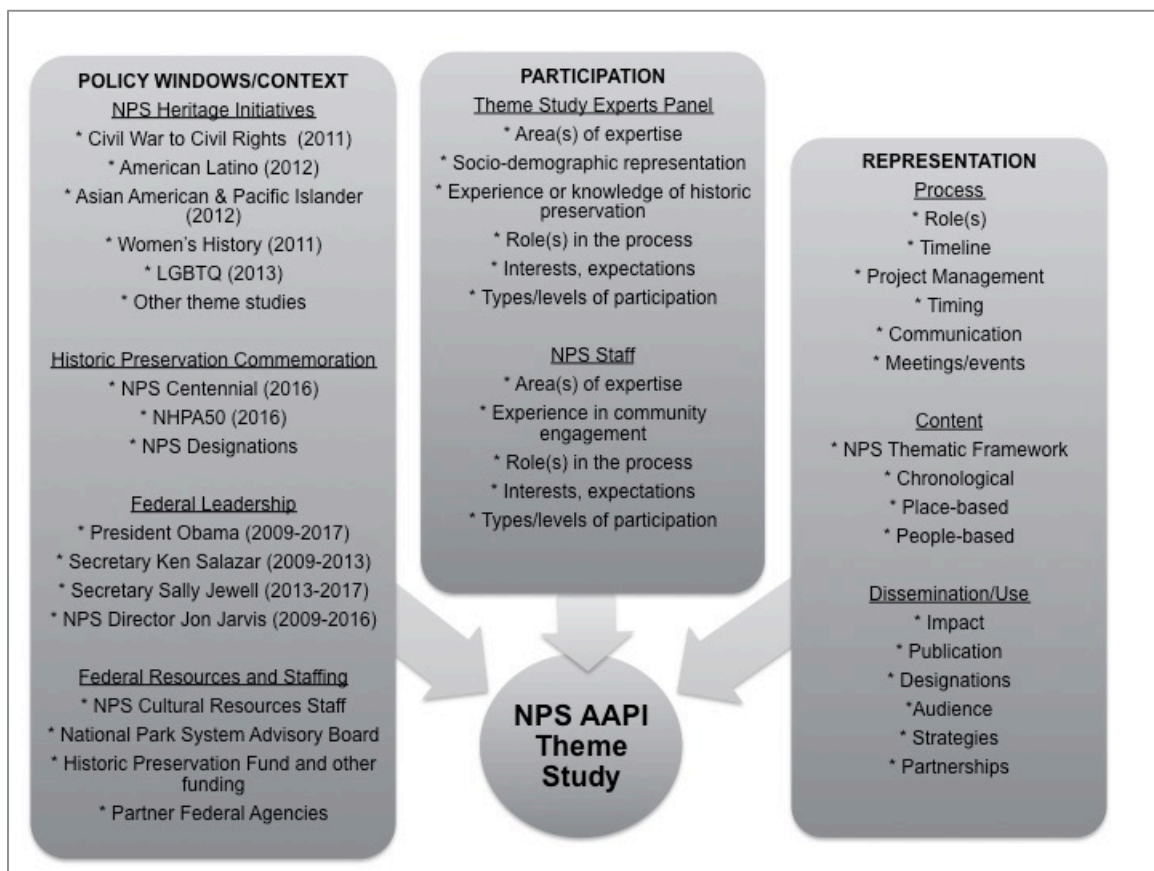


Fig. 3.1. Conceptual framework for policy, planning, and participation in the National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study.

Policy Windows. This section focuses on streams converging (problem, policy, politics) in regards to the federal policies, programs, and initiatives that led to the NPS AAPI Theme Study and guided its content, process, and relevancy.

National Park Service Heritage Initiatives. This sub-section focuses on the NPS Heritage Initiatives that the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study were a part of: (1) Civil War to Civil Rights, (2) American Latino, (3) Asian American and Pacific Islander, (4) Women's History, (5) Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ), and (6) other related NPS theme studies.

Historic Preservation Commemoration. This sub-section focuses on important dates and designations at the National Park Service that were related to the AAPI Theme Study: (1) NPS Centennial, (2) 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, and (3) National Park Service landmarks and associated designations.

Federal Leadership. This sub-section focuses on key leadership in the federal government that were related to the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study: (1) President Barack Obama, (2) Secretary of the Interior Kenneth Salazar, (3) Secretary of the Interior Sally Jewell, and (4) National Park Service Director Jonathan Jarvis.

Federal Resources and Staffing. This sub-section focuses on federal resources and staffing that were part of the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study: (1) National Park Service Cultural Resources staff, (2) Historic Preservation Fund (and other federal funding), and (3) Asian American and Pacific Islander federal agency staff.

Participation. This section focuses on the participation in the NPS AAPI Theme Study by Theme Study Experts Panel and National Park Service staff.

Theme Study Experts Panel. This sub-section focuses on elements of participation by the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel: (1) area(s) of expertise, (2) socio-demographic representation, (3) experience or knowledge on historic preservation, (4) role(s) in the theme study, (4) interests and expectations from participating in the theme study, and (5) types and levels of participation in the theme study.

National Park Service Staff. This sub-section focuses on elements of participation by National Park Service staff in the AAPI Theme Study: (1) area(s) of expertise, (2) experience in community engagement, (3) role(s) in the theme study, (4) interests and expectations from participating in the theme study, and (5) types and levels of participation in the theme study

Representation. This section focuses on the process of developing content of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, the content (i.e., the material covered in the document), and dissemination and use of the AAPI Theme Study.

Process. This sub-section focuses on the elements of the process in developing the theme study: (1) role(s), (2) timeline, (3) project management, (3) timing, (4) communication, and (5) meetings.

Content. This sub-section focuses on the content of the NPS AAPI Theme Study: (1) NPS Thematic framework, (2) chronological, (3) place-based, and (4) people-based frameworks.

Dissemination and Use. This sub-section focuses on the dissemination and applicability of the NPS AAPI Theme Study: (1) impact, (2) publication, (3) designations, (4) audience, (5) strategies, and (6) partnerships.

Research Design and Methods

The research objectives described are met with a mixed-methods approach and primarily through semi-structured, in-depth interviews with key informants involved in the process, field notes, and archival analysis of existing documents. The researcher participated on the Experts Panel and took field notes during the process, as well as archived email correspondences between the Experts Panel and NPS staff. Archival data collected from both public and private archival collections. Public archives include federal government documents from the Department of the Interior and National Park Service. The archival analysis focused on the policy history related to the America’s Great Outdoors program, National Park Service’s Cultural Resources programs, AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study to provide context more fully how this agenda materialized and lessons learned.

Table 3.1. Data Collection Plan

Data Type	Source	Technique for Collection	Purpose
Interviews	Semi-structured interviews with NPS staff and members of AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Length:</i> 30-90 minutes • <i>Interview participants:</i> NPS staff: 6 Experts Panel: 11 • <i>Location:</i> In-person at participant’s office, phone, or video conference 	Provides voice of participants and narrative accounts
Documentation	Documents from	• Field notes conducted	Specific accounts of

	NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study: field notes, emails, press releases, materials from meetings or public events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> by the researcher or collected from NPS staff • Emails sent to and collected by the researcher • Press releases collected by the researcher • Materials collected by the researcher from NPS staff 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> events Information gathered during events Reliable information regarding names, dates, and content discussed during events
Archival records	Documents from National Park Service Cultural Resources division staff on related policies and initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Materials collected by the researcher from NPS staff and from government online archives 	Reliable information regarding history of federal policies and programs that shaped the Theme Study
Physical artifacts	Website content, photographs, and program brochures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Materials collected by the researcher from NPS staff or from NPS website 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Record of certain events or programmatic elements Specific information on history and purpose of program

Preliminary data

Previous research and work was completed by the author as Executive Director of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (APIAHiP), a national nonprofit organization and as a participant in the NPS AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel. The author collected archival data, informal interviews, field notes, and email correspondences about the theme study were collected between December 2012 and January 2016. As a participant observer, the author participated in ongoing activities related to the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, including participating in Expert Panel meetings, conducting webinars NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative, and attending conferences and public events related to the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative. Other preliminary data collection includes government documents on federal policies,

programs, and initiatives related to the AAPI Theme Study. These data were used to explore the following parts of the conceptual framework: (1) context (i.e., convergence of problems, policy, and politics streams) , (2) participation, and (3) representation.

Contacts were established with key informants, community organizations and governmental agencies that were involved in the theme study along with others involved in similar efforts (NPS Latino/a Theme Study, NPS LGBTQ Theme Study, NPS NHL Multiple Voices Workshop).

Participant Observation

The author served on the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study as Executive Director of Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (a national nonprofit organization). In serving on the Experts Panel, the author had full participation and access where the level of involvement had the author fully integrated in the population of the study beforehand (Spradley, 1980). While gathering data through participant observation, investigator triangulation is a way to ensure that the author is not letting her biases or personal preferences in the way of observing and recording meaningful experiences (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This involved gathering data (notes, photographs) about the same events from other Experts Panel participants to verify important facts with an independent secondary source.

Archival analysis

Archival data were collected from both public and private archival collections. Public archives included federal government documents from the Department of the Interior and National Park Service. The archival analysis focused on the policy history related to the America's Great Outdoors program, National Park Service's Cultural

Resources programs, AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study to provide context more fully how this agenda materialized and lessons learned. This data was used to explore the following parts of the conceptual framework: (1) context and (2) representation. Archival materials were organized and analyzed utilizing the code book (see Appendix A) from the in-depth interviews to confirm factual information from in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews with NPS staff and private individuals involved in the AAPI Heritage Initiative were conducted in May-July 2017. Using purposive sampling, key individuals that were involved in the AAPI Heritage Initiative as NPS staff or Experts Panel members were identified. Authors and peer reviewers from the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative were not included if they did not receive a formal invitation by NPS staff to be a part of the Experts Panel and/or did not attend any of the NPS AAPI Experts Panel meetings. The researcher conducted a total of 17 semi-structured interviews. Interviews lasted approximately 30-90 minutes and were audio-recorded (see Appendix B). Verbal consent (through informed consent process) was acquired from each interview participant. In order to maintain anonymity but distinguish between interview participants, identifiers will be their position in the process, and date of the interview (e.g., “NPS Staff 1, interview with author, June 2017,” “Experts Panel members 1, interview with author, June 2017”). Only two interview participants were identified by title and name since they held key leadership positions on the Experts Panel: Associate Director Dr. Stephanie Toothman and AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel Chairman Dr. Franklin Odo.

Two semi-structured interview guides were developed based on major domains of expertise/knowledge of historic preservation and/or Asian American studies, participation in the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, content and process of the theme study, community participation, and dissemination and applicability of the Theme Study. In the interview guide for NPS staff, an additional section will focus on previous experience in related projects and selection process for the Experts Panel. These data were used to explore the following parts of the conceptual framework: (1) content, (2) participation, and (3) representation.

Data collection. Interview participants were interviewed online or over the phone, at their offices, or other preferred locations and were given information about the project through the process of informed verbal consent.

Analysis. For the interviews, the audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. Before beginning data collection and the coding process, a list of pre-set codes (“a priori codes”) were derived from the conceptual model and research questions. Another set of codes emerged from reading and analyzing the data. These “emergent codes” are ideas, concepts, actions, relationships, meanings, etc. that came up in the data and are different than the pre-set codes (e.g., previously unknown leadership or policies). As the data were coded, the coding scheme was refined. A priori and emergent codes were compiled into a code book. Interview transcripts and archival materials were coded based on the code book (see Appendix A).

The data gathered and analyzed from the archival materials, physical artifacts, participant observation, and in-depth interviews provided information on (1) types and levels of participation in the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, (2) the politics of

representation in the process and content of the Theme Study, and (3) dissemination/use of the Theme Study in increasing education and engagement in AAPI communities and, ultimately, in increasing the number of NHL nominations of historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs. With analysis of archival materials, field notes, and in-depth interview, important facts were verified and opinions of policies, processes, and participants were independently substantiated.

Chapter 4: Federal Historic Preservation Programs and Efforts

Historic Preservation: Whose Histories Are Worth Saving?

Historic preservation is the practice of protecting and preserving sites, structures or districts that reflect local, state, or national cultural, social, economic, political, archaeological or architectural history. Historic preservation includes the designation of historic sites (including federally, state, and privately owned properties), documentation (e.g., written, photographic, and technical documentation), and physical preservation (e.g., stabilization, rehabilitation, restoration, and reconstruction). The earliest advocates of the preservation movement tended to focus on high-style buildings associated with prominent Americans (e.g., Monticello and the White House) while more recently the field has encompassed efforts to recognize and protect sites that reflect diverse social and cultural histories.

For Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, the field of historic preservation is often unknown or misunderstood particularly in navigating the processes and importance of federal historic preservation designations (like National Historic Landmarks) and programs (like the National Register for Historic Places) to recognize historic sites or cultural resources that are significant to AAPIs. To better understand the significance of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, it is important to understand the processes and criteria of the National Historic Landmark program, the governmental agencies, and the challenges and limitations that underrepresented groups face in these designation processes, including the stringent standards or criteria for eligibility and its relevance or appropriateness in AAPI communities.

Federal Agencies and Programs in Historic Preservation

In the National Park Service, federal historic preservation programs are overseen by the Cultural Resources Stewardship, Partnerships, and Science Directorate. Federal programs include National Historic Landmarks (NHL), National Register for Historic Places, National Heritage Areas, Federal Historic Preservation Tax Credits, and Historic American Buildings Survey. Programs in this Directorate work on preserving, protecting, and sharing American history in the national parks, as well as partner with American Indian Tribes, states, local governments, nonprofit organizations, historic property owners on heritage and preservation efforts.

NHLs have been recognized by the Secretary of the Interior as possessing national significance as the property has “exceptional value in representing or illustrating an important theme in the history of the nation¹”; properties listed in the National Register are primarily of state and local significance. All NHLs are included in the National Register of Historic Places, which is the official list of the nation's historic properties worthy of preservation. NHLs constitute more than 2,500 of more than 90,000 entries in the National Register; the others are of state and local significance. The process for listing a property in the National Register is different from that for Landmark designation with different criteria and procedures used.

Under the auspices of the Secretary of the Interior, federal agencies use criteria and procedures for NHLs and the National Register based on the Historic Sites Act of 1935 and National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 in carrying out their historic preservation responsibilities. For NHLs, the criteria focus on historic properties based on

¹ National Park Service National Historic Landmarks. (7 February 2017). Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/nhl/>

type, materials, construction, sizes, and use. They include both the exterior and the interior and extend to a property's landscape features, site, and environment. Each NHL must "demonstrate exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, technology, and culture. National Historic Landmarks possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and meet one or more of the following criteria":

- (1) That is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represents, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or
- (2) That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or
- (3) That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or
- (4) That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for the study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- (5) That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or

(6) That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree².”

National Historic Landmarks may be nominated through broad, organized initiatives called theme studies. The National Park Service “defines and systematically conducts organized theme studies, which encompass the major aspects of American history. The theme studies provide a contextual framework to evaluate the relative significance of historic properties and determine which properties meet National Historic Landmark criteria”³. NHLs are authorized by the U.S. Congress and are intended to examine places linked by a single subject or theme. Theme studies provide a national historic context for specific topics in American history or prehistory. They can be an effective way of identifying and nominating properties of national significance as by providing a comparative analysis of properties associated with a specific area of American history (see Appendix C for full list of existing theme studies). In the development of a theme study, the National Park Service often partners with federal, state, tribal, or local preservation officials as well as with the academic community, independent scholars, and others knowledgeable about the subject are encouraged. Academic and professional standards are followed in the preparation of a theme study that provide a context from which the most appropriate properties within that theme are

² National Historic Landmark criteria, Code of Federal Regulations § 65.4 (2006).

³ Code of Federal Regulations 36 CFR § 65.5 "Designation of National Historic Landmarks”.

identified. Furthermore, theme studies provide assistance in the evaluation of historic properties at all levels (including state and local governments) and can be used to educate the public about the nation's heritage.

In addition to NHLs, NPS oversees the National Register of Historic Places as the official Federal list of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture. National Register properties have significance to the history of their community, state, or the nation. To be considered eligible to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places, a property must meet the National Register Criteria for Evaluation (Savage and Pope, 1998). This involves examining the property's age, integrity, and significance (e.g. architectural importance).

Disparities of Representation in National Landmarks and Monuments

The National Park Service has engaged with a wide spectrum of efforts to better reflect a full spectrum of people, events, and places that have contributed in building the nation. Yet, more traditional subjects of prominent leaders, monumental architecture, and the military have dominated the listings of sites as National Historic Landmarks and on the National Register. In more recent years, the National Park Service has focused on developing initiatives that focus on underrepresented groups including Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, women, and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community after several agency studies and reports focused on the disparities of communities of color, women, and LGBTQ being underrepresented in federal historic preservation programs, particularly in regards to the National Historic Landmarks program and on the National Register of Historic Places. According to the

National Park Service, these initiatives have resulted in an increase of National Historic Landmark designations, including 31 nominations in 2011-2012 that “reflect and tell complex stories regarding the diversity of the American experience (NPS, 2012).” These 31 nominations represent 70% of the new properties presented to the Secretary of the Interior for designation as National Historic Landmarks between May 2011 and May 2012.

However, federal standards and criteria in historic preservation have been ill fitted for underrepresented groups to preserve and protect their historic and cultural assets (Stipe and Lee, 1997). For diverse and underrepresented groups, structural and historical forces have prohibited or restricted these groups to own, rent, or use properties that are often considered for historic preservation. On the National Register and those designated NHLs, there are few sites associated with AAPIs despite that AAPIs have a long history in the United States from the earliest settlement of the country to the economic development of the West to the desegregation of public schools in the 20th century and political influence in the 21st. Of the few designated associated with AAPIs, most are Japanese American confinement sites during World War II (e.g., Manzanar War Relocation Center in Independence, California), associated with US militarization (e.g., Blunts Point Battery in American Samoa), or ancient archaeological sites in Hawaii and Pacific Islands (e.g., Piilanihale Heiau in Hana, Maui). Key challenges for the designation of AAPI historic sites include stringent standards and policies in historic preservation that fail to consider structural forces like racial discrimination, displacement, and demolition that have shaped (and continue to re-shape) AAPI communities across the nation. In addition, there is a lack of scholarship within government agencies on AAPIs

related to historic preservation. Moreover, underrepresented groups, like AAPIs, still perceive the preservation movement as not representing their interests, particularly as discussion moves into the politics of race and place in historic preservation (Kaufman, 2009; Magalong and Mabalon, 2016). Traditionally, historic preservation standards and criteria have focused on sites that demonstrate cultural, social, economic, political, archaeological or architectural history that is significant to mainstream national historic narrative; however for underrepresented groups, these standards and criteria have been considered ill fitted to their lived experiences. One example is the designation process of Manzanar National Historic Site (and National Historic Landmark) creation and subsequent interpretation of the site also highlighted the complications of identifying a place with only one layer of its history (as associated with Japanese American internment during World War II), which led to contestation between local residents, Japanese Americans, the National Park Service, and local governmental agencies (Hayashi, 2003). Another is of the community-led cultural resistance against the US military of using the island of Kaho‘olawe for bombing and combat exercises, including the listing of the island on the National Register for potential protection. However, this listing only delayed but failed to stop the bombing and reclaim Kaho‘olawe as sacred Hawaiian land (McGregor, 2002).

The National Park Service has slowly responded to changing perceptions as to what constitutes a historic place and that there are significant chapters in the American story that were left out and untold at historic sites⁴. These unmarked places are directly

⁴ United States National Park Service. Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, (2013). National Park Service Cultural Resource Challenge: preserving America's shared heritage in the 21st century, NPS cultural resources action plan for 2016 and beyond.

associated with events and people significant in the history of the United States yet who were socially, economically or politically disenfranchised, disregarded, and who rarely appeared within traditional sources and authorities. In recent years, the National Park Service has conducted theme studies on Latinos, the LGBTQ community, and women under the leadership of Secretary Salazar and NPS Director Jon Jarvis.

Historic and cultural preservation strategies can be used to understand community context, celebrate community character, promote social justice, and ultimately create, reinforce, transform and enhance a sense of place in AAPI communities across the nation. However, stringent historic preservation standards and criteria can be challenging and ill fitted for AAPI communities. Further, a lack of public awareness/education of and engagement with federal historic preservation programs by underrepresented groups and with the National Park Service presents a growing gap between what historic sites are preserved and those that are not. With this understanding of the need for more inclusive historic and cultural preservation strategies is the much-needed shift in historic preservation to be more inclusive and reflective of the diversity across the American historical narrative and landscape.

National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Cultural Resources Stewardship, Partnership, and Science.; United States. National Park Service. Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, (2000). Cultural Resources Challenge. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources Stewardship and Partnership.; Coslett, D. E., & Chalana, M. (2016). National Parks for New Audiences. *The Public Historian*, 38(4), 101-128.; Whisnant, A. M., & Miller, M. R. (2016). Pulling from Outside, Pushing from Inside. *The Public Historian*, 38(4), 264-292.

Chapter 5: Politics of Historic Preservation

Introduction

“As a first-generation Asian American and a senior appointee of the Obama Administration, I am humbled and inspired by the public service legacy of Wing Luke,” said Assistant Secretary of the Interior for Policy, Budget and Management Rhea Suh. “I am grateful to the Wing Luke Museum for sharing the stories of the Asian Pacific American experience and the contributions of our community to this country's social and economic fabric. This designation and the launch of the Asian American Pacific Islander theme study by the National Park Service represent the ongoing leadership that this Administration has had in honoring and in representing the diversity of America” (National Park Service, 2013).

Assistant Secretary Suh made these remarks at the launch of the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study in February 2013 alongside with then-Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar and National Park Service Director Jon Jarvis at the Wing Luke Museum in Seattle, Washington. Secretary Salazar announced the Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study to be conducted by the National Park Service to investigate the stories, places, and people of AAPI heritage following the development of the American Latino Heritage Initiative and NPS American Latino Theme Study. The AAPI Theme Study, “Finding a Path Forward: Asian American/Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” is intended to help in the identification of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts associated with AAPI history, and facilitate their designation as NHLs and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places. As part of the theme study, the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel was established under the auspices of the National Park Service Advisory Board. The Experts Panel provided advice on the structure of AAPI Theme Study, and identified potential essay authors and major sources of information.

The NPS AAPI Theme Study was launched by then-Secretary Salazar under the auspices of President Obama's America's Great Outdoors program (US Department of the Interior, 2012), which included other studies for underrepresented groups and respective heritage initiatives. Although the AAPI Heritage Initiative was launched under the America's Great Outdoors program, the AAPI Theme Study has a larger history with the convergence of identified political problems, the development of policy and legislation, and key political actors.

This chapter explores the significance of politics (political action, policy formation, and political actors) in the development, content, and implementation of a theme study on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders as part of the National Park Service's Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative. In order to better understand the need, significance, and impact of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, it is important to understand the complexity and dynamics of how it was set, particularly in relation to political streams in the federal government that led to the Theme Study from previous research, legislation, and programs related to historic preservation, leadership in the presidential administration, federal staff and resources, and partnerships in historic preservation and the AAPI community. Locating the policy agenda of the NPS AAPI Theme Study requires an analysis of the broad arenas of political action, policy formation, and political actors.

History of Federal Government Heritage and Historic Preservation Efforts

Pushing for the need to tell more diverse and inclusive stories of historical and cultural contributions through historic preservation has a long history within the Park Service. The National Park Service has a history of efforts in increasing the awareness of

and recognition of AAPI historic sites and cultural resources included: *Confinement and Ethnicity: An Overview of World War II Japanese American Relocation Sites* (Burton et al, 2002), *Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting the Asian Heritage* (Joyner, 2005), *Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights* (Salvatore, 2007), *Japanese Americans in World War II* (Wyatt, 2012), and *Asians and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War* (Shively, 2015). In addition to these theme studies that included AAPI historical contributions, career civil servants in the National Park Service also recalled that leadership efforts by colleagues in previous presidential administrations were critical in developing more recent efforts, most notably with the heritage initiatives on underrepresented groups.

During the Clinton presidential administration, Robert Stanton was appointed as Director of the National Park Service as its first African American director; Stanton had a particular interest in increasing the diversity of the service's staff and public programs to better serve minority populations (McDonnell, 2004). During his tenure (from 1997 to 2001), Stanton developed the Cultural Resources Challenge, which developed a strategic plan to address issues within the agency regarding research and knowledge, planning, education, preservation (including maintenance and protection), and partnerships with focus on prehistoric and historic places, as well as the nation's ethnic diversity (National Park Service, 2000). In November 1999, the U.S. Congress passed the National Park System New Area Study Act of 2000 (S. 1349) as contained in Public Law 106-113, Appendix C, "National Park Service Studies Act of 1999." The act instructed the Secretary of the Interior to "direct special resource studies to determine the national significance of the sites, and/or areas," which included "Civil Rights Sites" on a "multi-

state” level. With Stanton’s leadership and this legislation, the National Historic Landmarks program initiated a study, *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002), which developed a thematic framework to identify historic sites and cultural resources related to civil rights. Stanton recalls as Director how he “was an advocate for preserving and providing for more public understanding and appreciation of the richness of our diverse cultural heritage” but also noted “I don’t think we have been as forthright telling the story to our multicultural citizenry as we perhaps should” (McDonnell: 46-48).

Through the National Park Service Studies Act of 1999 (H. 3194, 1999) and National Park System New Area of Study Act of 2000 (H. 3423, 2000), the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study was part of a larger effort under “Civil War to Civil Rights” initiative under NPS Director Robert Stanton that pushed for more theme studies to be conducted for underrepresented minorities groups, including AAPIs, Latinos, women, and LGBTQ. This legislation identified the need to be more inclusive of the historical contributions of underrepresented groups in federal historic preservation programs, particularly through the NHL program, and allowed for federal funding to be allocated to support these efforts. As noted in the *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (2002) study, one of the two recommendations were to “undertake civil rights studies related to other minority groups” as a way to “assist National Park Service units with telling the civil rights story related to these groups and identify related sites and individuals relevant to these groups for possible National Historic Landmark designation” (2002: iii).

For AAPI-related preservation efforts, National Park Service staff recalled the influence of Dr. Antoinette J. Lee as she served as Assistant Associate Director, Historical Documentation Programs, in the Cultural Resources division. When Lee was selected as Assistant Associate Director in 2006, she was the first Asian American manager in the Washington, D.C. offices of the National Park Service (National Park Service, 2006). Lee’s NPS career began in 1989 as a historian with the National Register of Historic Places and she retired in 2012. With her role, Lee worked with former director Stanton to establish the Cultural Resources Diversity Program and oversee publications like publications, *African Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Africanisms* and *Asian Reflections on the American Landscape: Identifying and Interpreting Asian Heritage*. Lee also was founding editor of *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, a National Park Service professional journal. One NPS staff recalled Lee’s legacy and work on diversity in the federal agency: “Toni Lee worked very closely with Director Stanton in the Clinton administration and then subsequently continued with the Bush administration, did a series of the “Reflections on the Landscapes” books to begin the conversation.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, March 2017). Along with the “Reflections on the Landscapes” series, Lee also oversaw the completion of the *Japanese Americans in World War II* Theme Study. Another NPS staff recalled Lee’s leadership in the publication:

“Toni Lee...She was staff here. She was with the Parks Service for years... and was responsible for several areas of cultural resources programs. She wanted the Japanese Americans in World War II completed. She was not satisfied with the product that they had before. She wanted me to open it up again, rework it, and come up with a product that we could use.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, May 2017).

Along with her work as Assistant Associate Director at the National Park Service, Lee also published essays on the need to include ethnic diversity in preservation, particularly those associated with Asian American sites and resources (Lee, 1992; Lee, 2003; Stipe and Lee, 1997).

Prior to her retirement, National Park Service staff recalled how Lee led in the development of the National Park Service American Latino Theme Study:

“I inherited the Latino theme study from Toni Lee when she retired. My office took over from what she was doing. We took on the last half of that theme study. My office was the home of the Heritage Initiatives—Latino Heritage Initiative, LGBTQ Heritage Initiative especially since we were in charge of the LGBTQ Theme Study.” (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, May 2017).

These efforts in legislation and agency policies to increase awareness of the needs of underrepresented groups, including AAPIs, by key agency staff and leadership, helped lay the groundwork for subsequent National Park Service Heritage Initiatives, including the National Park Service AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study.

Historic Preservation during the Obama Administration

In 2010, President Obama introduced America’s Great Outdoors, an initiative to strengthen federal priorities related to natural and cultural resources. Part of this initiative focused on historic preservation and cultural resources to commemorate and tell the story of minorities and women who have made significant contributions. Subsequently, heritage initiatives focused on traditionally underrepresented groups were launched by then-Secretary of the Interior Ken Salazar, including theme studies for (in the following order): Latinos, women, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPIs), and the Lesbian, Gay, Transgender, Bisexual, and Queer (LGTBQ) community. The American

Latino Heritage Initiative and Theme Study were of personal importance to Secretary Salazar, who is Latino, and saw the disparities in the number of historic sites associated with Latinos (National Park Service, 2013). These National Park Service Heritage Initiatives are multi-faceted, multi-disciplinary projects that explore ways in which the legacy of underrepresented groups can be recognized, preserved, and interpreted for future generations. One way is through broader inclusion in both the National Register of Historic Places and the National Historic Landmarks Program. Accordingly, these two National Park Service programs are playing a major role, with NHL Theme Studies and landmark designations acting as a cornerstone for the heritage initiatives.

Concurrently, with the recent 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the centennial of the National Park Service in 2016, there was substantial movement forward by federal agencies and national organizations in developing a more inclusive and diverse approach to traditional standards and policies to reflect the growing numbers of underrepresented socio-cultural groups, including Latinos, AAPIs, and the LGBTQ community (National Park Service, 2013). With the long history of the National Park Service pushing for more diverse and inclusive histories to be recognized through federal historic preservation programs, National Park Service staff noted the particular importance of increased political support during the Obama administration with his America's Great Outdoors program: "There had been different pushes in the history of the Park Service but it was not to the degree and not to the same energy level that it was during the Obama administration" (NPS Staff, interview with author, May 2017).

National Park Service Heritage Initiatives

Since 2011, the four new initiatives—the American Latino Heritage Initiative, the Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) Heritage Initiative, and the Women’s History Initiative—have been developed with the goal of furthering the representation of diverse stories within the National Historic Landmarks Program and elsewhere within the National Park Service. These initiatives were part of a “broader initiative under the Obama Administration to ensure that the National Park Service reflects and tells a more complete story of the people and events responsible for building this nation” (US Department of the Interior, 2014). The initiatives are intended to extend the reach of documentation, listing, and designation of historic places to better reflect the full spectrum of people, events, and experiences that have contributed to building the nation. The first of these Heritage Initiatives to be announced was the American Latino Heritage Initiative, followed by the AAPI Heritage Initiative, then the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Theme Study (while the Women’s History Initiative was announced in 2012 but a theme study has not been activated).

The National Park Service’s National Historic Landmark program was directed to conduct these theme studies under the Heritage Initiatives to guide future nominations of NHLs and National Register properties. One National Park Service staff recalled how although these Heritage Initiatives were department-wide, the Cultural Resources division was seen to take the lead through these theme studies:

“Heritage initiatives are Department-wide, not just the Park Service. In reality, they ended up being mostly Park Service because it’s the Park

Service who has capacity but there are times when other agencies may try to do some focused activities. I never tracked that or what department that did. But they always focused on preservation and interpretation/education [in the Cultural Resources division]. For the Latino study, for example, our interpretation/education division, which is under a different associate, worked hard to get some educational materials pulled out of the theme study, like e-books. Get materials into parks and into schools. I didn't track what they were doing but ultimately that's what we want. With theme studies, for people to grab them and use them. Do more than just preservation with them." (NPS Staff, interview with author, May 2017)

The National Register of Historic Places includes more than 88,000 entries, incorporating more than 1.7 million individual buildings and sites representing local, state or nationally significant people, places and events. Just over 2,500 of these properties are NHLs, designated by the Secretary of the Interior as representing the highest level of national significance (with well-known examples like Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, the White House, and the Statue of Liberty). Less than eight percent of these properties can be identified as representing the stories associated with African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, American Indians, Native Alaskans and Native Hawaiians, LGTBQ, or women (Casper, 2014). With these Heritage Initiatives and their respective theme studies, the potential impact and use was not only for the federal designations of historic sites and cultural resources, but to also be utilized in related park units and for the general public to use for educational purposes.

American Latino Heritage Initiative and Theme Study

The American Latino Theme Study, *American Latinos and the making of the United States: A theme study* (Negrón-Muntaner and Sánchez-Korrol, 2013) was spearheaded by Secretary Salazar after the designation of Cesar Chavez National Historic Monument in La Paz, California in the summer of 2011. Secretary Salazar proposed that

a Latino Theme Study analysis be done by NPS, and the National Park System Advisory Board formed the American Latino Scholars Panel (Sanchez, 2013). As the first NPS Heritage Initiative, it was important to link political support from the Obama administration as mentioned by National Park Service Director Jarvis at the announcement of the American Latino Theme Study:

“One of the major goals of President Obama's America's Great Outdoors initiative is to reconnect the American people to both the natural world and to our nation's rich historic and cultural heritage. As America's story teller, the National Park Service is committed to identifying the brave heroes, diverse stories and historic places that form the proud heritage of our nation's history. We look forward to working with the National Park Foundation and community leaders as we undertake this important American Latino Heritage Theme Study” (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2011).

The American Latino Theme Study comprised of scholars selected by Secretary Salazar and were given the task to develop and complete the publication in 18 months. Several National Park Service staff recalled the expediency of this timeline as “Secretary Salazar was very much interested in telling the story of the people of Hispanic/Latino origins. The Latino one was very fast-tracked and we got it done in 18 months” (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, March 2017).

The American Latino Theme Study was approved by the National Park System Advisory Board on February 2013 and serves as a resource for the National Park Service in identifying and designating national historic landmarks and other sites associated with Latino heritage. The American Latino Theme Study spans from 1840 to the present and its framework covers four major themes: “Making the Nation,” “Making a Life,” “Making a Living,” and “Making a Democracy.” At the roll-out of the Latino Theme

Study, a public event was held in East Los Angeles by several of the scholar panelists, authors, National Park Service staff, and local preservation organizations.

Funding and Resources

Funding played a crucial role in supporting staffing and resources to the American Latino Theme Study as it was made available in part by the American Latino Heritage Fund of the National Park Foundation. Secretary Salazar announced that, in his role as Chairman of the Board of the National Park Foundation, he is creating the American Latino Heritage Fund that will serve as a vehicle to build support for the Latino themed parks within the National Park Service. (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2011).

Alongside with Secretary Salazar, Midy Aponte, Executive Director of the American Latino Heritage Fund added: “We are committed to supporting the Service in preserving these special places so that future generations of all backgrounds can learn about our collective history and experience them in perpetuity” (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2013). With funding to support staffing and resources, National Park Service staff was able to allocate time and staff to work on the American Latino Theme Study. A National Park Service staff that was responsible for the release of the Theme Study recalls how its release was a high priority within the agency as a policy window opened given Salazar’s invested interest in addressing issues of underrepresentation of historic sites and resources associated with Latinos in the NHL program and garnered funding support through public-private partnerships:

“When I was doing the Latino one, I had three more people. No, four more. I had four more people. That’s twice the size of my office now. We were doing the Latino one so fast. It was like, “Okay, you drop what you’re doing and do this instead.” Everybody was available to drop what they were doing” (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Along with allocated funding and increased staffing dedicated to the American Latino Theme Study, the Secretary's office with the Scholars Panel managed the dissemination process (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, March 2017).

American Latino Theme Study Scholars Panel

The American Latino Theme Study Scholars' Panel, in collaboration with the Organization of American Historians, guided the theme study. With Salazar's direct involvement in enacting the Heritage Initiative, a National Park Service staff recalled how it shaped the composition of the Scholar's Panel:

“It started as a Secretary Salazar's project and he actually picked the group of individuals. It was a very eclectic group, which had varying degrees of familiarity with historic preservation. Some of them were more actively engaged in the project. Some dropped off after a year or two. So, it was a diverse group. It overwhelmingly included academics, which I think was a flaw as there weren't community organizers and folks who work in preservation” (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, March 2017).

Along with strong support from Secretary Salazar, other support came from other Latino leadership directly involved in federal historic preservation efforts. This included Latino scholars and preservationists appointed to the National Park System Advisory Board and National Park Service National Historic Landmarks committee. Toothman recalls the Latino leadership within existing programs at the National Park System, including:

“Steve Pitti and Antonio Castañeda really stepped up [in the American Latino Scholars Panel]. We had one member on the National Park Service Advisory Board – Belinda Faustino, who was the representative for the Advisory Board, along with the head of the Landmarks sub-committee, which was Ron James, who was Nevada SHPO. When he left, Belinda and I nominated Stephen Pitti to replace him who was also national known as a scholar, who in fact his father wrote the Latino/Hispanic essay in “Five Views”. His sister is also an exceptional historian. So, Steve really took on that last lead in terms of editing. Then, Luis Hoyos, who was also on the

NHL committee and on the Advisory Board of the National Trust [of Historic Preservation]” (Interview with author, March 2017).

Along with Pitti, Castañeda, Fuastino, and Hoyos on the American Latino Scholars Panel included National Park Service staff like Joseph P. Sánchez superintendent of Petroglyph National Monument and the National Park Service’s Latino History Research and Training Center. This Center was established under Sánchez with the aim of “sustaining the American Latino Heritage Initiative’s goals and values, and assuring that NPS interpreters and resources managers are better prepared to work with Latino themes. (Sánchez, 2013).

Programming and Dissemination

When the American Latino Theme Study was released in April 2013, the political support that was present at its announcement in 2011 had waned and the policy window started to close with the departure of Salazar as Secretary, yet programming was developed for its dissemination as a digital publication as well as written materials to be used education and interpretation programs in existing National Park units. The American Latino Theme Study was released with two public events in Los Angeles, California and San Antonio, Texas that were organized and hosted by the National Park Service and individuals from the American Latino Theme Study Scholars Panel:

“It was a pretty good event geared toward getting the public there. You had everyday people who came to the event. It wasn’t an academic roll out. You did have a couple of the authors who spoke about the work that they had done. There were tables for people to get information from us, National Parks Conservation Association, and a couple local organizations were set up outside. They had headsets for translation. So, it was very community focused” (National Park Service Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Women's History Initiative

In May 2012, then Secretary of the Interior, Ken Salazar, introduced a new Secretarial initiative focusing on women's history. The National Park Service and the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites (NCWHS) co-sponsored a workshop in December 2012 on "Telling the Whole Story: Women and the Making of the United States." Participants discussed current efforts in national parks and communities to improve the interpretation of women's history and to preserve significant associated historic places. Although the Women's Heritage Initiative was announced, no plans for a theme study were developed or released by the National Park Service staff. Toothman recalled how in comparison to the other Heritage Initiatives, "(f)or the Women's Initiative, that should have had stronger leadership but the NHL staff themselves took it on to identify potential authors [rather than hire a consultant to oversee the project]. With the anniversary of the 19th Amendment in 2020, we are going to look at ways to try to support that" (interview with author, March 2017).

LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and Theme Study

Following the launch of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, Secretary Sally Jewell announced the launch of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Theme Study in May 2014. The goals of the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative included "engaging scholars, preservationists and community members to identify, research, and tell the stories of LGBT associated properties; encouraging national parks, national heritage areas, and other affiliated areas to interpret LGBT stories associated with them; identifying, documenting, and nominating LGBT-associated sites as national historic landmarks; and increasing the number of listings of LGBT-associated properties in the

National Register of Historic Places” (U.S. Department of the Interior, 2014). As part of this initiative was the theme study which involved National Park Service staff and scholars in developing the framework. The public was invited to take part at a public meeting to learn more about the initiative and share comments on its initial phases. Funding was provided by a public-private partnership with funding provided by the Gill Foundation through the National Park Foundation.

The theme study, “LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History,” was peer-reviewed and released in coincidence with National Coming Out Day, a commemoration first celebrated in 1988 on the anniversary of the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights. According to Secretary Jewell, “This theme study is the first of its kind by any national government to identify this part of our shared history, and it will result in an important step forward in reversing the current underrepresentation of stories and places associated to the LGBTQ community in the complex and diverse story of America” (US. Department of the Interior, 2016). The theme study provides a framework in which historic sites associated with LGBTQ communities can be considered for federal designation as well as “guide and inform the presentation of LGBTQ history by professors and teachers, and will serve as a reference for the general public.” (ibid). National Park Service Director Jarvis also noted that the timeliness of its release:

“In 2016 the National Park Service is marking our centennial anniversary and the upcoming 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act on October 15 with a renewed commitment to share a more complete history of our nation with the next generation of Americans. Through heritage initiatives like the LGBTQ theme study, the National Park Service is commemorating the inspiring stories of minorities and women who have made significant contributions to our nation’s history and culture” (Ibid).

Funding through a private-public partnership

National Park Service staff involved in both the AAPI and LGBTQ Theme Studies recalled the major differences between the two in terms of funding, project management, and dissemination. The LGBTQ Theme Study received funding to support staffing the project from a private-public partnership with a \$250,000 donation from the Gill Foundation to the National Park Foundation in 2014. With this funding, the National Park Service hired a full-time staff person to oversee the theme study. The AAPI Theme Study did not receive any funding through private-public partnerships (including none from the National Park Foundation) nor did it have National Park Service staff wholly dedicated to managing the project. Funding support was influenced by similar federal legislation on LGBTQ-related issues (e.g., same sex marriage, transgender rights) and the

Programming and dissemination

With the funding and staffing support for the LGBTQ Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, National Park Service staff developed and released the theme study within two years and developed materials for education and interpretation in existing National Park units:

“The LGBTQ Theme Study is going to be three separate academic books through a private press company. They came to us and said, “We’d like to publish this. We want to do something with this.” So, an intern and Megan worked on it together to figure out how to a series of three books and it won’t be changed. It’ll be re-organized and add some undergraduate classroom materials” (interview with author, June 2017).

National Park Service staff added that the intern is “creating a Pride Guide. Essentially, it’s a version of the theme study for youth and youth groups like the gay straight alliance

groups in high schools. There are chapter summaries and exercises at the end of each chapter” (ibid).

Commemorating Historic Preservation

“The National Park Service is America's storyteller and protector of the places where America's history can be found,” National Park Service Director Jonathan B. Jarvis said. “As we prepare to celebrate the National Park Service's Centennial in 2016, we have rededicated ourselves to sharing more diverse stories of our nation's history, particularly the struggles for civil rights. By telling these stories, we are inviting new audiences to visit their national parks and historic sites and to discover a personal connection in these special places” (US Department of the Interior, 2014).

With this statement by National Park Service Director Jarvis in 2014, timing to key events related AAPI Theme Study influenced its progress. The AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study was announced at the unveiling of the Wing Luke Museum in Seattle as National Park Service Affiliated Area in February 2013. The Theme Study and its Experts Panel were introduced in Washington, DC in May 2013 at the White House Forum on Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage as part of Asian Pacific American Heritage Month. The theme study was slated for completion by 2015-16 in conjunction with key federal historic preservation commemorations including the designation of Honouliuli National Monument by President Obama (a Japanese American confinement site in Hawaii February 2015), the 100th anniversary of the National Park Service, and 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966.

Federal Leadership in Historic Preservation

Leadership in stewarding these National Park Service Heritage Initiatives was critical in the development, support, and release of theme studies. From President Obama to the leadership at the Department of the Interior and National Park Service, the Heritage

Initiatives were heavily supported. One National Park Service staff recalled the importance of the political climate of the Obama administration and key federal leadership:

“It was priorities of the Secretary and the Obama administration to more adequately address historic preservation and sites of all Americans. That’s why we were focused on sites of people whose stories haven’t been told – African American sites, Latino sites, Asian American and Pacific Islander sites. These heritage initiatives were direct outgrowth of the priorities of the administration. The Secretary was really pushing on these. It was also priorities within the National Park Service leadership. People like the Director, Jon Jarvis, and Stephanie Toothman, they really saw that this was a need and would greatly benefit the American people.” (Interview with author, March 2017).

Secretary Salazar led in the announcements for the American Latino and AAPI theme studies. His predecessor, Secretary Jewell, led in the announcement and release of the LGBTQ theme study. Toothman recalled how after meeting with Secretary Salazar proposing the American Latino Theme Study: “I, then, went to Rhea Suh, who was the head of Policy Management and Budget and she wanted me to do a proposal for Asian Americans. So, that’s where that push came from, which was great. Then, she said, ‘What’s the next step? I can get the funding but what is the next step to get engaged?’” (Interview with author, March 2017). Following the appointment of Jewell as Interior Secretary in April 2013, several participants of the AAPI Experts Panel recalled meeting with Secretary Jewell the following month as part of a series of public events and private meetings for the AAPI Heritage Initiative, and how she expressed her personal connection to the AAPI community as she grew up with Japanese Americans and Filipino Americans in Seattle. Toothman recalled how, “She, having grown up in Seattle, had many friends with parents that had gone through that World War II experience, was very emotionally committed to it” (interview with author, March 2017).

Salazar secured funding to support the development of the theme study and potential related support within the National Park Service in partnership with the National Parks Foundation through the creation of the American Latino Heritage Fund of the National Park Foundation. Similarly, funding was secured by donation from the Gill Foundation to the National Park Foundation for staffing of the LGBTQ theme study (and subsequent work in National Park Service Education and Interpretation programs). Unlike the American Latino and LGBTQ theme studies, no funding support was dedicated to the AAPI Theme Study for staffing or related programming. Even with the political backing of Assistant Secretary Suh, as an Asian American, the National Park Service was unable to secure external funding or private-public partnerships for the AAPI Theme Study.

Federal Resources and Staffing in Historic Preservation

With the announcement of the AAPI Theme Study, several federal agencies were critical to launching and publicizing the project, including the White House Initiative on AAPIs, President Obama’s Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, senior staff at the Department of the Interior assigned to the Heritage Initiative, and National Park Service Cultural Resources staff. Along with federal agency staff and initiatives, political actors also included those outside of the federal government—researchers, AAPI community organizations, and historic preservation organizations. As part of the AAPI Heritage Initiative, the National Park Service developed a coalition of community partners with AAPI Heritage Initiative Partners. Partners included:

- 1882 Foundation
- Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
- Asian & Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation
- Association for Asian American Studies

- National Council on Public History
- National Trust for Historic Preservation
- Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center
- South Asian American Digital Archives
- White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders
- Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific American Experience

These partnerships with federal agencies, commissions, and community partners played a critical role with the announcement of the Theme Study, including a public event, White House Forum on Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage, hosted by the Department of the Interior, White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, and White House Office of Public Engagement in May 2013.

However, later in the process of completing the AAPI Theme Study, key federal agencies experienced turnovers of staff and appointees that had critical roles in the development and management of the theme study and larger AAPI Heritage Initiative. Some staff left their positions (e.g., employment outside of the federal government), others retired, and those in appointed positions left due to changes in the presidential administration. This includes Interior staff, Theodora Chang and Israporn Pananon (assigned to the AAPI Heritage Study), Secretary Jewell, Assistant Secretary Suh and Director Jarvis, National Park Service staff Alexandra Lord (lead NPS NHL staff person in charge of the AAPI Theme Study), and Toothman (see AAPI Theme Study Timeline in Appendix E).

Problems, Politics, and Policy influencing the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study

This chapter explored the significance of politics (political action, policy formation, and political actors) in the development, content, and implementation of a theme study on AAPIs as part of the National Park Service’s Asian American and Pacific

Islander Heritage Initiative. In order to better understand the need, significance, and impact of the NPS AAPI Theme Study, it is important to understand the complexity and dynamics of how it, along with other National Park Service Heritage Initiatives, particularly in relation to political streams in the federal government that led to these initiatives from previous research, legislation, and programs related to historic preservation, leadership in the presidential administration, federal staff and resources, and partnerships in historic preservation and the AAPI community. Locating the convergence of problems, politics, and policy that opened up a policy window for NPS AAPI Theme Study requires an analysis of political action, policy formation, and political actors.

Chapter 6: Politics of Participation in Historic Preservation

Introduction

The primary activity of the AAPI Heritage Initiative was the preparation of a theme study to be used to identify and evaluate associated resources for National Historic Landmark designation and National Register listing. The theme study was to be completed with the assistance of three key groups: panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers. Their efforts were assisted by NHL staff, the chairman of the AA/PI theme study project, and a professional editor. The panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers were to provide the primary scholarly contribution to the theme study. This chapter explores the composition and roles of the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, as well as the types and levels of participation, that shaped the development of the content. For the Experts Panel, the projected use and dissemination processes played a critical role in how they participate in the process.

Participation in Federal Historic Preservation Programs

The NPS Heritage Initiatives offered a new role for private citizens to participate in programs in the Department of the Interior (DOI). Theme studies, often mandated by Congress, do not require community input or citizen participation in the development or dissemination. Under the leadership of then-Secretary Salazar, who personally selected members of the American Latino Heritage Initiative's Scholars Panel, subsequent theme studies under the NPS Heritage Initiatives include a panel of private citizens acting as advisors or experts. "Most of the theme studies were done through an agreement or contractor that you hire to do the theme study. It might be that the theme study is being done by two principal investigators or a single... or sometimes done internally (NPS

Staff, interview with author, June 2017).” While some previous theme studies have had a group of historians acting as consultants, these three Heritage Initiatives were exemplary in the development of their respective advisory groups in terms of selection and participation.

The Experts Panel comprised of NPS staff, Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies scholars, and practitioners in AAPI-related historic preservation or public history work. The panelists were selected based on their affiliation, expertise, and socio-demographics (6.1) (see Appendix F for full list of National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study Experts Panel). Out of the twenty-four panelists, eighteen had a doctorate degree. Twelve panelists were university faculty members in the humanities or social sciences, and twelve were non-academics with experience in urban planning, architecture, historic preservation, public history, museum studies, and/or archaeology.

	Percentage	Number
African American	4%	1
Cambodian American	4%	1
Caucasian	29%	8
Chamorro American	4%	1
Chinese American	17%	4
Filipino American	8%	2
Japanese American	17%	4
Korean American	4%	1
Native Hawaiian	4%	1
South Asian American	4%	1
Vietnamese American	4%	1
TOTAL	100%	24

Fig. 6.1. Composition of AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel by ethnicity/race.

The Experts Panel participated in two in-person meetings with the NPS staff as well as subsequent conference calls between January and July 2013. In January, a meeting was held in Los Angeles, California at the Japanese American National Museum

with the purpose of introducing the panelists to NPS NHL and National Register programs, an overview of historic preservation landmark designations (local, state, and federal), and an introduction to the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study. In May, the panelists gathered in Washington, DC at the National Park Service headquarters (also known as Washington Administrative Support Office, or WASO) and the Department of the Interior. The purpose of the second meeting was to develop the structure of the theme study based on a compilation of academic essays. The panelists also attended a private meeting with then-Interior Secretary Jewell on the significance of the AAPI Heritage Initiative, as well as a public event -- Department of the Interior for the White House Forum on Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage—where the DOI and NPS presented on their efforts in better telling the story of the AAPI experience in America and their contributions. At this event, the panelists were introduced as part of a larger network of AAPI Heritage Partners.

According to the National Park Service staff, panelists were formal members of the Asian American Pacific Islander Scholars Expert Panel under the auspices of the National Park System Advisory Board. National Park Service staff provided clarity on time and compensation with the following memo sent to the Experts Panel:

“They are not paid for their time, but they will be compensated for travel and expenses associated with their participation. Essayists will be paid for their work. Panelists must understand that they cannot be paid as essayists. If a panelist is the best scholar to prepare a certain essay for the theme study, he or she should consider dropping off the panel as soon as this becomes evident so that participation as a paid essayist is possible. A panelist is welcome to write an essay on an unpaid basis, but needs to be aware that such work is voluntary. Panelists can serve as peer reviewers, who are not paid for their contribution.” (Personal correspondence with author, May 2013).

National Park Service Staff

Selecting the Experts Panel

With staff from NPS Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science Directorate convened and met with Franklin Odo, founding-Director of the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Program. Odo was hired to chair of the Experts Panel (as a contractor) by the NPS to oversee the AAPI Heritage Initiative. Odo was serving on the NHL Committee when he was selected to oversee the Theme Study. NPS staff and others on the Experts Panel also recalled his expertise in Asian American studies as a scholar, as the founding director of the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Program (now Center), and Chief of the Asian Division at the US Library of Congress.

Odo, along with NPS staff at WASO, identified and selected scholars and community leaders to participate on the Experts Panel. Unlike the American Latino Theme Study Scholars Panel, which comprised of only academics or scholars, NPS staff intentionally selected scholars and historic preservation or public history practitioners, and, furthermore, intentionally named the advisory group as a “Experts Panel.” According to the NPS, the Experts Panel was to be composed “...primarily of scholars, whose research represents the range of national and ethnic groups that will be included in the theme study. Public historians and activists for the preservation of AA/PI cultural resources are also on the panel” (ibid). When selecting the Expert’s Panel, NPS selected individuals with diverse areas of expertise in Asian American or Pacific Islander Studies, public history, and historic preservation, as well as diverse in ethnic heritage (see Figure 2). Odo selected individuals with the following approach: “That was mostly a snowball technique. We reached out to established scholars. Basically, they were colleagues.

Practitioners, those in the field, came on a little bit later. That was a corrective to academic biases we had inherent in the project originally. I took a little bit of a nudge for us to that and make sure practitioners were there so that it wasn't all academics or scholars.” (interview with author, June 2017). NPS staff also saw the importance of having a diverse range of areas of expertise as academics and community leaders:

“Having a panel where people can talk across disciplines, I think is, crucial... We were looking also for a range of people from different backgrounds. We were looking for urban planners, preservationists in the community. We also pulled in academics— historians in the academy.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, March 2017).

Along with the scholars and practitioners, NPS staff that had previous experience on projects associated with AAPIs were also invited to participate in the process, including individual staff with extensive experience in NHL nominations, National Register nominations, special resources studies, and other theme studies on Asian Americans (including the Japanese Americans in World War II theme study) from various offices within the National Park System from WASO in Washington, DC, and from regional offices like the Pacific West Region:

“Stephanie Toothman [invited me]. She had previously been the chief of cultural resources in the Pacific West Region. The folks that involved in this theme study from the staff side were representative beyond Washington staff. We all had the same kind of training and since there is a long history of AAPIs in the Pacific, she thought it made sense. Plus, we have the Pacific Islands in our region. It made sense to have staff from our region also part of the internal team. So, it was by invitation.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Roles, Responsibilities, and Expectations

With the process of having an Experts Panel for the AAPI Theme Study, roles and responsibilities were defined by NPS staff overseeing the project. Along with the roles and responsibilities for the academics and community leaders, roles were developed and

defined for NPS staff participating in the project. Major roles included: (1) logistics (e.g., meeting venues, travel), (2) communication with panelists, essayists and peer reviewers, (3) project management with Chair of the AAPI Theme Study, (4) direct support for essayists and editor, and (5) management of essay reviews by other NPS NHL staff (see Appendix G).

Although roles and responsibilities were listed and disseminated to the Experts Panel (including NPS staff), NPS staff expressed that their roles and responsibilities were not clearly defined or assigned. Most of the NPS staff assumed their roles were based on their areas of expertise (e.g., NHL/National Register, Education/Interpretation) or office (e.g., WASO, regional office). For example, one NPS staff was not given an assigned roles or responsibilities until the day prior to the meetings to take notes and help facilitate discussions. Yet, this same staff person recalled how the roles on the project were not clearly defined: “The roles weren’t clearly articulated about how to communicate with the people who are either on the Expert’s Panel or somehow involved” (ibid). Clarity of assigned roles is a crucial element to the success of the Theme Study; the assigned NPS NHL Program staff member and Experts Panel Chairman were expected to manage these roles, as well as the project overall.

With the turnover of staff within the NHL office in WASO, NPS staff members were not informed on transitions of project management of the AAPI Theme Study. Key departures affected the progress of the project, particularly in fulfilling the roles and responsibilities. Key challenges based on staff turnover included delays in selecting and securing contracts with essayists and peer reviewers, hiring of an editor, and managing or tracking the progress of the essays being written, reviewed, and edited.

Areas of Expertise and Experience in AAPI Historic Preservation

National Park Service staff members on the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel were either from the National Historic Landmarks and National Register programs, or from Education and Interpretation programs. The NHL and National Register program staff focused on potential nominations to their respective programs while staff from Education, Outreach, and Training concentrated on education and interpretation in existing park units and programs. With these respective concentrations, areas of expertise of individual National Park Service staff reflected this. One NPS staff recalled how her position and experience was an asset to the project:

“My role was somebody who has a lot of experience working in AAPI sites, National Park Service sites in particularly throughout the West and Pacific. Some of the other NPS folks didn’t have much experience with that. And as support for the theme study. It was thought of more than just the theme study. It was thought of as a real big initiative that would have many different prongs reaching out to communities. That’s where my background and my personal contacts would really help.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

This NPS staff person saw the importance of theme study in relationship to her area of expertise in community outreach, education, and planning. Similarly, NPS staff working on National Historic Landmarks and National Register nominations focused on its impact on these programs, rather than in outreach, education, and planning. The separation between these programs played a role in how each staff person contributed to the Theme Study and in understanding the process and impact of the project:

“[We] had a couple conversations where we tried to get some investment from the Interpretation/Education folks in the theme study. We had a couple conversations with someone being our liaison. Then, it kinda fell apart because the Interpretation/Education part – not because of lack of will—but people do not understand how much it takes to do research and write these things.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Some NPS staff had little to no previous experience in AAPI-related historic preservation but had extensive experience in theme studies, including the American Latino and LGBTQ.

Most of the NPS staff had extensive experience in nominations and projects associated with AAPIs. Prior to her role as Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science Directorate, Toothman served as Chief of Cultural Resources in the Pacific West Region in Seattle, Washington. Toothman had extensive experience on historic resources associated with AAPIs, including Bainbridge Island Japanese American Exclusion Memorial, Bainbridge Island Filipino Community Hall, *Japanese Americans in World War II* Theme Study, and Manzanar National Historic Site (along with several other NPS staff that served on the AAPI Experts Panel). With her extensive work, Toothman then invited colleagues from these projects to be part of the Experts Panel (including academics and practitioners).

Along with NPS staff that had experience with AAPI-related projects and nominations, other staff had previous experience with other theme studies, including the American Latino Theme Study. With the recent work on the American Latino Theme Study, NPS staff recalled the best practices, challenges, and limitations from that project and how it influenced how they developed the process for the AAPI Theme Study. One NPS staff that led the American Latino Theme Study spoke on the lessons learned from managing the advisory group to developing the framework for the theme study and how these lessons helped improve the process for subsequent theme studies for AAPIs and LGBTQ.

Staff from the Western Region office spoke on the complexities in covering Asian American and Pacific Islander historical and cultural resources, particularly since their region covers California, Hawaii, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, portions of Arizona and Montana and the territories of Guam, American Samoa, as well as the Northern Mariana Islands. For instance, one NPS staff worked on a special resource study for the island of Rota in the Northern Mariana Islands, assisted on the National Monument designation for Honouliuli, developed Tule Lake Unit General Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, and researched the gardens in Minidoka National Historic Site. With this extensive experience, the knowledge of the complex cultural and historic differences between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders was crucial: “I think that the areas we were talking about, even my own understanding, needed so much more understanding of the places in the Pacific that are part of the United States that are really important to this heritage initiative” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017). Furthermore, the representative from National Park Service staff from the park units, particularly in the Pacific, was a major gap:

“I think gaps were that we needed more expertise from the Pacific Islander side. I think that the areas we were talking about, even my own understanding, needed so much more understanding of the places in the Pacific that are part of the United States that are really important to this heritage initiative. It’s not immigrants coming to the United States, its people that are from Samoa that have always been in Samoa. How does that relate to this theme study? I think that was an area that the conveners didn’t reach out as much. Also, really involving our National Park Service people who are out there—our Cultural Resource experts that are out there, who are on the ground and have those relationships, working knowledge... We could have involved Cultural Resources staff in the parks and in the AAPI communities.” (Ibid).

While the strengths in the NPS staff were on their technical experience in historic preservation and experience in Asian American historic and cultural resources, two gaps were in Pacific Islander historic and cultural resources and in having NPS staff from National Park units (outside of WASO or regional offices).

Types and Levels of Participation

The types of participation of by NPS Staff in the AAPI Theme Study ranged from:

- (1) developing the agenda and providing materials to facilitating,
- (2) presenting or participating in group discussions with other panelists,
- (3) influencing decision-making,
- (4) making decisions on the process or content,
- (5) developing plans for dissemination or use.

These types of participation (and levels) varied for each NPS staff person given their area of expertise and role in the AAPI Theme Study. Those leading the project also managed the process of selecting and communicating with the panelists, essayists, and reviewers, as well as overseeing the editorial process of the Theme Study. Each of the NPS staff saw their participation varying throughout the process given their position and expertise. For example, Toothman led in the garnering political support and funding in the initial stages of the project: “my role was to get this off the ground and I’ve got a very professional team that bought into it and are very capable of keeping it running. I’m not as involved in the day to day” (interview with author, March 2017). Other staff in the NHL and National Register programs presented on their respective programs in relation to the AAPI Theme Study.

One crucial participant in the Theme Study was the NPS staff person in charge – the Branch Chief of the National Historic Landmarks program in the WASO Office. At

the early stages of the project, Alexandra Lord (as Branch Chief) oversaw the project. She selected the Chairman of Experts Panel and coordinated the two in-person meetings in 2013. She also developed the roles and responsibilities for all participants of the AAPI Theme Study (see Appendix G). Despite having developed the roles and responsibilities for the AAPI Theme Study, these were not clearly articulated or delegated to other members of the Experts Panel, including with NPS staff. Most NPS staff on the Experts Panel attended meetings in-person and/or through conference call but had limited participation in shaping the agenda or materials. Following these meetings in 2013, NPS staff felt that they had little or no role in the AAPI Experts Panel or Theme Study as they were not informed with progress of the project unless they asked: “The roles weren’t clearly articulated about how to communicate with the people who are either on the Expert’s Panel or somehow involved. I think that there’s where there was a level of uncertainty about what were the rest of us doing” (NPS staff, interview with author, June 2017). With uncertainty of their roles, NPS staff members were also unsure of their influence in decision-making in the process or content or in delegating roles or responsibilities. Most of the roles of the NPS staff provided in the memo were for the NPS staff leadership (i.e., Branch Chief of WASO Cultural Resources) with little to none delegated to other NPS staff on the Experts Panel. One NPS staff recalled the expectations of levels of involvement by NPS staff on the Theme Study:

“It kinda shifted. Early on, Stephanie [Toothman] wanted the Pacific West region involved and to stay involved. Then at some point we weren’t really involved, it was mostly the Washington staff. I’m not sure what level that decision was made or how it was made. Everybody is busy. We had Franklin Odo overseeing the essayists. In the beginning, Lexi Lord was working her boss, Paul Loether, in shepherding, taking a certain charge of things early on. Then, Lexi left. At some point, Barbara Wyatt was working with Franklin to shepherd through at the point where we

already had the essayists writing essays. People had to make sure people were getting their essays in on time or being appropriately peer-reviewed.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

At most, the levels of participation by NPS staff, with the exception of the project lead, were minimal. They attended some internal staff meetings and assisted in facilitation or note-taking at AAPI Experts Panel meetings but did not advise, contribute, or influence decision-making in the content or process. While providing the Experts Panel opportunities to consult, inform, or contribute to the Theme Study, disadvantages included issues of miscommunication, lack of understanding of NPS staff roles and responsibilities, and potential tokenism of NPS staff members in the process.

Experts Panel

Areas of Expertise – Historic Preservation versus Asian American Studies

Along with NPS staff, the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel comprised of academic scholars and community leaders involved in historic preservation or public history-related work or were experts in Asian American studies. Most of the academic scholars interviewed admitted that they had little to no previous experience in historic preservation or place-based public history. “I knew about the historic sites, what the federal government had. I knew that we didn’t have much of the way of anything for Asian American history or Pacific Islander history. I didn’t have any direct experience with the Park Service or historic sites or historic preservation.” (Expert Panel member, interview with author, April 2017). The range of knowledge and experience in historic preservation became a challenge for those on the Experts Panel and the NPS staff involved.

Although all on the Experts Panel had research expertise and/or community experience in Asian American or Pacific Islander studies, most had little to no experience or knowledge of place-based public history or historic preservation. On one hand, those with place-based public history or historic preservation experience had substantial experience, including work on federal historic preservation efforts like national landmarks, monuments, and National Register listings including Little Tokyo National Historic District, Manzanar National Historic Site, Tule Lake Unit, Kaho'olawe Archaeological District, and Panama Hotel in Seattle, Washington as well as state and/or local historic preservation efforts.

With the diversity of knowledge and experience of historic preservation within the Experts Panel, NPS recalled how the selection of various disciplines and professions were crucial to the Theme Study:

“Historic preservation—you have to have this incredibly wide skill set. Many, many different people are engaged in it. The perspective of a community person that has written multiple National Register nominations is going to be quite different from the perspective of an academic historian who has never really thought about place or buildings, or done a survey.”
(NPS Staff, interview with author, March 2017).

Along with the community leaders that had extensive experience in historic preservation, there were a few academic scholars that have experience in National Register nominations, National Historic Site designations, or other related historic preservation work with the National Park Service. This included Odo, as chairman of the Experts Panel, who served on the National Park System Advisory Board National Historic Landmarks Committee considers all National Historic Landmark nominations and saw the need for the Heritage Initiatives: “The NHL committee, with 15 people and I was the only Asian American, there were maybe two Latinos and one African American woman.

The understanding for the need for designation of experiences of people of color was not very deep.” (Odo, interview with author, June 2017).

With a mix of academic scholars and practitioners with a wide range of experience and/or knowledge of historic preservation, NPS staff noted that they were aware of this range and the need to emphasize the importance of place-based history in the discussions while taking into account the extensive expertise in Asian American and Pacific Islander scholarship and research:

“I think the majority of people are academics and they had some understanding [about historic preservation]. For most of them, they didn’t have an expertise in historic preservation but they know the value of it and what it could lead to. A lot of the people on the theme study were more social science-based rather than place-based. There was a bit of trying to emphasize historic preservation in the presentations in the meetings—talking about the NHL program, types of properties—grounding it in place. That’s what the Park Service is about – we are about places. The National Register is about places. They, in general, understood that. Maybe there should have been some people in there that weren’t but I’m sure that it wouldn’t have changed. The people that were there were really good. They’re the leading thinkers in AAPI areas of expertise.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Yet, another NPS staff acknowledged the challenges based on the wide range of knowledge and/or experience in historic preservation with the Experts Panel in the discussions on developing the AAPI Theme Study as she was familiar with academic scholarship (as she had a doctorate in architectural history but work as a practitioner):

“For me, there was a struggle of ‘these folks know nothing about the NHL program, they are just academics!’ Trying to straddle the fact that these were knowledgeable people who are experts in their areas of expertise, at the same time, you want to make sure you’re getting a product that is useful and that people understand that what your writing is something that’s not your typical academic essay. When I came to the Park Service, there was an adjustment for me, especially coming from a history theoretical framework. I knew that needed to bridge that gap but be respectful of the fact that there are very knowledgeable people. To me, that was something that we had to be cognizant of.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

The challenges of addressing the wide range of knowledge and experience on historic preservation and place-based history proved to be a challenge for the NPS staff in the discussions that led to shaping the AAPI Theme Study, as well as its content. One Experts Panel member also reiterated the challenges of place-based public history given the range of place-based historical knowledge in the group: “I wanted to participate because I had a different perspective on things than other people. My work is so place-based and the way most historians use place is very different than I do” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017). Recognizing the potential challenges or limitations regarding issues of place-based history, this influenced why and how some participated in the Experts Panel.

Some members of the Experts Panel were hesitant to participate in the Theme Study as they felt that they did not have adequate knowledge or experience in historic preservation as researchers or scholars, or on the other hand, in research or scholarship as community leaders or practitioners. One practitioner recalled:

“I wasn’t sure if I should since I’m not an academic. I’m very poor at research. I only dabble in historic preservation, and more community economic development, community development. On the other hand, I do know that I know the community pretty well. I felt that I would be honored to do that.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

This member of the Experts Panel had extensive experience in historic preservation from local designations of historic districts and monuments, along with national work on community development and historic preservation, yet expressed that he did not feel that he had the academic credibility to be considered as an expert.

On the other hand, one scholar on the Experts Panel felt that he did not have adequate knowledge in Asian American history despite having published research on Japanese American internment camps and their federal designations:

“I was flattered to be asked, especially because my work is this weird thing—it’s not as known as much in Asian American circles, more like public history and things like that. My book is this weird hybrid thing. I wanted to participate because I had a different perspective on things than other people. My work is so place-based and the way most historians use place is very different than I do” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

While those who had extensive experience or knowledge of historic preservation, historic sites, and/or cultural resources associated with AAPIs, those on the Experts Panel that said that they had little to no previous knowledge or experience did not express similar concerns. When asked if they had previous experience or knowledge of historic preservation, most had not but assumed they were invited to participate based on their scholarship or areas of expertise, primarily in Asian American or Pacific Islander studies.

Another major concern regarding areas of expertise and experience raised by some on the Experts Panel was about who was not part of the panel or process, particularly on academic disciplines or areas of study, and ethnic or racial representation. One scholar mentioned, “Everybody was either history or social science. We didn’t have community artists. We didn’t have community organizers. Everybody was history, social science, social services, political advocacy.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017). Few members of the panel also noted the racial or ethnic composition of the group, particularly on the predominant number of East Asians (i.e., Chinese, Japanese, Korean) while other ethnic groups were represented by one or two individuals (e.g., Pacific Islander, Native Hawaiian, Filipino, South Asian, Southeast

Asian). As one member recalled, “There was an awareness there are many Asian and Pacific Islander groups that have been marginalized. Within any convening, there’s still a hierarchy of visibility and, to some extent, privilege.”

Role(s) of the Chairman of the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel

For Odo, as chairman of the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, his roles and responsibilities included overseeing meetings, assisting NPS staff in managing the project, raising funds for the AAPI Heritage Initiative, and maintaining communication with AAPI community partners on the project (see Appendix F). Many of the members of the Experts Panel were suggested and invited by Odo to participate, as they had previous experience with Odo as a scholar in Asian American studies, and/or as the founding director of the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Program (now Center). Odo recalled that in the selection process for the Experts Panel:

“For the most part, these were old friends and colleagues. So, the lesson there is for groups that are underrepresented, having somebody at the table is, one, important and, two, not the total answer. The person at the table has a limited perspective in terms of his/her own partnerships and networks. I didn’t know... there were some limitations of my own- most of my contacts were Asian, East Asian Americans; that is from the late 60s, 70s, and 80s.” (Interview with author, June 2017).

Odo discussed the limitations of his network as chairman and saw his role to be similar to an editor of an academic book but did not predict the level of difficulty in managing the process:

“In the publishing business, you have an editorial board. You assign stuff to a bunch of writers. They write it. You have it reviewed. Then, you select blind reviewers and send it back. Re-write it. Copyedit it. And it’s done. For the most part, things did not go that smoothly. We were a bunch of scholars trying to put this together but no, I didn’t understand how difficult this was going to be.” (Ibid).

Several members of the Expert Panel acknowledged Odo's influence in agreeing to participate given his extensive experience in Asian American and Pacific Islander scholarship. For example, one member recalled being invited to be part of the Experts Panel from Odo and her response was: "I said 'yes' right away because Franklin was asking" (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017). Another member had a similar recollection of the initial invitation to be part of the Experts Panel by Odo: "He told me about the panel and he said that he thought I could add to it. I don't remember there was a great amount of discussion. I trust Franklin, and I admire him, so I said 'yes' without a great deal of consultation" (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

Role(s) within the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel

Based on the areas of expertise of those involved in the AAPI Theme Study, their assigned roles and responsibilities were to develop a structure (or framework) for the Theme Study and to identify essayists and peer reviewers. (see Appendix F). With the overall objective to develop the structure of the AAPI Theme Study, the Experts Panel, saw their roles as to: (1) advise the structure of the Theme Study, (2) write essays, (3) review essays, and (4) assist in the dissemination of the publication. The roles and responsibilities stated by the NPS staff often did not align with those perceived or actual roles by those serving on the Experts Panel.

Advising the Theme Study

While the members of the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel convened, several mentioned that their roles and responsibilities were vague or unclear. Each interview participant was asked how they were invited to participate and what information was

shared with them about the project's description and objectives. Most admitted that they agreed to participate in the Experts Panel since they personally knew the chairman as a colleague but did not know much about the project and its objectives. A few shared how they did not know their roles as part of this advisory group during the initial stages of the project:

“I think we didn't know what our roles were. I don't think that was clear about what are our roles? Are we an advisory panel? Are we the writers? I think that was our purpose in the LA meeting – to identify responsibilities and roles. It was the sausage making of a heritage initiative.” (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

“I don't think that was really clear to me. It wasn't clear to me what my role was. I offered some commentary and suggestions from where we were sitting. What our perspectives were.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

“I was under the impression that part of what I was supposed to be doing is to give advice about what historic sites might be appropriate to be designated as such by the federal government. That seemed like a worthy thing to do.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

Several members of the Experts Panel assumed their roles were in suggesting historic sites for nomination while others questioned the role of the Experts Panel as an advisory group with goals or objectives. One member recalled that her preliminary assumptions of the roles and responsibilities in the Experts Panel was to identify potential AAPI historic sites for landmark designation but received clarification during the initial meetings:

“At that time, I was still laboring under the mistaken assumption that we were supposed to be identifying historic sites. So, I expected that we would be brainstorming about that and maybe coming up with a list of historic sites. Then, figuring out how to get them nominated. But as the meeting began, I quickly realized that somehow I made assumptions or I was misinformed. What we were doing instead was basically putting together an anthology that would provide an intellectual and material basis for the federal government to recognize what constitutes a historic site for us and for the federal government to go out into different communities and specifically encourage community members to come forward and identify

historic sites. That stuck me as being in some ways much more useful than what I originally thought what we were going to be doing because it broadened it out to a much more multilateral educational effort. So, we were educating the federal government and then, we were also ourselves via the federal government creating a vehicle to educate community members. In that sense, it's empowering them to go out and find historic sites in their communities and bring them forward. That seems to me to be a much more appropriate, intensive, and productive way to do things.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

With initial assumptions of their role needing to be clarified, members of the Experts Panel were able to better understand the importance of the Theme Study and its potential impact.

Upon the stages of developing the structure (or framework), identifying potential essay authors and peer reviewers for the Theme Study, those on the Experts Panel then had little to no further responsibilities. According to Odo, “Their job was basically done. The chapters outline was done. They suggested the writers. I may have some to help review. It was also reviewed by someone at the Park Service. That was it. I deliberately did not want the panel to look at all the essays. That would have added three more years” (Interview with author, June 2017). Odo added: “Basically, the panel was to oversee what the content was going to be and who the writers might be... We actually tried to craft what the content might look like and who might be the writers. That was critical part and after that most of it was mechanical” (ibid).

Writing Essays in the Theme Study

Members of the Experts Panel assisted in suggesting potential authors to write the essays of the Theme Study. One NPS staff recalled how those in academic institutions provided suggestions in the process:

“They know a lot of the authors out there. There were folks that Franklin knew. The experts would recommend authors for a specific topic. We, in

the Park Service, may know someone who might potentially be interested. Most of the people who ended up writing were folks that the panel knew from community or academia -- published authors who were known for their specific expertise or area. You obviously can't get everybody you might want because academics have their own deadlines going on but I think we got an excellent group of authors." (NPS Staff, interview with author, June 2017).

One member of the Experts Panel observed how the group wanted more participation by Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as authors of the essays while noting the difficulty in recruiting potential authors given the complex tensions with the federal government in relation to protecting their cultural resources:

"We wanted to be sure there was more participation from Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. As it turned out, there were only two essays and we tried to get a third essay but we didn't have the authors that were willing to write it. It's still the same tension about the role the National Park Service has played in protecting our sites and the contradictions because mostly of US military use and impacts on our cultural resources." (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

As a result, this member of the Experts Panel chose to write an essay given the difficulty in securing another Pacific Islander scholar.

Members of the Experts Panel were also informed that if they chose to write one of the essays, they would have to recuse themselves from the Experts Panel and/or receive no financial compensation for writing. Some of the members that were interviewed discussed this potential conflict of interest and how they were or would have been interested in writing an essay. One member recalled his interest in writing one of the essays and how he spoke to the Chairman and NPS staff about writing an essay but chose to stay on the Experts Panel instead: "He asked if people wanted to be writers, then they would have to stop being experts. I thought it be more important for me to be an expert." (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017). As the project progressed,

this member recalled that no other roles or responsibilities were required from those on the Experts Panel and regretted not writing one of the essays: “If I had known there were no other meetings or no more duties, I might have thought differently” (ibid).

Only one member of the Experts Panel wrote an essay in the Theme Study, although it was later in the process after several potential authors declined and the selected essayist was unable to write the essay: “[T]here wasn’t anybody else we could get. Even though we were on the Experts Panel, we had to volunteer. Even [another member of the Experts Panel] didn’t want to write it because she was in the middle of doing her tenure application. She didn’t have time. As it turns out, I didn’t have the time. I was the last person to contribute. It was sorta pulling teeth to get me to do it” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017). This member stayed on the Experts Panel but did not receive compensation for writing an essay: “The condition was that we wouldn’t get any compensation, which was fine. There would be a conflict. I said okay, I don’t need to be compensated. The main thing is to get the perspectives represented” (ibid). This Experts Panel member noted that it was difficult to keep on track with meeting deadlines for the essay but felt strongly about ensuring that scholarship on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders were represented in the Theme Study.

Reviewing Essays of the Theme Study

Most of the Experts Panel did not review any of the essays but identified potential peer reviewers to participate in the process as NPS staff informed members of the Experts Panel that, “[p]anelists can serve as peer reviewers, but like all peer reviewers, they will not get paid for this service” (see Appendix G for roles and responsibilities in the Theme Study). Of those members of the Experts Panel interviewed, only one was selected to

review an essay, while others expressed interest in reviewing but were not given the opportunity. Only one member of the Experts Panel acted as a peer reviewer given his area of expertise: “I was asked by them about reading one of the chapters and making editorial suggestions” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017). As NPS staff informed the Experts Panel that the essays were in the final stages of being copyedited (in Spring 2017), members of the Experts Panel expressed frustration in not reviewing the essays prior to its publication. For example, a member of the Experts Panel expressed an interest in being a peer reviewer, or informally reviewing the essays, if given the opportunity:

“I didn’t voice it but I didn’t think it would be useful but I recall thinking, “how come people on the panel don’t actually review this?” I had not seen anything to this day. I think it’s weird because we were brought in to advise what the content should be but then we were not asked to even look at the content. I understand the funding business but I also think that’s an excuse. So, we’re not the peer reviewers – that’s fine – but in aren’t we supposed to be the editorial collective? Should’ve we as the editorial collective read this stuff?” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

Supporting Dissemination of the Theme Study

As the publication was being prepared to be finalized and printed, several members of the Experts Panel expressed how they did not know their direct roles or responsibilities in the dissemination or use of the Theme Study, but saw their positions, particularly as university faculty, as means in supporting the development of course curriculum or in supporting academic presentations of the Theme Study. While NPS staff on the Experts Panel envisioned dissemination strategies like online videos and publications to support NHL nominations and improve educational and interpretation materials within the National Park Service, several members of the Experts Panel

envisioned other strategies including curriculum development, academic lectures, and conferences. Little to no time was scheduled on the agendas during the meetings or conference calls. NPS staff provided examples of materials developed from previous theme studies, including the American Latino Theme Study, which had materials created for use by NPS staff in Education and Interpretation programs and at National Park units (e.g., Junior Ranger booklet at Cesar E. Chavez National Historical Monument, trading cards featuring national places, people, and events associated with Latinos).

Levels and Types of Participation

With the roles and expectations provided to the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, levels of participation varied given the individual's assumed or anticipated participation in the Theme Study, their area of expertise, and their knowledge or experience in historic preservation and/or in Asian American or Pacific Islander scholarship. Some members saw their role as minimal in attending events (in-person or online) while others expressed an interest in more active roles in supporting and advising in the process. Few also perceived their roles in influencing the decision-making process or in contributing to the process or publication.

Minimal Participation

A few members of the Experts Panel had little to no participation during the process of the project, including at least member that never attended any meetings nor participated in online meetings or discussions (e.g., webinar, group email correspondences). Some members that were interviewed noted their limited participation, citing issues of availability or usefulness to the project as a major factor. One member questioned his role in the process given both factors: "I had mixed feelings. On the one

hand, I made my first renown as an expert on the Japanese American wartime confinement. There had already been a separate theme study on that. So, my contribution was less indispensable” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017). Another member noted limited availability given the timing of the meetings (which required travel) during the academic year: “I wasn’t able to take time out of my schedule” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

Tokenism

For a few members of the Experts Panel, they felt that they were tokenized in the process of participation. In terms of tokenism (i.e., the practice or policy of making only a symbolic gesture, as in offering opportunities to minorities equal to those of the majority.), two types usually occur: education (i.e., education is partial or constructed) and information (i.e., participants are told what happened, what is happening, or what will happen). In this process, tokenism was a common issue for members of the Experts Panel, particularly in regards to ethnic representation in the composition of the group and its potential implications on the content. As one member recalled:

“I was wondering if there were others from Hawaii or the Pacific. I think it was only myself and my colleague. [We] were the only two Pacific Islanders, so we were concerned about tokenism and how much is the balance between Asian American and Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian representation.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

Another member recalled similar concerns but as someone representing Southeast Asians given the diversity and complexity within that categorization:

“I think that they tried to have representation but, usually in this kind of project, you would almost never fully include, or appropriately, include the Pacific Islander groups. If you were to say Pacific Islander, you’d cover Hawaii at most. But Chamorros, Samoans, so on... the more dominant group would be standing in for the sub-groups. In the Southeast

Asian case, Vietnamese will stand in for other Southeast Asians—Cambodians, Laotians, Khmer, and so on” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

Another member recalled sentiment of being tokenized as an honorific member of the Expert Panel during a public event focused on the AAPI Heritage Initiative at the Department of the Interior with Secretary Jewell:

“One of things I remember, and why I did not go, not only because I wasn’t able to take time out of my schedule, also because the way it was presented it seemed to me like a junket. It didn’t seem to me like we were going to go there for serious work for this project; it seemed like we were going there for photo opps. There was supposed to be a dinner or reception. There was going to be an Asian American Pacific Islander reception event and meet with the Secretary of the Interior. It seemed to me to be publicity things, various series of photo opps” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, April 2017).

Furthermore, this member recalled how she felt her role in participating in the process was short and had no further contribution to the project: “[w]e were never actually asked for any further input; we just got updates... I really didn’t do everything I was supposed to. I wasn’t really part of the actual decision-making process. Given that, I feel like, ‘Why did you need me on that panel? For what exactly?’” (Ibid). Another member recalled the same meeting being symbolic in nature:

Experts Panel member: That was a little odd, too. The DC meeting seemed to be partly symbolic – people from the Theme Study to meet the administrative staff at the Department of the Interior and recognize the Theme Study formally. That was an institutional and symbolic activity.

Author: What was your role in those activities?

Experts Panel member: To be present (laughs). To show that there was a diverse group to the administrative audience, the people that were gathered later for the formal event in the auditorium.

As a result, some members of the Experts Panel felt that their participation was more symbolic, or tokenized, in public appearances based on their ethnicity and/or title rather than substantial in providing an advisory role in the process.

Active Participation

Most participants that were interviewed felt that they had some influence on the decisions made during the process. It ranged from consultation (i.e., participants were given a voice but had little to no power in decision-making) to involvement (i.e., participants have some influence but little to no power in decision-making). One member of the Experts Panel recalled tensions between NPS staff and Experts Panel members where there was some resistance or reluctance from the NPS staff to consider other options in structuring the Theme Study: “There was some openness to it. Their original position was ‘this is how we do it’ and there was a little bit more openness to listen to what we were saying. People began to voice more and more. There were some limitations and some challenges that would keep us from really doing what we were envisioning” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017). Another member of the Experts Panel recalled voicing a concern during one of the in-person meetings and felt that it was mixed in reception: “Yes and no. Yes in that people heard what I said but they were locked into their specialties. Some of them journalists, social scientists, people interested in literature and literary criticism. Their interests showed but one would expect that” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

Another way members of the Experts Panel contributed to the process was through e-mail correspondences with NPS staff. For example, one NPS staff recalled how some members may have not participated at in-person meetings but contributed more through email:

“People did contribute via email. A lot of email conversations. Those can be really good. First of all, those are written record. I’ll go back and look at it. Second, it gives people a chance to talk in some degree in greater detail about something. It makes sure that we hear all voices as well.

Sometimes some people are more vocal in a meeting but people who make not be vocal in a meeting might have written us a really long email, which is helpful” (NPS staff, interview with author, March 2017).

Several members of the Experts Panel also noted the types of participation by the NPS staff during these meetings as being more of a facilitator role with little to no intervention in the discussions: “I think that they purposefully hung back and let the group talk. They did not intervene very much... They did it on purpose. They wanted to see what the group was going to come up with.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017). A NPS staff member also recalled that she felt that her voice was heard but not materialized in the decision-making process: “Yeah, I think that they [concerns] were heard. I don’t think they materialized but they were heard.” (NPS staff, interview with author, June 2017).

Influencing the Decision-Making Process

Most of the interview participants did not express feeling that they directly influenced the decision-making process; rather, most felt that they contributed to the process in an advisory role but not to the extent to having power to make decisions on the process or content of the Theme Study. Only two interview participants demonstrated how they influenced the decision-making process; one in the preliminary stages of shaping the agenda and in garnering support from political and community partners, the other in the selection of authors and in directly contributing to the Theme Study as an author.

One member of the Theme Study did not participant in a majority of the meetings and discussions with the rest of the Theme Study. Rather, he felt that his contribution to

the Theme Study was in shaping the agenda for the process of the Theme Study and in garnering political and community support for it:

“I attended other, smaller meetings that Franklin had with NPS staff. These were more preliminary meetings in thinking about what was the scope and scale of the Theme Study would be, how would we get this out to the public, what’s sorts of themes might work, and generally what sorts of capital—cultural, political, financial—would be necessary to make sure this doesn’t fall off the plate. Some of my participation as an expert was talking with Franklin in that capacity. There’s clearly a set of experts who know Asian American studies much more than I do but I think that with Franklin’s understanding of Washington and the fact that I was in Washington as well in a similar capacity, we could talk about the other necessary components to pushing the Theme Study forward.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, July 2017).

Only one interview participant expressed feeling like they influenced the decision-making process in terms of shaping the structure of the Theme Study and potential authors for certain chapters. This member recalled working with other members of the Panel that shared similar concerns about representation of Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians:

“What we did was we made a list of a detailed outline of what we thought should be included in the essays and also suggested who could be writers and who could be consultants by the person writing the essay for including Pacific Islander content.” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

This member then shared this list with Odo and NPS staff to provide direct guidance on content regarding Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, including assisting in selecting the authors for the targeted essays and in working with other authors on other essays that may pertain to Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. As a result, authors selected to write essays on these ethnic groups actively consulted with other authors, members of the Experts Panel, and NPS staff to address concerns about representation and content. Other members of the Experts Panel noticed the strong representation in the essays of Native

Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders as well: “I was pleasantly surprised on the overemphasis on Pacific Islanders. Much more than I would’ve thought because I didn’t know. Before it was like “they came later and there weren’t many of them.” But then they go far back. I think that’s going to be nice” (Experts Panel member, interview with author, June 2017).

This chapter explored the composition and roles of the National Park Service AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, as well as the types and levels of participation, that shaped the development of the content (including its projected dissemination and use) as participation by those on the Experts Panel played a critical role in engaging community leaders in developing the content and projected dissemination of the Theme Study. Often uncertain of their roles and responsibilities, this played a critical role in the types of levels of participation by various Experts Panel members. For those that can a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities, they felt that they were more able to be active participants or influence decision-making. For others who did not have a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities, they were more likely to feel that they had little to no influence in the process; rather, they felt that their roles were symbolic or tokenized. These perceptions will play a crucial role in the development of the content and in the anticipated strategies for dissemination and use of the Theme Study.

Chapter 7: Politics of Representation

Introduction

“Asian Americans have played a significant role in the history of the United States, including participating in the early settlement of the country, contributing to the economic development of the American West, and playing a role in the desegregation of public schools in the 20th century. Their accomplishments and struggles are an important part of the American story, worthy of preservation in America's national parks and deserving of the recognition that our historic preservation programs offer.”
– National Park Service Director Jon Jarvis (February 10, 2013)

National Park Service Director Jarvis made these remarks during the announcement of the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study at the Wing Luke Museum in Seattle, Washington. While the remarks demonstrate the agency’s willingness to be more inclusive of underrepresented groups in their federal historic preservation programs, it also fails to be inclusive of all the ethnic groups included in this initiative, particularly in regard to Pacific Islanders. In this chapter, on representation delves into three parts of the Theme Study: the process in developing the content and the representation from the participants of the Theme Study Experts Panel, and the representation of socio-cultural dynamics in the content of the Theme Study.

The objective of the Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study was to investigate the stories, places and people of Asian American and Pacific Island heritage. With this task, key participants in the theme study included the Experts Panel, National Park Service staff, authors, and peer reviewers. National Park Service staff identified a chairman for the Theme Study, assisted in selecting the Experts Panel, and developed the agendas for key in-person and online meetings to convene the panel to discuss the development of the Theme Study. The primary objective of the AAPI Theme Study was to prepare a “theme study to be used to identify and evaluate associated resources for

National Historic Landmark designation and National Register listing” (L. Lord, personal email communication, May 2, 2013).

Given the task of developing the content of the Theme Study, the Experts Panel had a series of challenges in terms of socio-cultural representation in the discussions, in developing a framework for the Theme Study, and in developing a government publication for a diverse audience. One major challenge in these areas is in the representation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, given that there are over 32 ethnic groups with long, complex histories in the United States. This challenge was identified in both the process and in content of the Theme Study, as participants dealt with issues of ethnic and thematic representation in the publication. Another major challenge was in linking place-based histories into people-based narratives that are predominate in Asian American studies. Lastly, staffing, including project management and planning for dissemination, played crucial roles in managing the publication to completion and to use or dissemination. Along with questions of who is represented in the Theme Study, other questions arose in terms of for whom it is intended for and how it would be disseminated for use.

Process of Developing the NPS AAPI Theme Study

In developing the structure of the AAPI Theme Study, several issues arose during the process, including an understanding of the roles of varying participants, expectations of the process, and issues of staffing and project management. To understand these challenges in the process, interview participants were asked about what they considered to be the purpose of the process, their expectations and roles, and issues of project management.

Purpose

The AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel convened in two meetings in 2013. The first meeting was held in January 2013 in Los Angeles, California, and the second meeting was held in May 2013 in Washington, DC. It is in these meetings that Expert Panel members were provided with information about NPS historic preservation programs, the purpose of the Theme Study, the roles of various participants in the Theme Study, and expectations of the process.

For NPS staff, the purpose and importance of the AAPI Theme Study was clear as to its connection to the agency's mission as well as its role in providing historic context for federal designations:

“It's tied to large initiatives of telling all American stories for the Park Service and other initiatives. The agency realizing that we're not always telling the full story—there weren't many properties that were designated NHLs or if they were designated maybe the full story wasn't being told. Theme studies provide that framework makes it easier to nominate properties because you're providing a historic context—a national historic context. It makes it an easier process for nominating properties as NHLs.”
(NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

NPS staff that participated in the Experts Panel were either directly involved in the NHL and National Register programs or in associated programs in Education/Interpretation or Planning.

For academic scholars and community leaders that were selected to be a part of the AAPI Experts Panel, their understanding of the purpose was not well understood (as examined in Chapter 6) but the two in-person meetings, which included presentations on historic preservation programs and discussions on the Theme Study, provided a better understanding of its purpose. As one member of the Experts Panel recalled after the two meetings:

“We were supposed to design what would be the different components of the initiative—what areas would be written as essays so that we could inform the decision-makers about where Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders have places that relate to us as culturally important for our future generations to appreciate.” (Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

While the purpose of the AAPI Theme Study was clear, the process was not. As interview participants recalled, various components of the process were unclear particularly in terms of roles of various actors in the process, their expectations of developing the content, and overall project management of the project.

Meetings

In the initial stages of the AAPI Theme Study, two in-person meetings were held as well as conference calls and public events to provide a better understanding of the theme study’s significance, its various components, and to garner support from various partners in the process. As discussed in Chapter 6, members of the Experts Panel had little to no understanding of their roles when they were invited to participate while NPS staff knew that they had to provide information on federal preservation programs.

NPS staff recalled the importance of the two in-person meetings with the members of the Experts Panel, particularly in having the first meeting in Little Tokyo, a National Historic District in Los Angeles, California:

“We had the launch, or start, at the Japanese American National Museum. They were fabulous hosts and it was a great place to start it. Even though we had preservationists from across the country telling us that Asian American and Pacific Islander history occurs in the Mid-West, South, and Northwest, the truth is that California and the West Coast, in general, are very much greater strongholds just as Scandinavian Americans went to Minnesota and Jewish Americans went to New York. It was a great place to start it. That was an introduction to the program and to each other on the committee. I remember we brought folks back here [in Washington, DC] as well. We did another event here. It wasn’t really the Experts Panel but was talking about the Theme Study to different groups. That was APA

Heritage Month.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

During this meeting, members of the Experts Panel (including NPS staff, academic scholars, and community leaders) were introduced to each other, and a series of presentations were provided on federal, municipal, and community-based historic preservation programs targeting AAPIs and other underrepresented groups. NPS also provided an overview of the National Historic Landmarks and National Register for Historic Places programs, including the process of research, nomination, and designation of historic and cultural resources. Following these technical presentations, NPS staff presented on the potential structure and timeline for the AAPI Theme Study and facilitated discussions on developing a structure, or framework, for the Theme Study. As a NPS staff member recalls, these discussions during the in-person meeting were crucial in the process of developing the Theme Study, particularly in bringing all the members of the Experts Panel to a shared understanding of the importance of the Theme Study and its significance to federal historic preservation programs:

“there were some people that were very familiar with the NHL program, theme studies; other people weren’t. So, you wanted to make sure that you’re trying to give enough information to bring everybody up to speed as far as what is a theme study and what we are trying to achieve. But then, the other component of that is trying to make sure that whatever agenda you have, that it’s going to be productive. You want to make sure that they aren’t just sitting around the table and talking. I recall that we did talk about the framework—what steps do you take to get towards a framework because everybody has a different area of expertise.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

With the NPS staff providing information on historic preservation programs and in facilitating discussions on the process of developing the Theme Study, they knew the potential issues given its focus on AAPIs:

“The purpose of that was to convene a group of experts to advise us on how can we proceed with a theme study of this enormity. The conversation was very dynamic. People were getting on task right away with grappling with ‘how do we sort this?’ ‘How do we group the topics?’ ‘How do we deal with different ethnicities?’ I thought that we did not leave that meeting with any firm conclusion but we were well on the way. The advisors were well on the way to having a semblance of an idea of how this could be approached. That first meeting was really critical for those ground floor conversations about structure.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

With this understanding of the complexity of structuring a theme study on a diverse group, NPS staff also observed the contributions of the selected academic scholars and community leaders to the discussion, while they focused on the technical components of the process:

“We gave a presentation on the NHL criteria, how some properties were nominated under these criteria, give people background information through presentations and handouts, URLs, etc. Then, allowing the professionals around the table talk about how we could potentially slice this very large area of study and to make it manageable. I think to me hearing what the academics had to say was useful as you start to see some of themes we might not have come up ourselves from within the Park Service...It was just interesting where we have those rich discussions having a group of academics and community members together in the same room having these discussions with the goal of coming up with a framework that going to be useful.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

Following the first meeting in Los Angeles, the Experts Panel re-convened five months later in Washington, DC. As mentioned in Chapter 6, the subsequent meeting had both private meetings (just the Experts Panel) and public events (with Secretary Jewell and a APA Heritage Month event at the Department of the Interior). It is during the second meeting that the Experts Panel held multiple discussions of the structure of the Theme Study. Odo, as chairman of the Experts Panel, recalls the purpose of the two in-person meetings:

Author: The first meeting was held in Los Angeles in January 2013. Do you recall what the purpose of that convening was for?

Odo: Primarily to get everybody on board and have people meet one another and form some sort of a social sense – a shared mission. There was a sense of importance that we see through it to completion. The main meeting was in DC. The first one was to make sure we were all on the same page.

Author: What was the purpose of the second meeting in Washington, DC in May 2013?

Odo: Primarily to sketch out the outline of the theme study and agree on a set of people who could actually write the essays.

With the purpose of developing the outline and identifying potential authors for the essays, these in-person meetings provided preliminary, yet substantial, discussions of the process and expectations of various actors along the way.

Conference calls

Following the two in-person meetings for the Experts Panel, NPS staff held a series of conference calls to solidify the structure of the Theme Study as well as identify potential authors of the essays: “These things I can recall were after we had these discussions, a couple phone call discussions after the face-to-face meetings. After that, we might’ve taken it as an agency and tried to pull into some manageable pieces. I have this 15-essay structure, which was keeping that larger topic of understanding AAPI history through place and time” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017). Following with the conference calls, NPS staff provided the Experts Panel with three options for the essay topics and structure, a list of potential authors, as well as project timeline (see Appendix G) and the roles and responsibilities of the Experts Panel, NPS staff, authors, essays, and editor (see Appendix F). Following the two in-person meetings and series of conference calls in 2013, no other meetings or conference calls were conducted by NPS staff or Odo.

Roles

Following the two in-person meetings, NPS provided a list of the roles and responsibilities to the Experts Panel, NPS staff, authors, reviewers, chairman, and editor. With various actors in the process, these defined roles were to help in the coordination of the Theme Study, particularly since the process of involving different groups of Expert Panel members, authors, and peer reviewers were unprecedented prior to the American Latino Theme Study. In previous NHL theme studies, one person (either a NPS staff or consultant) wrote the theme study and only reviewed internally. The AAPI Theme Study was constructed similar to the American Latino Theme Study with a Scholars Panel, essay authors, and peer reviewers. However, in the American Latino Theme Study, NPS staff indicated that some actors held multiple roles (e.g., served on the Scholars Panel, wrote an essay, and/or peer-reviewed other essays). As a result, NPS staff developed specific restrictions on roles on the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel where an individual was prohibited from serving in multiple roles as follows, “It is important for each participant to understand the specific roles of panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers, as well as the role of the chairman of the theme study project, NHL staff, and the editor.” (L. Lord, personal communication with author, May 2013).

While the number of participants serving as Experts Panel members, essay authors, and peer reviewers grew, NPS staff saw the benefits of having these distinct roles and contributions to the process of developing the AAPI Theme Study but also the potential challenges in managing a project of this size and magnitude given the varying areas of expertise:

“There is certainly an advantage of going the route of having several different authors writing different chapters in a theme study versus one

person that is taking on a theme study. That's another model where we have one person writing a theme study or two people working together. That could potentially take longer time because you have one person trying to write a much larger document. There is something to say about having multiple people writing but then you are also coordinating. There's another element there that you're trying to coordinate many different voices. Not everybody is familiar with writing about space or making an essay that's connected to space." (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

NPS Staff

NPS staff played varying roles at different parts of the process in developing the AAPI Theme Study. For example, several NPS staff developed the agenda and materials for the in-person meetings and facilitated discussions during in-person meetings and through electronic correspondences. A member of the Expert Panel recalled the NPS staff roles shifted from facilitators in the planning stages with a focus on guiding discussions with the Experts Panel to managing the Theme Study with little to no interaction with the Experts Panel. Several interview participants recalled how NPS staff "hung back" in the discussions with the Experts Panel but also provided guidance in terms of the feasibility and funding of the theme study. During the in-person meetings, "the Park Service people presented themselves as facilitators rather than as experts, which is both a smart move but also what else could they have done? We weren't going to accept them as experts" (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017). Yet, following the in-person meetings, this member of the Experts Panel noted a shift in NPS roles: "Everything is being handled by people employed by the federal government. Those that were in Little Tokyo acting as facilitators, now they are hands-on, doing everything" (ibid).

Experts Panel

The roles described in the NPS memo to the Experts Panel, although defined and shared with the group, were not clear during the process for either the NPS staff or members of the Experts Panel. After determining a framework of the essays in the Theme Study, members of the panel identified potential authors and peer reviewers for each essay. NPS staff recalled the contribution of the potential authors identified by the Experts Panel:

“That was a discussion that was part of the Expert’s Panel in advising. They know a lot of the authors out there. There were folks that Franklin knew. The experts would recommend authors for a specific topic. We, in the Park Service, may know someone who might potentially be interested. Most of the people who ended up writing were folks that the panel knew from community or academia. Published authors who were known for their specific expertise or area. You obviously can’t get everybody you might want because academics have their own deadlines going on. But I think we got an excellent group of authors.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

As the essays were being written by authors and reviewed by peer reviewers, members of the Experts Panel had concerns about not being informed on the progress or content being developed. In response, NPS staff explained the limitations of the Experts Panel as reviewers of the Theme Study:

“Whether or not there was something intended, I don’t know. I was working with authors and peer reviewers, that’s all I could work with. It was never an intention to produce something if you had all those advisors serve as reviewers. I would have running fleeing into the night if I had that many people giving me comments on one subject knowing that they were all brilliant, well-informed and would have had great comments. It would have been unfair to the author as well. We couldn’t use them in that sense. It was never suggested to me that they were advisory in the sense of reviewing individual chapters; that’s what the peer reviewers were for. All of the important decisions had been made – structure, who the authors are, and who the peer reviewers are.”(NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

A few interview participants shared their concerns of no longer being informed in the development of the Theme Study following the determination of the Theme Study's structures and selected authors. For example, one interview participant observed:

“I think it's weird because we were brought in to advise what the content should be but then we were not asked to even look at the content. I understand the funding business but I also think that's an excuse. So, we're not the peer reviewers – that's fine – but in aren't we supposed to be the editorial collective? Should've we as the editorial collective read this stuff?” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017)

Several interview participants expressed similar concerns particularly given the publicity of their participation on the Experts Panel. They understood that they were not to serve as peer reviewers but wanted to review the Theme Study in its entirety prior to publication release.

Chairman

The roles defined for the Experts Panel chairman focused on leading the meetings and discussions with the Experts Panel, selecting essay authors and peer reviewers, hiring and coordinating with an editor, maintaining project schedule with NPS staff (as per Appendix G), participating as a peer reviewer, raising funds for the AAPI Heritage Initiative, and maintaining communication with Theme Study participants and partners. With these roles, many interview participants only saw the roles of selecting essay authors and peer reviewers are completed. Many questions arose about project management, communications, and staffing. One NPS staff recalled issues of communications and project management from the chairman:

“The roles weren't clearly articulated about how to communicate with the people who are either on the Expert's Panel or somehow involved. It would have benefit – you know, as I am a project manager – always setting times and meetings, keeping people in the loop. That would've been helpful. If there was a NPS staff person, like a project manager type

person to do that, because Franklin doesn't work for the Park Service. I don't know if he was getting paid or exactly what his role was but it's like you need a paid staff person to be making sure that that communication is happening. I think that there's where there was a level of uncertainty about what were the rest of us doing?" (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

These questions about communications and project management then brought fourth questions of the other expected roles of the chairman, particularly on maintaining the project schedule to completion and expectations of this position. Odo saw his role more as an editor of a collection of academic essays rather than as a project manager:

“In the publishing business, you have an editorial board. You assign stuff to a bunch of writers. They write it. You have it reviewed. Then, you select blind reviewers and send it back. Re-write it. Copy edit it. And it's done. For the most part, things did not go that smoothly. We were a bunch of scholars trying to put this together but no, I didn't understand how difficult this was going to be.”

The differences between the anticipated roles of the chairman versus the actual played a critical role in the process and timeline in completing the theme study. With little to no funds raised, minimal communication was maintained with Experts Panel members and AAPI Heritage Partners on the progress of the Theme Study, and delays with authors and peer reviewers, this left many interview participants wondering if the Theme Study would ever be completed.

Project Management and Coordination

Panelists recalled concerns on the scope and purpose of the Theme Study: Who is the intended audience? What is our role? Who is in charge? Where will it be disseminated? As panelists participated in the process, these questions were not answered and became vaguer through the process. With turnover and transitions of key NPS staff during the project, panelists were unsure of project management and timeline to

completion for a project of this size and scope on Asian American and Pacific Islander history. For NPS staff, the roles and responsibilities were also unclear with staff turnover and lack of funding dedicated to the staffing of the process and publication.

Procedures and Timeline

The AAPI Theme Study was anticipated to take two years to be completed with a scheduled release for Spring 2015. However, given the size and scope of the content, as well as the number of participants in the process, questions arose about project management. A NPS staff recalls how although it was projected to take 2 years, she anticipated it would take at least another year given the structure of the essays as well as the process of writing, reviewing, and editing the essays given the timing and availability of academic scholars/faculty as the targeted group of essay writers and peer reviewers:

“I just knew it was going to take some time, at least 2-3 years depending on all these caveats – you meet, you have a discussion, it takes you a while to figure out what the framework is going to be. Once you have the framework, you have to identify all those different chapters. Then, you have to identify who can write those chapters. That’s the other thing – if you decided a chapter on AAPI architecture. What person knows all of that? Finding the authors and massaging the chapters a little bit for the authors we were able to get—that all takes time. And then, the contracting. They had to then contract the folks. Then, working with an academic’s schedule – we always know that. Most of the people that wrote the essays are academics. They are not going to be able to be as productive during the school year unless they are on sabbatical. You just know that all those things taken together is going to take time. Even when you’re writing an essay for a journal, it takes to do the research. It takes time to write the essay. It takes time to have it peer reviewed and then respond to comments.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

Even with the size and scope of the AAPI Theme Study, some members of the Experts Panel expected the National Park Service to have procedures in place given their experience in developing NHL theme studies:

“I’m surprised that the Park Service didn’t have a stronger procedural sense about doing it. It struck me as an organization that has produced theme studies before and they didn’t have a procedure or process to organize the people and bring them together, to have them work and develop ideas. The process for making judgments and decisions in a timely manner—I would’ve expected that.” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017)

NPS staff recalled how the lessons learned from the American Latino Theme Study and AAPI Theme Study provided them with improved procedures in developing theme studies with advisory groups like the respective Scholars Panel and Experts Panel, particularly with the subsequent LGBTQ Theme Study. As one NPS staff member recalled the timely development of the LGBTQ Theme Study was based on the challenges experienced in the two previous Heritage Initiatives, particularly in hiring a staff person to manage of the process from selecting authors and reviewers to fundraising: “Because of the way we did the LGBTQ Theme Study, she [LGBTQ chairwoman] was very intentional about keeping all the authors informed. All the peer reviewers were available. They had gone and given talks. A lot of it is having enough money to have a dedicated person to actually do this stuff.” (Little).

NPS Staff and Funding

In the preliminary stages of developing the Theme Study, NPS staff noted issues of staff capacity and funding with the agency given the number of theme studies being coordinated during that time period:

“It was tricky because we were balancing so many theme studies and had not gotten any increase in staff. I remember my boss saying, ‘we need one more staff person.’ He was very good at juggling and borrowing people from different programs to help us. With all of our theme studies, we never really made deadlines because they were constantly evolving and changing. We didn’t really have a deadline.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

The number of NPS staff proved not to be the critical factor in administering the Theme Study. Rather, turnover of key NPS staff negatively impacted the progress of the Theme Study. When the NPS staff in charge of the Theme Study left the agency in 2015, the AAPI Theme Study was not transitioned to another staff person. As a result, there was no NPS staff assigned to oversee its progress:

“Then, there was a lull. Things were a little bit chaotic. I don’t want to say chaotic. Difficult because Lexi’s position wasn’t filled, so there was a series of “acting” in Lexi’s position. So, nobody was really pushing the completion of the AAPI and, as far as we know, it was kinda steaming along under Franklin’s guidance. It really was low level but there was a period when not much was being accomplished. There was no oversight in pushing it.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

During the staff transitions, the AAPI Theme Study was considered low priority by staff, particularly in terms of the number of people involved in the process from the chairman (who also then became the editor), essay authors, and peer reviewers for eighteen chapters as one NPS staff recalls the instructions given to her when the Theme Study was assigned to her:

“‘Don’t worry about it. This will take care of itself.’ That was not correct. I don’t think he didn’t understand that this required an enormous amount of management. Franklin was the editor – he was a terrific editor – but we were also dealing with eighteen other authors. And for every author, for every chapter, there was a peer reviewer that was also paid. So, this is serious stuff and we weren’t seeking out volunteers. Right away, you could see the number of people you’re dealing with.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

During this time of staff turnover, a new NPS staff was appointed to the AAPI Theme Study as a special assistant to NPS Director Jarvis to provide assistance in completing the publication in a timely manner since it was originally slated to for completion in Spring 2015 and was delayed by 12-18 months in the project calendar. The special assistant not only represented the NPS Director’s office but with the White House Initiative on AAPIs.

A NPS staff recalls how she, along with the chairperson and NPS special assistant, had to restart the process with essays being at various stages of being written or reviewed: “[W]e had to restart something that had become rather dormant. We were kicking it back into gear. So, there was some catch up to do. I think that some of the authors had submitted things and hadn’t gotten any feedback back” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017). With two NPS staff overseeing the AAPI Theme Study, along with the chairman, they were able to identify barriers in the process, including delayed contracts with authors and peer reviewers and a lack of coordination of the eighteen essay authors and peer reviewers. Yet, the pressure to restart and complete the process was difficult given the level of responsiveness of authors and peer reviewers: “I, too, couldn’t meet their expectations because we are dealing with authors and academics and scholars who are writing and producing along with their very busy careers on top of what they were doing for us” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017).

In addition to staffing, funding was a key issue for NPS staff in managing the theme study. Most NPS staff identified funding as an issue particularly for the AAPI Theme Study in comparison to the American Latino and LGBTQ Theme Studies (which were both externally funded) and previous theme studies that had no direct funding:

“Most of these theme studies were not funded directly and we have to run the program. We’re still running the program at the same time we’re doing these theme studies and having to work on that. But also bringing folks together for conferences can be quite expensive. We had a budget. It was pretty small. It was primarily associated with travel to bring people in for meetings.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

As a result, no NPS staff members were assigned wholly to oversee the AAPI Theme Study and no funding was allocated for planning or dissemination efforts. Instead, NPS

Associate Director Toothman reallocated a small amount of funding to hire a short-term contractor to serve as Chairman of the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel.

Chairman

Many interview participants noted Odo's role as chairman of the Experts Panel in bringing together a diverse group of academic scholars and community leaders with a majority having worked with him previously in academic and/or practitioner capacities, particularly as editor of academic publications and/or in developing educational materials for exhibitions with the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Program. One member of the Experts Panel noted Odo's extensive experience as a scholar and AAPI leader but also expressed frustration in the management of the process:

“I was glad they picked him in terms of background and experience. I have had a critical attitude about academics getting things done (laughs). I don't think they are very good at it! (laughs) They are good at what they do but they're not practical, process-oriented. Let's move from A to B to C. Let's get this done. I think Franklin was not as direct as he should have been. The project could have used a little bit more guidance and hands-on people to keep it moving faster.” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Two other members of the Experts Panel recalled their previous experience working with Odo on an Asian American history anthology, in which the product (a text book) was never completed or released but served as lessons in managing a similar process in the AAPI Theme Study. As one recalled, “There was one point where he [Odo] was working on a project to see if he could get together a big text book. I think that's what I'm thinking of with a bunch of historians together. That might've been a precursor to this [AAPI Theme Study]” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

Communication

Both NPS staff and members of the Experts Panel expressed concerns about the lack of communications about the progress of the AAPI Theme Study as the anticipated project schedule was fraught with staff changes, delays in essays, and changes in the timeline. Most of the interview participants recalled receiving very few updates from Odo between 2014 and 2017 with little information on the status of the Theme Study. As one NPS staff recalled and questioned:

“I got some emails from Franklin. I would ask periodically. I don’t feel like I was the short list of communications. I was always asking, “Where is it at?” I knew that when Franklin finished the first chapter. I heard murmurs occasionally about somebody finished a chapter or it needs more work. But I didn’t have a good understanding of where things were at.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

One member of the Experts Panel recalled becoming concerned with the delay in the project and in communications from the NPS staff and chairman:

“The red flags were the passage of time. Month after month. Very short, vague responses to my emails. If I were chairing, I would make it a personal effort to send out an update and be upbeat about it. ‘We got this academic to do this part.’ ‘I just got a paragraph from this academic.’ Something to let people know it’s not dead. And by the way, if you were supposed to get something done, get it done.” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Timeline to Completion and Expectations

Along with the challenges of defining roles, managing various participants, and dealing with NPS staffing changes, another challenge identified by interview participants was in managing the timeline in completing the Theme Study and expectations held by various participants and partners. With the Theme Study projected to take 24 months since the first meeting of the Experts Panel, NPS staff noted the difficulty of coordinating with academic scholars as essay authors and peer reviewers:

“It was a difficult deadline to meet because you’re dealing with academics. I say this having been one but deadlines are not their strongpoint. It’s not a culture that prioritizes deadlines. We knew that going in. We’d already seen that from multiple theme studies. To be really honest, that was our biggest struggle—working with academics.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

The project timeline took into consideration academic schedules but did not take into account agency staff transitions, which also affected its progress:

“There was a period of time where I was under contract. My contract ran out long before it was done. This took a very long time. I was trying to herd this group together. It was very slow. It was mostly left to me and the panel to construct a path towards completing the theme study. For better or for worse, a lot of it was me working with a few people trying to handle this.” (Odo, interview with author, June 2017)

Members of the Experts Panel expressed concerns as the project timeline to completion (of Spring 2015) has passed with little information from or accountability of the NPS staff or chairman:

“I look at it as an activist, not an academic. These people are getting paid. They are not going to get rich but if this is their expertise, they should be held to a time line. My fear is that it takes too long and drags on and on, it could die. That would be a shame. It’s frustrating to see all the months and months and now years go by. Nothing to show for it all.” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

However, NPS staff also took responsibility of the delays in the project, citing administrative changes and lack of administrative responsibility: “It’s our fault here at the Park Service. We weren’t on top of it. There wasn’t someone to do it. The explanation had been that there had been administrative changes with no clear line of authority” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017).

Challenges in the Process

The process of managing the multiple participants in the AAPI Theme Study became a daunting task for the NPS staff and chairman of the AAPI Theme Study

Experts Panel given the limited staffing and funding for the project, as well as timeline and roles that became unrealistic and challenging. As a result, the NPS AAPI Theme Study, which was slated for completion by 2015-16, has yet to be completed and disseminated for public use. Three major challenges identified by interview participants included NPS staff turnover and limited funding, poor project management, and lack of communications or transparency within the process.

Shaping the Content of the NPS AAPI Theme Study

The AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel was given the following tasks in structuring the Theme Study (see Appendix F):

1. Develop a structure for the theme study that is considerate of the following factors:
 - a. The need to produce effective aids for the evaluation of significant places;
 - b. Compatibility with NHL themes, context development, and the program's place-based focus;
 - c. Comprehensive coverage of each group's culture, including but not limited to cultural practices, social structure, religion, education, occupational preferences, and lifestyle preferences;
 - d. Periods of immigration to the U.S. and periods of settlement within the U.S.;
 - e. Demographic characteristics (population size, growth, distribution).

With this task of providing an outline of essays to cover the historical and cultural contributions of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States, many of the panelists expressed concerns during the process, and in subsequent interviews for this research study, about the need to be comprehensive, yet not exhaustive, in covering the diverse

experiences of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, including socio-demographic dynamics (e.g., ethnicity, class, religion, gender, immigration) and thematic issues (e.g., humanities, architecture, community development, labor, education). The major issues in shaping the content of the Theme Study that emerged from the interviews included: (1) developing a framework (i.e., structure or outline of essays), (2) addressing the complexities of Asian American and Pacific Islander representation and history, and (3) producing a publication for a federal agency.

In developing a framework to provide content that covers the NHL criteria including sites where events of national historical significance occurred, places where prominent persons lived or worked, icons of ideals that shaped the nation, outstanding examples of design or construction, places characterizing a way of life, or archeological sites of national significance as they may be associated with Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, the Experts Panel grappled with the structure of the Theme Study in terms of chronology, ethnic representation, areas of focus/themes, and place-based history, in addition to the technical and funding limitations of developing a federal document. The Experts Panel acknowledged the challenges in being comprehensive (yet not exhaustive) in terms socio-cultural and historical dynamics across Asian American and Pacific Islander groups while focusing on place-based history in the Theme Study.

For NPS staff, while they acknowledge the need to be inclusive in terms of socio-cultural dynamics in the AAPI community, they also faced issues of having a federal document that is intended for technical use by historic preservation agencies while dealing with limited funding:

“How many essays can you get with the funding that you have? Even if you’re building a house, how much house can you get given what you

want? You have certain goals with a theme study. You want it to be broad enough, inclusive enough, but useful. A theme study has to be useful. It has a specific purpose. It's very different than a collection of essays, an edited volume of essays, which can be thematic but they don't necessarily have to be a tool that has a very specific use." (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

"We were all having conversations about the feasibility of coverage and how would it be possible. With all these theme studies, the coverage is impossible. Trying to re-write American history in a book—you can't do it. We were trying to figure out what was feasible, what would make sense as coverage. We talked about the structure and scope, and what we could afford. There is only so much money available." (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Furthermore, NPS staff faced challenges in finding academic scholars that have areas of expertise related to place. Since the Theme Study is a technical publication for historic preservation governmental agencies, they had to identify academic scholars, including historians, architectural historians, and archaeologists, to contribute in developing the Theme Study's content:

"Historians aren't really trained often to think about place. You have to find a historian that can write about place. Then, you have to find a historian who can also understand the regulations. You have to find somebody who also really can think about architecture as well since it's one of the elements. An archaeologist. It was often difficult to lasso and pull together someone or a group of people who have a range of skills that enable them to put together a theme study." (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

In developing the structure of the AAPI Theme Study, NPS staff provided examples of theme study frameworks to the Experts Panel that "is an outline of major themes and concepts that help us to conceptualize American history. It is used to help identify cultural resources that embody America's past and to describe and analyze the multiple layers of history encapsulated within each resource" (National Park Service, 2000, p. 1).

NPS Theme Study Frameworks

To address these issues of developing a theme study based on academic scholarship that supports place-based historic preservation technical work, the NPS created a NPS NHL Framework to guide the structure of theme studies. Two types of theme study framework that NPS staff provided to the Experts Panel were the National Park Service Thematic Framework (ibid) and *Civil Rights in America: A Framework for Identifying Significant Sites* (National Park Service, 2002). The NPS Thematic Framework is structured that “draws upon the work of scholars across disciplines to provide a structure for capturing the complexity and meaning of human experience and for understanding that past in coherent, integrated ways (National Park Service, 2000, p. 1)” with categories that are based on people, time, and place and themes like science, economy, environment, social institutions and movements, political landscapes, and cultural values. The *Civil Rights in America* framework focuses on nationally significant civil rights sites associated with events, places, and people that includes themes like voting rights, public accommodations, equal employment, and equal education. With these two NPS theme study frameworks, NPS staff attempted to incorporate these structures in to the AAPI Theme Study given its complexities of race/ethnicity, time, and place:

“I think what was complex is that AAPI is so broad. It’s basically people who immigrated to the United States or are now part of the United States. To me, it should be Pacific Islanders or Asian Americans because they are really different. To lump them together is kind of arbitrary. Who is the theme study about? I think that was really large. The complexities of different sites and each group’s ethnic history is really diverse. Where they went. The challenges they faced. The laws that they encountered. Where they were coming from. It’s so vast that I think that was a big challenge. Or us to wrap our arms around and try and frame what the important themes even within this theme study. Do we do it by ethnicity? Do we do

it chronologically? Do we do it thematically by different aspects of life and culture? Do we do it geographically? All of those questions were things we were grappling with when we were trying to scope out the components of the theme study.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

With these NPS theme study frameworks guiding discussions with the Experts Panel, questions arose about incorporating an introductory essay to explain the importance of integrating time with themes as they relate to AAPI historic and cultural resources:

“Everyone agreed that we needed an introductory essay to explain it all. Then, time periods. Or community and everyday life. Under certain years, it covered pressing issues during those years—immigration, issues. Then, there was people and places—this was using the NPS thematic framework. Going through each of these groups of years that we previously had identified and using the NPS thematic framework. At one point, we had a couple of introductory essays... it potentially had a preface with a time line, a chapter on re-thinking American history, time, and geography, an introductory essay on understanding AAPIs through time and place. Those were just the introductory essays. And then, we went to community and everyday life; arts, architecture, and design; recreation, sports, and entertainment; commodification and consumption; migration/immigration; trade and commerce. This is also loosely following the thematic framework but giving more specific titles to it. Health, science, and technology; shaping political landscape. I’m trying to remember how it transformed. Then, it broke out into essays, rather than themes.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

This process, as recalled by this interview participant, shows that consensus was difficult during the process and previous examples, like the NPS Thematic Framework and American Latino Theme Study, were not used for the AAPI Theme Study. Instead of structuring the outline based on overarching themes (e.g. three essays focused on a theme like Labor, Business, and Economy), the group focused on having themes for each essay. For Expert Panel members, the task of developing the structure of the AAPI Theme Study was daunting to organize given factors of time, place, and people. While the

development of the structure was challenging, they also faced questions of use and relevance to the general public:

“It was just trying to decide the chapters. Chronological sequence. Kinda, yes. Nothing specific...I had no idea how it should go except for very rough – there’s immigration. Countries. Regions. I’m not knowledgeable or an expert, I wasn’t sure how I could contribute to how it should be laid out. I think I was more concerned that the average layperson would understand it. That it was understandable and useable. I think I said that a couple times. It has to be understandable and useable. People have to see this as a tool, not some high level academic document that uses big words. I do remember that being a concern.” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

With time, people, and place as the three fundamental components of the AAPI Theme Study, the discussions on the framework were: (1) thematic, (2) chronological, (3) people-based, and (4) place-based.

Thematic Approach

During the in-person meetings and conference calls, the structure of the AAPI Theme Study grappled with aligning overarching themes within time given the diversity within the AAPI community. Throughout the discussions on developing the structure of the Theme Study, questions on how it would be organized – by ethnicity, time periods, or themes. Many of the academic scholars and community leaders on the Experts Panel had extensive knowledge and experience on the developing AAPI scholarship that is inclusive and comprehensive. One member of the Experts Panel, with extensive academic scholarship on racial/ethnic construction and categorization, recalled the difficulties in being comprehensive or inclusive of all AAPI ethnic groups and preferred a thematic structure:

“It is difficult to decide which groups to cover because it’s not possible to cover all of the groups because it’s too many. How do people decide? It would be something that I would’ve wanted to do, which was to probably

not to do it chronologically, but to think about it thematically” (Experts Panel member 10, interview with author, June 2017).

Yet, with the concept of a thematic framework, another member of the Experts Panel recalled that: “[t]here was definitely a discussion of chronology versus thematic. There was very definitely the question of what to include in terms of large political events versus culture and everyday life very broadly defined” (Experts Panel member 2, interview with author, April 2017) since larger themes, like culture and everyday life, can span across defined time periods in comparison to political events. As the Experts Panel identified major themes spanning across time periods, they grappled with how to organize it with overarching categories like immigration, labor, arts and culture, politics, and daily life in a similar structure of the NPS Thematic Framework where time periods did not determine the organization. With these themes, a few Experts Panel members acknowledged that the topics and themes were influenced by individuals’ areas of expertise in the discussion while other topics were less emphasized:

“There was some concern that we didn’t put in enough, we didn’t have anything here on art. We didn’t have enough here on literature. We did not resolve that specifically but art and literature did get left out of this. This is very much a social, economic, political take Asian American sponsored stuff. Less on art and literature, cultural production. It had to do a lot with who was at the table—I don’t think we had anyone doing literature at the table. I don’t think we had anyone doing cultural studies at the table. I think it has to do a lot with those things having to do with historic sites, which I wasn’t really thinking about it then, but in hindsight, author’s house – why can’t they be included?” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017)

Chronological Framework

In considering the structure of the AAPI Theme Study based on chronology, or time periods similar to the *Civil Rights in America* framework, there were several questions on the overall span of time given the varied issues of immigration, migration,

and settlement of ethnic groups like Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Although discussions focused on a thematic structure, there were concerns about thematic essays that would have to cover an expansive period of time across the various ethnic groups from Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders (whose homelands became American territories or states) to Southeast Asian refugees (who are more recent immigrants). One member of the Experts Panel discussed the difficulty of having a structure of essays based on chronology given the long span of time that would need to be covered: “It’s hard to maintain linear narrative structure because, in fact, there are multiple narratives intertwined. The physical settings are different for each group in a lot of cases. They represent different historical periods in American history” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017).

In addition, discussions of representation of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders brought forth potential issues of perpetuating the marginality or invisibility of these groups while recognizing the importance of indigeneity and settlement: “there was a real concern that Pacific Islanders would be tacked on, left out, or not really addressed, especially depending on where you started the chronology. As I recall, there was a decision to make sure that we had at least one essay, if not two, that explicitly focused on the Pacific Islands” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017). As a result, the Experts Panel recommended potential essays focused on a long time period to address the specific concerns about Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander settlement. A NPS staff recalled that these essays would be addressed similarly to previous theme studies on American Indians: ‘Yes, it was a huge issue about Hawaii and Guam. It basically started in the beginning of time. We did theme studies that dealt with American Indian sites and

those go back thousands of years. So, that how we thought about Hawaii and Guam” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017). While this addressed specific concerns of significant periods of time and chronology, it also brought forth questions on structuring the Theme Study by people or ethnicities.

People-based Framework

As the Experts Panel discussed particular issues of chronology for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, it also brought forth questions on developing the Theme Study’s structure based on people. In the racial categorization of AAPI, ethnic identities can be referenced in the aggregate (e.g., Southeast Asians) or disaggregated (e.g., Cambodians). There is tremendous diversity, with Asia having more than 40 countries, and there are more ethnicities than countries (e.g., the Hmong are an ethnic group from Laos). Discussions within the Experts Panel acknowledged the notions of ethnic and national identity would complicate the organization of the Theme Study as well. While recognizing the need to disaggregate the racial category of “Asian American and Pacific Islander,” one member of the Experts Panel also saw the importance of regional groups (e.g., East Asians, Southeast Asians, South Asians, Native Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders) and hierarchies within it:

“One thing [another member of the Experts Panel] and I tried to emphasize is how to you think about history and how do you think about historical significance because that gets to issues of representation. For Southeast Asian community being fairly new in comparison to other groups, they may not have physical landmarks per se nor would they have resources to have landmarks. So, what else should we look at when we think about historic preservation? Is it something we do on the front end as to identify something for a newer community to build. It was more thinking about the language of the criteria that would use to indicate what considers a landmark and then how not all of those indicators are applied necessarily to the newer refugee communities.” (Experts Panel member 10, interview with author, June 2017)

With the diversity within the racial category of Asian American and Pacific Islander, interview participants recalled discussions on defining “Asian American and Pacific Islanders” with the complex inter- and intra-ethnic dynamics, including from one NPS staff in the preliminary stages of developing the agenda for the Experts Panel:

“One of the big things we had to think about was: How are we going to define Asian American and Pacific Islanders? We had a lot of questions about that. How are we going to think about this? That was the first task that we really did with Franklin – thinking about how do we define Asia? How do we define Asian Americans? Once we had made that determination, that enabled to think about the larger groups that we were thinking about – they may not be a large group but in American history, they are really important. Like the Chamorro in Guam are not numerically large ethnic group but they are hugely important in American history. We had other groups that are like that in the US where certain countries have pushed more immigrants than others from larger countries. Certain groups too have a really strong history like Chinese Americans. There is a long, long history of Chinese coming to the US.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

NPS staff were aware of the complex dynamics of structuring the Theme Study with a people-based approach, particularly in over 32 ethnic groups, issues of settlement, diaspora, and varying notions of ethnic and national identity that would be difficult to address in the structure of the Theme Study, which was an significant concern during the discussions and in this study’s interviews, particularly on panethnicity and on the need to address distinctions between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

While there are complex dynamics of trying to be representative across AAPI ethnic and regional groups, the Experts Panel acknowledged the need to discuss how to approach issues of racial and ethnic representation in the content of the Theme Study. As one member of the Experts Panel recalled, “[a]s somebody who has written pan-Asian sort of things and trying to be aware of different levels of difference and separation, it’s

difficult to try to integrate them. I had a feeling that this was going to be a somewhat difficult process” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

Panethnicity

NPS staff noted that the AAPI Theme Study was intended to be a representative, not comprehensive, document of Asian American and Pacific Islander place-based historical scholarship, but not exhaustive. As one NPS staff recalled in the discussions of race and ethnicity in the structure of the essays:

“This is not supposed to be the encyclopedia of AAPIs. We are providing many examples of how the subject can be approached so that one topic may focus on one group and not another. Or, a little bit on many groups. But this is the best we can do to give you examples of how this particular aspect of culture and history can be approached.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

Discussions on panethnicity looked at how to encompass most AAPI groups or have one ethnic (or regional) group represented in to a specific topic or theme while taking time (or time periods) into account:

“It’s such a large group. I’m looking at pictures of the chart paper from DC. I see one that just on chronological periods—BC to 1492, 1492 to 1848, 1848 to 1917, 1917 to and on and on. When you are including the Pacific Islands, where you do start? How do you make sure you don’t inadvertently leave somebody out? Or is it going to be so broad that you’re not going to be able to have a cursory discussion of the issues. I think that in the end, what we came up with are essays that are representative that can then help inform. The chapter on architecture is primarily on Japanese American architecture, so there’s a framework that then can potentially be used for someone whose looking architecture under Chinese American or Indian American. I think that we’re all aware – I don’t think anybody isn’t—that you can’t be comprehensive. You’d be writing thousands and thousands of pages. You have to be representative of how you’re presenting how you decided to slice it. I think it’s broadly representative, it’s not like we took one group and thoroughly provided a theme study for that one group. We have different groups represented throughout.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

To have different groups represented throughout the Theme Study, this option brought forth concerns from members of the Experts Panel, particularly in combining Pacific Islander history with Asian American history, which can result in marginalizing groups instead of being inclusive: “When you throw in together Pacific Islander history and Asian American history together, you try to shoe horn that into something manageable, it’s going to leave some things out and it’s going to be partial. It’s never going to feel adequate; it’s just kinda what you have” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017).

Even within the discussions of representation based on panethnicity, there were concerns about the ethnic hierarchies within and across ethnic and regional groups that could be perpetuated in the Theme Study due to logistical limitations like funding and resources for the National Park Service:

“I think that they tried to have representation but, usually in this kind of project, you would almost never fully include, or appropriately, include the Pacific Islander groups. If you were to say Pacific Islander, you’d cover Hawaii at most. But Chamorros, Samoans, so on... the more dominant group would be standing in for the sub-groups. In the Southeast Asian case, Vietnamese will stand in for other Southeast Asians—Cambodians, Laotians, Khmer, and so on. So, it’s a difficult thing because working with an institution like the Park Service, it has institutional constraints in terms of resources. I felt like at the end whatever we decided reverted to what usually gets done in terms of chapters. Just because when you come down to it, who can write about this group? What do we know? By default, we have the usual suspects and because of the chapters would have to rely on already published sources. Basically replicating and summarizing what is already out there. If there is no opportunity to funding primary sources, you are just merely re-telling what people know but in a different form.” (Experts Panel member 10, interview with author, June 2017)

Furthermore, to discuss the complexities of unpacking ethnic and regional differences across Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders was difficult but the Experts Panel also

expressed concerns of identifying academic scholars as potential essayists that have areas of expertise to cover these issues.

As a NPS staff noted, as the Theme Study framework was being developed, they had not yet identified potential essayists that could cover the expansiveness of the given theme or topic. Instead, they considered an approach where a particular ethnic group is highlighted but is not representative of AAPIs in its entirety:

“When the outline was developed, we didn’t have the authors. Certain authors have perhaps a certain ethnic group as their area of research expertise. We weren’t asking them, if their area of expertise is Japanese American, well, you need to include all these groups, too, in this chapter. You’ll see an emphasis on one group over another or a small number of groups. The ideal was to have every chapter be expansive in every ethnic sense but that’s just not do-able.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

With this recommendation to have certain ethnic groups or regional groups highlighted in a thematic essay, the issues of representation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, as two separate groups within the umbrella racial category, was not resolved. As one member of the Experts Panel recalled, there are important differences in representing time, people, and place between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders:

“What stood out to me was how overwhelming this seemed. In particular, the whole challenge of including Pacific Islander history. It was always going to be, to me, a problem. It still is. Pacific Islanders are in the split stream of Asian Americans. There’s no clear path. It’s troubling to me. I know that the real politics is that if it doesn’t happen then there is no opportunity. Because there are such important differences. That was also troubling. The real politics is that was the only way it was going to happen. To cover that geographic span, that time span—it’s just daunting. How to organize that.” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

Distinctions between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

The Experts Panel agreed that structuring the Theme Study based on ethnicity would not be feasible but also acknowledged the important tensions of representation between Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. One member of the Experts Panel recalled how individuals, as academic scholars and community leaders, had varying areas of expertise including ethnic representation. With issues of ethnic representation, this member acknowledged issues of ethnic or regional group hierarchies and the tensions of this with the larger racial group being marginalized itself as a racial minority:

“How do we bring all these different pieces together? As we progressed, it became clear that people had different expertise and specific areas of focus, including ethnic emphasis. So, there was a piece of it that felt like House of Representatives where everybody not lobbying but feeling the responsibility to represent this invisible group, which all of the groups were invisible. Also, there was a privileging of the dominant Asian ethnic groups that have filled the very limited narrative that we have. I was aware that dynamic was going on, too.” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

Another member of the Experts Panel reiterated concerns of marginalization, invisibility, and privilege not only inter-ethnically but intra-ethnically based on social, political, or economic differences:

“There was an awareness there are many Asian and Pacific Islander groups that have been marginalized. Within any convening, there’s still a hierarchy of visibility and, to some extent, privilege. Even though we are talking about a group within the larger society has totally been on the margins. That is something I’ve been aware of in my own work and research, too, that even for myself as a Chinese American among Chinese Americans, you can throw a bunch of Chinese together and there are going to be divisions and hierarchies. That goes beyond ethnicity. It includes everything – class, gender, sexual orientation, ability, all of those things are still present. I felt that those things were brought up and discussed. Colonialism. Oppressors. Pacific Islanders where Asian Americans are part of the colonialism. All of that were recognized as things to be dealt with. And, there are many things that we missed but will find out as it’ll inform us and the larger community for the future.” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

With these differences, this interview participant also recognized the importance of discussing ethnic hierarchies and privilege in the content could provide education and awareness of this issues.

Concerns particularly about representation of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders were a significant issue in developing the Theme Study framework. One interview participant raised concerns about how historic and cultural places that are important for Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders have a legacy of tensions with the US, particularly on imperialism, sovereignty, and land rights:

“would the guidelines to acknowledge places that are important to Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders and Asian American as historic places, there’s a tension because, as Native Hawaiians, we really don’t feel... well, whose nation? We feel that we are still part of our own nation of Hawaii. We don’t need validation from an US entity to validate what is historic and cultural for us. That is our responsibility, rooted in our culture. We don’t necessarily need to get that validation from the US except that we acknowledge that as long as we’re part of the United States, we do need to have that standing and recognition to protect our sites.”
(Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

With these tensions with the federal government about imperialism and place, the Experts Panel members acknowledged the need to have more expertise on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in terms of essay writers and in the themes in the framework. While themes of immigration and migration were accepted as required topics to cover, themes of imperialism, indigeneity, and colonialism were also discussed in relation to Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders as major areas of scholarship to connect to the Theme Study:

“I think gaps were that we needed more expertise from the Pacific Islander side. I think that the areas we were talking about, even my own understanding, needed so much more understanding of the places in the Pacific that are part of the United States that are really important to this

heritage initiative. It's not immigrants coming to the United States, it's people that are from Samoa that have always been in Samoa. How does that relate to this theme study?" (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

As the Experts Panel tried to deal with a people-based approach to the Theme Study framework, the tensions of panethnicity and inter-ethnic hierarchies in the content also manifested in the group dynamics:

"What was the beginning point? I remember how challenging it was because we were putting these histories together that are connected but also in some ways independent of each other. The difficulties from the people representing Pacific Islanders feeling validated and not kicked to the curb. I felt bad about that. I know from one conversation someone was not very happy with the whole thing. I got second hand feedback from that. I completely understand her position. I would rightfully feel the same." (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

With these concerns of ethnic representation were discussed in both the content and in the participants, it played a critical role in how the NPS staff and Experts Panel framed the Theme Study.

Place-based Framework

With the criteria for federal designations based on place-based history of people, events, or structures, place was a significant concern in the discussions. As some members of the Experts Panel acknowledged their inexperience or little knowledge about place-based history and historic preservation in their areas of expertise, the discussions while developing the Theme Study framework challenged them to think about a place-based approach in the content. As explored in Chapter 6, a few members of the Experts Panel had experience or knowledge of place-based approaches, which affected the discussions on shaping the Theme Study where place is considered secondary next to people or events. As one member of the Experts Panel observed in the discussions:

“In the discussions, it tended to be shaped by people’s individual research interests and areas of study. A lot of the areas of study had nothing to do with the physical environment... I tried to emphasize the importance of the physical environment as the object of study. I’m used to historians and social scientists being aspatial” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017)

Another member of the Experts Panel recognized this tension between people-based and place-based areas of expertise represented in the Experts Panel and noted the need to focus on place-based historical approaches in the discussions:

“We probably should have started there – what does it mean to tell history via place? What are some of the challenges? What are the limitations? What are some of the rewards, possibilities in doing place-based history? Most traditional historians are not place-based. The narratives are here are these people, events—place is just seen as the background. It’s just the setting.” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

Furthermore, this interview participant observed how others in the discussions had little or limited understanding of the importance of place-based history as it directly related to the AAPI Theme Study and in the historic preservation programs at the National Park Service:

“I remember at one point they said “yes, we need to think about that” particularly on the need to have something ‘there’. I remember that. I understand where that comes from – the inertia that has been built in but feeling that frustration because of what that doesn’t allow. Some people don’t have a building. They don’t have a temple left. It’s this absence. Sometimes, for me, I have mixed feelings about the interpretation work that is going on because there is something to me that is incredibly evocative about going to Minidoka and just seeing there really wasn’t much there. There was something powerful about that-- to see ruins.” (Ibid)

While the importance of having a place in existence to nominate for these designations, this interview participant also acknowledged preservation issues for historic and cultural sites where structures no longer exist for AAPI communities that have dealt with historical legacies of discrimination, demolition, and displacement:

“I thought that was something people had trouble understanding that in a way in which how does the National Park Service interpret things. It’s place-based. Historically, it’s been a limited definition because I remember these conversations lobbying that they open up that definition so that they can include things. They need something there. To interpret, you need something there.” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

National Park Service staff recognized this issue as well as they prepared the materials and agendas for the meetings to discuss the Theme Study’s framework and organization. Two staff members recalled how they emphasized the importance of place in their presentations to the Experts Panel:

“For most of them, they didn’t have an expertise in historic preservation but they know the value of it and what it could lead to. A lot of the people on the theme study were more social science based rather than place-based. There was a bit of trying to emphasize historic preservation in the presentations in the LA meetings—talking about the NHL program, types of properties—grounding it in place. That’s what the Park Service is about – we are about places. The National Register is about places.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

“[We] thought that some of these scholars were not place-based and we wanted them to understand a little more about designating historic properties. In other words, to know about the NHL program and to know about what do historic preservation professionals do...But that was an excellent way of bringing the nuts and bolts of preservation to a group that doesn’t deal with those particular nuts and bolts.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

Despite these place-based presentations on federal historic preservation programs by agency staff, the discussions within the Experts Panel were more focused on thematic or people-based approaches given the composition of the advisory group based on areas of expertise. One member of the Experts Panel observed how most of the discussions focused on socio-cultural themes while place-based themes (like architecture or urban planning) were minimally discussed or considered:

“People were interested in emphasizing social history and daily life, or sociological structure, or particular groups and their environments. We did not do the traditional stuff talking about style and how particular groups aesthetically view or shape their environments. Because there were so few people that did that in the group, I think that was underemphasized... the weight of the group and most of the ethnic groups covered were covered by people that don’t actually study the physical environment. So, the likelihood that they would consider architectural history or urban planning like locations of ghettos and communities – physical settings of their various ethnic groups – clearly was going to be underplayed.” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017)

With these concerns of the lack of place-based approaches to the Theme Study framework, NPS staff also expressed concerns about its potential lack in the content:

“I think there were discussions about place, but I’m not sure how deep the discussions were about how do we talk about place in these essays. The other component here to keep in mind is that with the registration requirements, you have that bridging document. It’s very much based on the essays identifying properties that are connected to a specific essay.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

As a result, they designed an essay (as they referred to it as a bridging document) that directly discusses place as it pertains to the criteria or standards of eligibility for the NHL and National Register programs. Associate Director Toothman recalled adding this essay to the Theme Study acknowledging that with “most of the authors aren’t familiar with the place-based history concept – it gives the reader extra support in how to nominate. It’s a technical essay” (NPS Staff member 2, interview with author, March 2017). With this bridging document, it was intended to identify potential sites for nomination as examples as they related to corresponding essays.

After reviewing the essays, Odo also reflected on how discussions failed to address issues of place and how it influenced the content of the essays in the Theme Study:

Odo: One of the things that didn't happen that I thought was interesting was that people still, practitioners aside as historic preservationists think about place, most people don't think about that. I was struck by how immaterial place was to most people. This is what it's supposed to do and who it should inspire but no one mentioned it. To actually get people to think about places that matter in terms of what we were focusing on. That might've been a mistake. I thought it was going to be a volume that would inspire more people. People would read the theme study and say, "how does my place get nominated as a landmark?" In retrospect, that was a mistake. I couldn't ask them to write in such a way as I thought it would derail it. We are so used to not thinking about place critically. Hopefully, what will happen as people read about this, they will engage their students or other scholars, practitioners, community leaders. We have to make things happen out of memory, the power of place.

Author: Were the authors given instructions to think about place?

Odo: No. I distinctly refrained from doing that. It might've been a mistake. (Interview with author, June 2017)

Decision-making in the Essays Structure

As the Experts Panel explored various approaches to shaping the Theme Study's framework, the process to finalizing its structure was challenged by concerns of racial/ethnic representation, lack of place-based histories, and limitations of coverage by chronology, and overarching themes. Several interview participants called this series of discussions a "sausage-making" process (i.e., you want the outcome but you do not want to see how it is made). Given the limited funding to support the authors, peer reviewers, and staff, along with publication printing and dissemination costs, the Experts Panel were given the task to streamline the number of themes covered within a certain number of essays. One member of the Experts Panel recalled:

"That was where you make the sausage. 18 chapters! What about class and labor? Colonialism? 18? That's when the National Park Service staff were going, "Oh my god, 18?" This was huge. As we got to 18, it just got bigger, bigger, and bigger. But I think there was some agreement about that there are topics with Asian and Pacific Islander diversity of the grouping, the collective, was complex and we had to get into that. I remember thinking, "This is like the Bible. We're starting at the creation." And we did." (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017)

Following the meetings and conference calls, the NPS staff drew upon the various suggestions from the Experts Panel on the Theme Study framework and developed two potential series of essays for consideration called “Version A” and “Version B” (see Appendix H) with the former based on a chronological timeframe with themes embedded within while the latter had an emphasis on a thematic framework when significant time periods included. In both versions, two essays were focused on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders while the other essays had varying representations of Asian American ethnic groups based on major events, people, or places. In both versions, examples of existing and potential NHL and National Register sites were identified.

These two versions of the Theme Study’s framework were shared with the Experts Panel and members were given the opportunity for feedback. One member of the Experts Panel recalled reviewing the two options and noted that the group could not agree on either as the final framework:

“it’s really hard is to think about how we would frame Asian American history. The compromise was to have many different topics but there wasn’t a way to say this is how we think about Asian Americans, which would eliminate some of the redundancy. If you have a chapter on assimilation, what does that even mean? People offered different ways to think about Asian American history but that is something our group probably couldn’t agree on. We were concerned, for example, looking at Pacific Islanders, and thinking about it in relation to anthropology, there is a lot of literature on that. I’m interested to see how it looks at Pacific Islanders and refugees. The way that we divided it up, it’s a difficult project to think about.” (Experts Panel member 10, interview with author, June 2017)

NPS staff recalled how these two options were developed and how the final version was determined:

“We had a rough structure that came out of that but we weren’t 100% certain about it. We had a rough structure that came out where there were 2 or 3 different ways it could go. We had a lot of discussion about that.

My colleagues and I had developed before that meeting, because we knew the program and knew the structure, we developed 3 proposals of how to structure it. Then, we asked everybody for input and what did they think was best. We came out of that with 3 presented, 2 that were viable, 1 definitely not.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

NPS staff wrestled with the overlapping issues of time, place, and people in the proposed content with each thematic essay while identifying significant time periods:

“A lot of it had to do with how do we lump together aspects of history so that we don’t have a zillion chapters? For example, there isn’t a chapter on education. We don’t have one chapter on education but we do have chapters that get into that. The other discussion was coming from a temporal standpoint. Each of these essays does have a time frame associated with it as well. There is a timeframe.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

One NPS staff recalled that after subsequent discussions with the Experts Panel on the essays structure, “we came out with this modified chronological/thematic elements of the theme study” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017).

Photographs and Representation

One major concern that emerged during the final stages of designing the Theme Study was issues of how AAPI people, places, and events were represented in photographs and design elements of the publication. NPS staff reached out to members of the Experts Panel and essay writers for suggestions of “names and locations of any AAPI buildings, structures, sites, objects, or districts (including landscapes) that you believe should be mentioned in the publication” (NPS staff, personal communication with author, 11 July 2016) to be included in the essays. NPS staff identified potential gaps in connecting the essays to places and noted that the photos would address these concerns: “It’s going to be beautiful because it holds stuff we haven’t talked about with the selected photos. We spent a lot of time trying to find illustrations just because the text needed

breaking up. For another thing, that entices people to read sometimes. That was very important to me to get those in there” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017).

One member of the Experts Panel recalled concerns about how Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders were represented in selected photographs:

“They had sent me some photos they had selected. I said that I didn’t want those photographs. I was late and I said I’d rather not have those or any photos if they aren’t good photos. They couldn’t be used because they were all colonial... They were images of US military in the Pacific and Hawaii. And yet trying to write about indigenous perspectives and respect for indigenous people. So, they were all sites that represent a colonial presence in Hawaii and Guam – very inappropriate.” (Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

With previous discussions on the importance of respecting indigenous perspectives of US militarization in the region, the selected photographs contradicted the content of the essay and overall theme study. These concerns were discussed with Odo and NPS staff but changes were not made due to funding issues and a lack of understanding of the potential perpetuations of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders:

“There was some conversation and I did hear that some—which cost us money. I’m sorry that we had that dialogue because of all the conversation about the photos not being suitable, Franklin and I took a hard look at that cover and we realized that there was great misunderstanding about that. What we heard was that these symbols were objectionable to people and so some of the images were. So, we decided if we had explanations, if we had captions on everything on the cover that explains why they were selected, that was the best we could do. I when showed him the captions, he said—I didn’t understand why some of the images could be objectionable – why are these Pacific Island women dancing and why is it objectionable? He couldn’t say. I don’t know. Maybe we’re going to get negative feedback on that. All we could do was explain it was selected.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

Odo also addressed these concerns given the intention for the photographs to trigger a sense of place within the context of the essays: “That was supposed to be the connection

to place. The images would make people think about place. So, that's what we hoped. It didn't happen by the way. Actually, none of the images worked to trigger a reader's sense of place." (Odo, interview with author, June 2017).

Challenges in Developing the Content

In developing the framework for the AAPI Theme Study, several challenges emerged in how to structure it based on thematic, people-based, and/or placed-based approaches. While most of the discussions focused on the complex issues of ethnic representation, significant periods of time (or chronology), and place, the actual essays in the Theme Study (see Appendix C for the AAPI Theme Study Table of Contents) focused on overarching themes based on academic disciplines.

This chapter explores how representation carries into three parts of the Theme Study: the process in developing the content and the representation from the participants of the Theme Study Experts Panel, and the representation of socio-cultural dynamics in the content of the Theme Study.

During the process of developing the framework, the areas of expertise of the individuals in the group played a crucial role in the discussions of how scholarship on AAPI people, places, and events were organized. The Experts Panel were provided with existing NPS NHL frameworks including the NPS Thematic Framework and *Civil Rights in America* Framework, as well as the American Latino Theme Study, to guide the discussions. As one NPS staff recalled the agency's expectations, concerns on ethnic representation, and issues of chronology:

"I think different people's understandings of how to organize information. No, not understandings but perspectives. That's where we looked at- do we do it by ethnic group, etc.? Those were the questions we were asking. From the Park Service side, the Park Service had a very clear idea of what

they wanted, which was more thematic, component-based similar to what was with the Latino American Heritage Initiative. But there were a lot of people that wanted this chronological piece. Frankly, it's just very different because of the Pacific Islander history. It was tough.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

These issues of ethnic representation and chronology dominated discussions in developing the structure but the actual essays selected for the Theme Study focused on thematic topics across most AAPI ethnic groups. One member of the Experts Panel remarked when reviewing the AAPI Theme Study table of contents years after the AAPI Theme Study framework and its essays were determined and written: “If you look at this, it's roughly chronological but it's presented as thematic. And it's not broken down by ethnicities. With the exception of Pacific Islanders, it's really mostly East Asian. There's some other stuff—Southeast Asian, South Asian – but it's mostly East Asian” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017).

Summary

This chapter explored issues of representation carries into three parts of the Theme Study as it relates to people, places, and time associated with AAPIs: the process in developing the content and the representation from the participants of the Theme Study Experts Panel, and the representation of socio-cultural dynamics in the content of the Theme Study. Major challenges in the process included the purpose of the AAPI Theme Study and its Experts Panel, the importance of the meetings and discussions, the delineation of roles of various groups in the process, and the lack of project management or coordination along the way. Major challenges in the developing the content focused on structuring the framework to integrate complex dynamics of inter-ethnic representation and privilege, people-based versus place-based approaches, and the consequences of

certain decisions made on how AAPI people, places, and events were represented in the content.

Chapter 8: Politics of Dissemination

Introduction

This chapter explores issues of representation of targeted audiences and uses in the dissemination of the Theme Study. After the stages of developing the framework with the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel and the content with essay authors and peer reviewers, the final stage of this Theme Study was intended to focus on its dissemination and use. After several discussions with the Experts Panel on its significance as a guiding federal document for NPS NHL and National Register nominations of historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs, the essays reflect the complex and complicated dynamics of AAPI people, places, and histories that may potentially be reflected in cultural landscapes and the built environment. This chapter examines: (1) the intended purpose of the Theme Study and its significance as a federal document, (2) its intended uses and targeted audiences, (3) intended strategies for dissemination, and (4) the potential challenges in the dissemination process.

Use and Dissemination of the NPS AAPI Theme Study

Impact and Purpose

Following the Experts Panel meetings with NPS staff, interview participants had a better understanding of the Theme Study's impact and purpose. Many mentioned that they had little to no understanding of its purpose prior to the Experts Panel meetings in 2013 but after developing the framework for the Theme Study, they were able to identify the project's purpose in providing context for potential nominations for the NHL and National Register programs. One interview participant recalled this clarification and saw the importance of the in-person meetings in Los Angeles and Washington, DC:

“The official purpose is to advise the Interior Department and the National Park Service and the National Historic Landmarks program on history that will enable them to identify and coach people in the process of applying for landmark status. That was the conversation while we were in Los Angeles that people are going to need help for making those applications and encouraging people to make those applications.” (Experts Panel member 2, interview with author, April 2017)

One NPS staff reiterated the purpose of the AAP Theme Study as the content is intended to provide academic scholarship to support a potential nomination as a National Historic Landmark. Other uses may be for nominations for the National Register and to support education and interpretation programs in the National Park Service:

“But if you look at what a theme study is, the primary use is that it needs to be useful for nominating properties as National Historic Landmarks or National Register, but primarily focused on NHLs by identifying properties that might fall within these themes. That’s why you also part of it the registration requirements. I do think the other component of it that it becomes an educational tool because these essays are covering topics that may be covered academically, in other realms, but maybe aren’t as accessible.” (NPS Staff member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

While the primary intended use and purpose is to encourage and support potential NHL nominations of places associated with AAPI people, places, and histories, its potential impact is seen to be much greater as: (1) a federal and political document, (2) a tool for other types of preservation-related designations, (3) a resource for educational and interpretation purposes within the National Park Service, and (4) as a tool for community engagement and participation in historic preservation efforts. It is important to examine the significance or importance of the Theme Study, its targeted audiences (or users), and anticipated dissemination strategies.

Significance/Importance of the NPS AAPI Theme Study

Public Document

The AAPI Theme Study, as many on the Expert Panel noted, is a public document created by NPS as a federal governmental agency. While the structure is similar to an academic edited collection of peer-reviewed essays, its purpose and use is different. Most of the participants in the AAPI Theme Study were aware of its structure but they also saw its significance as an unprecedented public document created by a federal agency with a focus on AAPIs:

“The process—National Register, NHL, local landmarks – really trying to use it as a jumping off point. And legitimizing the heritage and history of Asian American and Pacific Islander communities that has not been adequately represented. There’s never been a theme study to build on or to use. This is an important document for that reason.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

While a few other NPS publications have focused on specific AAPI ethnic groups (e.g., Japanese Americans during World War II) or particularly time periods (e.g., Asian and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War), there have not be any previous publications of this size or magnitude for AAPIs. Another member of the Experts Panel reiterated that, although critical of the process and content, the Theme Study’s impact as a federal document was important:

“I’ve been very critical about this process as it has many issues in it. But I have to say at the end of the day, it’s better to have this theme study out than to not have one at all. Because, here – we are not in the realm of activism. We’re not really in the realm of scholarship. We’re in the realm of government and politics. In that realm, having a presence is really important.” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017)

Another interview participant acknowledged the potential limitations of the AAPI Theme Study but also saw that it is not an exhaustive publication without room for additions,

revisions, or changes, rather it is a public document that can be used and interpreted in various ways by subsequent generations:

“Ultimately, it’s like the project of America. It is incomplete. It is ongoing. This is just one contribution to understanding the American story. It’s a document of record for now that’s meant to be continued by subsequent generations that we continue to participate in the archiving of America and its changes but in particular Asian Pacific Islander American communities and their role in discovering and expanding the American experience.” (Experts Panel member 11, interview with author, June 2017)

As the NPS recognized the need to adequately address the lack of representation of underrepresented groups, including AAPIs, in their programs, the AAPI Theme Study acts as a public document for use beyond their federal historic preservation programs. As one NPS staff saw, the AAPI Theme Study is also a public document for other historic preservation agencies (e.g., State Historic Preservation Officers, municipal governments) and grassroots preservationists:

“[T]hat’s where I think the rubber meets the road when this gets into the hand of preservationists at municipal and state levels. They are going to have this solid context and what this theme study does is lay out the history and context of broader American history and culture, and how the AAPI history and culture is fitting into that bigger picture. From there, those who are more grassroots preservationists will be able to take that information and use it as context for the resources of their interests.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

Furthermore, while the AAPI Theme Study is an unprecedented publication by NPS that documents AAPI people, places, and events, it is also a document intended to be used:

“It’s wonderful to have a record and a documentation of all these things with a theoretical framework and a history, but, of course, you want it to be used” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

Political Document

Along as being a public document created by NPS, the AAPI Theme Study was also seen as a political document given the political support, partners, and timing (as discussed in Chapter 4). Odo remarked on the political support from President Obama, Secretary Salazar, Secretary Jewell, and Director Jarvis, rather than advocacy or political pressure from AAPI organizations, that supported the development of the AAPI Heritage Initiative:

“We had not tried to lobby for it. I’m so used to things happening only when we complain, mount protests, write letters, talk to our political colleagues on the Hill, to try to have something happen. So, to have it just be dictated from the Secretary was a phenomenal thing for me. So, I said, ‘Let’s run with and could do the best we can.’” (interview with author, June 2017)

Several interview participants recalled their awareness of the AAPI Theme Study as a political document as its funding and support was allocated from the Civil War to Civil Rights Initiative. Yet, NPS staff was also aware of potential concerns from the public on its intentions:

“I think it is a challenge where the NPS is a government agency. We’re the Feds. Communities can look at the NPS and work that we do in different ways. They could see it as “this is just the government—Washington, DC—writing about us. They don’t know anything about our community.” Because there wasn’t very much communication about the theme study, that might be a challenge.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

One member of the Experts Panel also questioned its reception by the public, particularly for groups that have a historical legacy of discrimination, displacement, and/or destruction of their historic and cultural resources by the federal government and may be critical in its intentions and use:

“it was hard because how much attention is it going to get? Sites of resistance and imperialism but then you want the Department of the Interior, which is the force of imperialism to many of us, even Native Americans. They perpetuate that colonizing of native peoples. How we expect them, honestly, to make these sites of resistance and imperialism? Usually, they are set on looking at it as sites where the US military as played a role. Many cases, they just re-write the narrative for those places to reflect their US history alone without looking at history of indigenous people. It’s hard to articulate it and think it through. And to have confidence that it would be paid attention to.” (Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

Yet, another interview participant observed that, as a political document from the Obama administration, its content was framed to serve the federal government rather than as an oppositional document.

Experts Panel member 1: We are aware it’s a government project in the Obama administration but still a government project. There is a little bit of conservatism that came into play.

Author: Conservatism in the sense of?

Experts Panel member 1: In the sense of “this is probably not the place for a radical document.” It’s probably not the place for an oppositional document. This is a place for legitimizing Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the eyes of the federal government and, therefore, in the eyes of mainstream America. (interview with author, April 2017)

While the Theme Study was initiated and developing during the Obama administration, the publication (which has been delayed several times and is yet to be published) is targeted to be released during the Trump administration. As one member of the Experts Panel acknowledged the efforts made during the development of the Theme Study, he also expressed concerns of its dissemination with a different administration: “I do think there are fantastic people at the NPS and I appreciate a lot of what they’ve done but it’s a political project. They are working for the federal government! I’m really concerned about interpretation these days given the administration” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017). Many interview participants brought up concerns of

the timing of its release under a different administration as its use as political document could have unintended consequences (e.g., reduction or elimination of funding or programs for AAPIs and related groups, de-designation of landmarks associated with AAPIs).

Intended Uses and Audiences

With the purpose of informing potential NHL nominations, its intended uses go beyond NPS staff researching and writing these applications. Rather, the audience is diverse as it can be utilized by NPS staff, historic preservation agencies (e.g., State Historic Preservation Officers), preservation consultants, historians, and educators. Associate Director Toothman indicated that the Theme Study has multiple targeted audiences with NHL nominations as the ultimate goal:

“The audience has always been a mixture. We wanted people to take their research and write it in a way that is accessible to everyone from middle schoolers on. Part of the formatting and citations – you’re writing for Park Service audience to some extent but you’re also writing for the community that would be interested in doing the nominations. It’s much more layman language but has multiple targets. The individual essays are very readable on their topic and then beyond that, they address topics in a way that is place-based influenced. Our audience was folks that do nominations – SHPOs, local communities, college students, professors that generate nominations – to be given the terms of the context and then the more general public with interests in these stories. There’s nothing like some of these theme studies in terms of telling a broad sweep of these communities’ histories.” (interview with author, March 2017)

As NPS looked to the final stage of dissemination of the AAPI Theme Study, the targeted uses and audiences included: (1) federal designations, (2) use within/across NPS, (3) education and academic scholarship, and (4) with AAPI communities.

Federal Designations

Traditionally, NHL nominations are written or supported by State Historic Preservation Officers (as well as Tribal Preservation Officers, and Federal Preservation Officers), historic preservation consultants, historians, and other individuals or organizations. The AAPI Theme Study is intended to support these nominations, particularly with SHPOs and state historic preservation offices. NPS staff shared that the Theme Study, as a printed document, would be disseminated to each state's SHPO (and TPOs and FPOs):

“The target audience for a theme study is for whomever is writing a NHL nomination. Who is writing NHL nominations? Where are they generated? They can generate from anywhere. They can be a nonprofit. A SHPO. It may be a municipality. It may be an individual. We have to keep in mind all of those as potential targets. I think it's also important as we call this a NHL theme study, so it's for national historic landmarks—this is our main concern but this can be used by the National Register program. For example, the SHPOs don't have a direct involvement, administratively, in the NHL program. They run the National Register. But I'm not going to keep this a secret from them – this is a great tool for them and I'll make sure a copy gets into every SHPO office.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017)

Another NPS staff focused on the potential use by individuals and community organizations in nominating sites as NHLs and for the National Register:

“We wanted the community to use the theme study to be able to target and think about things in their own community. It could be there's this Filipino church in the community that has been here for decades. This was really important. It was a gathering place for the community on the local level and definitely eligible for the National Register. Or this is the place where Filipino civil rights movement was born. It's really the matter of getting the community to look closely at the buildings and places in their own geographic area.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

Traditionally, nominations for NHLs and to be on the National Register has been initiated or written by governmental agencies (NPS, SHPOs) or consultants that are not from

underrepresented communities. With this intended use by these potential users, NPS staff saw the Theme Study as a way to encourage and engage individuals, organizations, and community groups to directly participate in federal historic preservation programs.

Although the NHL program is only one of many programs within the National Park System, one member of the Experts Panel saw its potential impact and influence across the agency, particularly with existing and future national parks:

“I think it would be very significant because, in my view, a lot of the content of these theme studies is not very well known. Both within the NPS and more generally, among historians, and certainly among the general public. So, when it comes to NPS, I hope that it will be closely read and will, as intended, will advise and guide NPS in the designation of NHLs and how to interpret Asian American history, culture, and contributions within existing national parks and future parks as well.”
(Experts Panel member 3, interview with author, June 2017)

Use within the National Park Service

Another potential audience to utilize the AAPI Theme Study is within NPS, particularly in Education and Interpretation programs across the National Parks System. Interpretation means providing opportunities for people to form intellectual and emotional connections to gain awareness, appreciation, and understanding of the resources of the National Park System. Education means enhancing public awareness, understanding, and appreciation of the resources of the System through learner-centered, place-based materials, programs, and activities that achieve specific learning objectives as identified in a curriculum. Both interpretation and education efforts are located at national parks, national monuments, and other units owned and operated by NPS. A NPS staff provided an example of how NPS Interpretation could utilize the Theme Study: “It can be used in Interpretation. When we’re developing interpretative programs, using it to guide the interpretative programs—different areas of culture, life, place, and communities

that interpreters haven't thought of yet" (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017).

Given the enormity of NPS itself and the various Education and Interpretation units and offices, access to these materials can be challenging if it is not disseminated or coordinated appropriately. Education and Interpretation offices within the Cultural Resources Division (where the NHL and National Register programs are also administered) find it challenging to coordinate or support the dissemination of NHL theme studies:

"They don't talk to each other as much as they should. Certainly there's a push to park rangers associated with sites to make sure they are aware of these different theme studies. I'm going to guess that rangers in places like Manzanar are definitely reading this theme study. The irony is that you want places like Rosie the Riveter where there are undoubtedly Asian American working. You want them to be reading it because they're not thinking about these stories. You want folks from different places. It's a little harder to push it there but just because those people are overwhelmed. Hopefully, it gets play in the Park Service. People will pick it up. They will see it in their boss's office at this park." (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017)

While NPS staff see the potential benefits of coordinating and developing materials between NHL and Education/Interpretation offices, they also recognize potential limitations including staffing, strategic planning, and coordination to get the Theme Study to the National Park units:

"We [NPS staff] talked about helping to promote it and I don't know where that stands now. We were hoping that it would've been done a year ago. I had an intern at the time who could've helped figure out how to promote it. It has taken so long that she [the intern] is done. I don't necessarily have a plan for the AAPI Theme Study as far as outreach and education. We'll promote it. We'll link it. We can do whatever we can do online but I don't have the capacity to produce products. I'll push it out into the field to the Interpretation/Education folks to see if they'll take anything and use it. They might—it depends on the park and depends on

the interpreter. I don't have a particular plan for it." (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Another NPS staff agreed of the Theme Study's potential impacts on Education and Interpretation programs but as a secondary benefit: "There's an idea that theme studies will help education and interpretation in the parks. Yes, strongly. That would absolutely help them in terms of interpretation. It's not the primary goal of the theme study, more of a side benefit. That's been the idea with every theme study" (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017). With this perception of the potential benefits of being used across or within the National Park System, the intentions may be there but there are no strategic plans to organize or coordinate those efforts.

Education and Scholarship

Several members of the Experts Panel also saw potential uses for the Theme Study in terms of education and scholarship, particularly for those as faculty at universities and colleges. Many of the academic scholars on the Experts Panel teach Asian American and/or Pacific Islander studies courses and identified potential coursework utilizing the Theme Study's essays or overall publication in teaching about AAPI people, places, and events. Several interview participants suggested supporting conferences, lectures, and curriculum developing based on the Theme Study. One interview participant discussed its potential use in her classes in Ethnic Studies: "I'm hoping its used in classes and I would like to look at it and see where it's useful in teaching about Asian American and Pacific Islander histories. It's a useful reference if we are challenged to show what are historic and cultural sites" (Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017). The Theme Study is seen not only be used to educate

in terms of AAPI history and culture, but also in directly engaging in discussions of historic and cultural sites associated with AAPIs.

AAPI Community

Along with Asian American and Pacific Islander studies scholars and students, other targeted audiences identified for the Theme Study are the AAPI community at large. As one NPS staff saw its potential audience being:

“At the broadest level, it’s for the American people. More specifically, it’s for people who are interested in Asian American and Pacific Islander heritage and preserving sites. For community leaders, academics, students, people who are interested in specific places or histories of specific ethnic groups. It’s meant for people who want to learn and also use it as a jumping off point to being active and preserving places.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

While the purpose is to encourage more community participation in federal historic preservation nominations, one member of the Experts Panel identified specific potential in engaging underrepresented AAPI ethnic groups, including indigenous Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities and more recent Southeast Asian refugee communities. Both of these communities have particular issues in terms of identifying tangible places as historic sites and cultural resources, which could influence the National Park Service to revisit and revise their historic preservation criteria and standards:

“The purpose is to encourage more recent communities and indigenous communities, Pacific Islanders, to want to nominate sites for protection, participate in the process, to sensitize the decision-makers about having a broader interpretation of what cultural historic sites are, rather than just the five criteria. How do you create and apply the five criteria to the conditions and context of Asia and the Pacific Islander communities. Also, there may be limitations to those criteria but they’re not changing those. We have to conform to those narrow criteria. It’s like to have a broad interpretation of a historic person, what is a site associated with someone that was important to a minority group or community. What are important historical events that may not go back 50 years in some case, yet they are

important to acknowledge?” (Experts Panel member 6, interview with author, June 2017)

With this perspective, it allows AAPI communities to push for changes in historic preservation standards to reflect and be relevant in diverse yet underrepresented communities.

Dissemination Plan

During the initial stages of the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, NPS staff of its significance and the process of developing the Theme study provided details. However, there was little to no information provided on the dissemination of the Theme Study beyond a limited number of printed copies of the publication and its availability as an electronic copy on the agency’s website. As one member of the Experts Panel recalled questions about outreach and dissemination plans during the meetings in 2013: “What are their dissemination plans? I remember feeling very strongly that it doesn’t do much good to put all this effort in to a document that doesn’t go anywhere” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017).

While waiting for the release of the AAPI Theme Study, members of the Experts Panel have inquired on NPS’s dissemination plans, particularly with NPS staff leading the efforts and their anticipated strategies. With the strong presence of partnerships and political support in the launch of the AAPI Heritage Initiative and introduction of the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel, questions arose if similar efforts will be made given the change in presidential administrations, changes in leadership in participating federal agencies, and in the extended passage of time. One member of the Experts Panel recognized that while the process had its challenges, the Theme Study’s completion is important with its potential of engaging or empowering AAPI communities:

“This shouldn’t disappear. As much as getting it out was such a problem and a process, in this climate, this thing needs to be here. The people involved in this theme study should get involved and connected to with the people for the Reconstruction theme study, the Latino theme study, and really push for a different version of the United States and what’s at stake here. This is not just about naming some molding ruins as important historically. It’s also about empowering communities.” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017)

Further, this interview participant recognized the need to coordinate and align the AAPI Theme Study with other related theme studies in pushing for more diversity and inclusive in NPS historic preservation programs.

NPS Staff

NPS staff in the NHL program admit to have a limited to no dissemination plans due to uncertainties of funding to support it: “[we] have talked a little bit about this but there are huge funding uncertainties. We can’t plan anything that involves money at this point. I have tentatively planning to do a webinar. I would like to invite SHPOs to the webinar so I can launch it to them” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017). Associate Director Toothman listed other potential dissemination plans to include: “Conferences. Putting it online. Making it available and emphasizing it to the SHPOs that this is out there.” However, there were no plans for public events or other outreach or engagement efforts with Experts Panel members or AAPI Heritage Partners as anticipated at the launch of the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study.

Other NPS staff interviewed were asked to identify potential dissemination plans in their respective programs or regions. NPS staff that were not in the NHL Program admitted that they had little to no communication with WASO staff about developing dissemination plans for the Theme Study. Most offered support or assistance with outreach and publicity efforts but have not committed to any dissemination plans due to

prolonged delays in the completion of the Theme Study, changes in administration leadership, and uncertain funding availability. As one NPS staff member recalled in the challenges in coordinating across programs or offices. While offering support in the anticipated dissemination efforts, this interview participant noted the need to coordinate outside of the NHL program and with other partners/participants in the Theme Study:

“It would never occur to the NHL program [staff] to disseminate to anybody except preservationists. It’s a new thing to think about Interpretation and Education. We’ll certainly help with what we can. It’s pushing the traditional NHL thinking of “well, it’s on our website. What else do we need to do?” That’s where the authors and panel come in, too. They have networks, social media. There has to be some kind of coordinated effort to get out the word and really use this.” (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

While other theme studies, like the American Latino and LGBTQ theme studies, coordinated dissemination efforts with other agency programs and regional offices, the AAPI Theme Study has not released any plans beyond providing SHPOs with printed copies and providing an electronic copy on the NHL program’s website.

Members of the Experts Panel expressed concerns on the timeline to completion for the Theme Study and how its delay affects subsequent dissemination and outreach efforts:

“I don’t think they can make plans to roll it out until they finish the thing. But as we talk, I feel my apprehensions rising about it. I don’t know how far we are from completion. I was assuming chapters are getting done. Nothing official from Franklin. When was the last time... we wanted to get a draft and all we got was the chapter list. That was recent. We were hoping we would get something more. It’s not surprising—it’s been the way it’s been. On the other hand, the apprehensions are there. Is this ever going to get done?” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Another member of the Experts Panel recalled how NPS staff informed them that there would be a limited number of printed copies of the Theme Study due to lack of funds and

how it demonstrated a perceived lack of effort in dissemination: “I recall in an email that there would be a very limited run because they didn’t have a lot of money. It wasn’t clear to me it would get much circulation or dissemination. It didn’t sound like a lot of effort would be put into it. That is my impression” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017). Another member of the Experts Panel also drew the distinction of expected roles within the group in the dissemination process. As defined, the academic scholars and community leaders were expected to advise in the content of the Theme Study and provide support in outreach efforts while NPS staff (with the Chairman and editor) to complete and design the publication and lead in the dissemination efforts. One member of the Experts Panel recalled the different expected roles of the Experts Panel: “I don’t know how much of it is up to us. It is up to the staff at the National Park Service. We, the group, is producing this for them. They pilot and format it. They make it beautiful. Add all the tools and integrate it. Links and everything else” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017)

Strategies

Despite the lack of a clearly defined dissemination plan for the AAPI Theme Study (with only slated plans for an online copy to become available on the NPS website), members of the Experts Panel identified potential strategies for outreach and engagement, including partnerships with various groups that participated in the AAPI Heritage Initiative, public programming, and future publications. For both NPS staff and Experts Panel members, dissemination strategies would be multi-pronged with both federal agency staff and community members coordinating outreach and dissemination efforts to engage the AAPI community:

“I think it would have looked like us really as at the National Park Service and people associated with the Initiative going out and meeting with people and really talking about their heritage sites and beginning the discussion about preservation. So, that coupled with the scholars working on the theme study so that it’s coming from both scholars and community feeding that information into the Heritage Initiative. I think it’s also getting people excited and energized about wanting to preserve their sites and their heritage.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

While NPS staff plan to have an electronic version of the Theme Study available on their website, one interview participant expressed concerns of potential lack of visibility or awareness of it online: “I really want it to be something totally user-friendly, not just a website that exists somewhere in the ether and that people might just stumble on if it’s 2am and they just happen to be scrolling...that it’s something people do turn to” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017).

Although the Theme Study will be available online, there are concerns about outreach efforts that engage AAPI communities in-person:

“It would’ve really useful to have had public hearings. So, to go into communities like Little Tokyo, Flushing, Chicago Chinatown, Little Argyle, and to have community hearings on what the communities think about history and historic sites. Do they want historic sites? Do they have historic sites that they have in mind that they want to have? What kind of relationship do they want to have with the federal government about historic sites? How are they themselves seeing and understanding their community histories? Do they even care about their community histories? If they don’t, how come? If we had done that, we would’ve had a much different kind of theme study. It would’ve been a much more educational process for us and for the communities. We could’ve had a theme study that is more community-oriented... But the thing is too – it takes money and it was made clear to us in the beginning that they didn’t have a big budget.” (Experts Panel member 1, interview with author, April 2017)

With these potential strategies for outreach and dissemination, academic scholars on the Experts Panel also identified potential strategies in college courses in Asian American and with potential scholarship/publication opportunities as other ways of disseminating

and utilizing the Theme Study beyond the federal government: “we, as Asian Americanists, can publicize it and help teach it in our courses. We can recommend it to people. If it’s good, we can see to a commercial publication” (Experts Panel member 2, interview with author, April 2017).

Funding

Funding of dissemination and outreach efforts plays a critical role for the Theme Study as part of the AAPI Heritage Initiative. Although members of the Experts Panel were involved with fundraising for the Theme Study, they were aware of funding expectations and limitations given the scope of possible programming and outreach:

“It would demand money and effort on the part of the Park Service. They could make use of the authors and us [Advisory Panel] to help them but I think it could be presentations to community groups, maybe through various sorts of associations, talking about material and discussing its use. Somehow making it known to high schools and colleges. Dissemination is possible but it would demand effort and money.” (Experts Panel member 8, interview with author, June 2017)

One NPS staff recalled the differences in funding with the other two heritage initiatives, which were funded through public-private partnerships, while the AAPI Heritage Initiative was solely funded by NPS:

“Funding is core to what happened and what’s happening to us because this was mostly unfunded, from what I understood, in terms of the community outreach side. With other heritage initiatives, there was fund raising that was going on to help support those other components. For this one, I’m not sure how much fundraising was actually done. The key piece – the theme study- was NPS funded. That’s the piece that really moved forward. It was those additional pieces that struggled with them. In terms of staffing, there are people in the Cultural Resources program in DC who were tasked with this but I’m not sure how much connection to actual people or communities the staff had.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017)

The AAPI Heritage Initiative, while having the AAPI Theme Study as its cornerstone, intended to have other programming and materials on AAPI place-based history and culture in other programs and regional offices but no funding was raised for these (as per the Chairman’s defined roles and responsibilities). The limited funding available was allocated solely to the development and design of the Theme Study. Another NPS staff confirmed they were aware of the limited funding early in the planning stages of the Theme Study, which affected potential strategies for dissemination and publicity of the Theme Study’s release: “We thought about it [dissemination plans]. What it really comes down to—to be really blunt – is budget. It comes down to money. What could we afford to do? Doing a splashy thing would be fabulous; they just never had the funds for it.” (NPS Staff member 1, interview with author, March 2017). As the project progressed, no addition funds were raised or allocated specifically for outreach and dissemination. In the most recent attempt to release the Theme Study, NPS staff cited that: “there are huge funding uncertainties. We can’t plan anything that involves money at this point.” (NPS Staff member 3, interview with author, May 2017). With little to no funding left for dissemination and outreach, there is much uncertainty in how the Theme Study will be released.

Partnerships

During early public events announcing the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, partnerships played a critical role in garnering support and awareness from AAPI community organizations, historic preservation organizations and agencies, and federal agencies, including the White House Initiative on AAPIs, Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation (APIAHiP), and Advisory Council on Historic

Preservation. Partnerships were identified as a potential way to directly reach out to the AAPI communities while recognizing the limited funding and staff capacity of NPS: “Through the theme study and other theme studies, it doesn’t necessarily need to be NPS or the government pushing it. This is where communities can take charge and use the theme study as a bridge and justification to helping to preserve their heritage sites.” (NPS Staff member 5, interview with author, June 2017). This NPS staff then the importance of AAPI community groups, particularly APIAHiP (a national nonprofit organization) as key partners in outreach and dissemination, as well as other smaller or local organizations:

“In terms of roll out, I don’t know what the immediate impacts are going to be outside of the APIAHiP group. That’s a key group but outside of that group, then it’s really takes actual meetings with, face-to-face, communications outreach, with groups that could actually benefit. Use and benefit from it. They might not know it even exists. I think the best way would be through us and our community partners to broadcast and roll it out.” (Ibid0

Other identified partnerships included community institutions, like the Wing Luke Museum (a NPS affiliated unit) in Seattle, Washington, and teachers or educators where the Theme Study could be used for educational materials and resources:

“It would be more likely to recruit that we knew specifically to do this with college teachers, ethnic studies teachers, historians to use this study in classroom settings to pull some product out of it. A public history class. It’ll get farther because the likelihood of extra money seems pretty low. It could be that the Wing Luke could be a key player here, if they can pull pieces out of it and turn it into museum education resources or something. That would be fabulous.” (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Moreover, Odo identified potential partnerships with members of the Experts Panel to help with dissemination efforts, suggesting programming that may not require additional funding from NPS:

“What I am going to ask everyone on the Experts Panel is to plan something once the theme study is launched. It doesn’t have to be expensive. It can be on a campus or at a museum to advertise the launch, to bring people who are close by with you to talk about it and encourage people to use the theme study to promote proposals and get people interested about history and place. Without paying any money, this is an effort to get distribution without costing a penny.” (Odo, interview with author, June 2017)

Political Timing

Political timing in the initial stages of the AAPI Theme Study (including support from federal leadership, funding and staffing support from appointed federal leaders, and a supportive presidential administration) played a critical role in garnering support from various partners. With public events, like the announcement of the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study at the Wing Luke Museum, and the White House Forum on Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage in Washington, drawing attention from the AAPI and historic preservation communities, political timing or policy windows (as discussed in Chapter 5) require much coordination and strategic planning. When these opportunities or windows close, due to changes in administrations and/or leadership, they can affect the momentum in implementing and completing initiatives like the Theme Study.

The Theme Study was slated for completion by 2015 as major events like the Centennial of the National Park Service and 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 were commemorated in 2016. As discussed in Chapter 5, these series of yearlong events were targeted as an opportunity to release the AAPI Theme Study:

“I think they said it would take about 18 months to draft all the chapters. I believe that Franklin, even back then, was saying there are certain anniversary periods that they would like to hit at the latest... The 100th

anniversary and the 50th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act. He mentioned a couple of those when they would want to roll it out to get more publicity.” (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Furthermore, members of the Experts Panel expected the Theme Study to be completed within the slated time or before the end of the Obama administration:

“I guess it would not take 4 years. I guessed it certainly would happen before this administration. It would’ve probably happened under the Obama administration. I wasn’t thinking of a change of administration at all, it’s just now. It’s a shame it didn’t happen with the administration that really welcomed this. Who knows what will happen at this point. We should be grateful that it gets there if it doesn’t get torn down like every website that ever mentioned LGBT issues that has been erased. Hopefully, this can subversively go through.” (Experts Panel member 7, interview with author, June 2017)

Many mentioned that its delay was a missed opportunity to be aligned with major public events with key federal government leadership, but moreover saw the prolonged delay to have potential ramifications in terms of its relevancy:

“I think it’s probably outdated politically. I don’t know who will be receiving it in the federal government, if this is what this was intended to be for. Maybe it’s like a missed opportunity if the timing is no longer apt. For it to have any visibility you would have needed a big launch at the federal governmental level but that’s not going to happen. So, what does it mean to do a quiet launch? (laughs) I remember this wasn’t intended to be academic but more for government publication...but it seems to me that we have lost the federal audience that we had at one time.” (Experts Panel member 10, interview with author, June 2017)

Not only were concerns of relevancy were raised but also of missed opportunities to engage and work with federal government agencies and partners for further political and funding support for related historic preservation efforts. Yet, this interview participant also observed how with the prolonged delay and uncertainty of its completion and release, the window of opportunity, in terms of public policy, is most likely closed: “I think that it’s just not the study but AAPI communities continue to be with such lack of

information and visibility in terms of public policy. That's another reason why I thought this could be interesting but it's so long now and the moment has seemed to have passed." (ibid). The prolonged delay of the Theme Study is not just about the publication but also has implications on larger issues of AAPI community engagement and representation in public policy.

Challenges in Disseminating the NPS AAPI Theme Study

With the delay in the final product, public support by the Experts Panel and AAPI Heritage Partners has waned, particularly since the change of presidential administrations from President Obama to President Trump and changes in priorities by federal administration leaders, turnover of key career NPS staff, and delays in federal appointments and funding. The major challenges identified in developing dissemination strategies included political timing and project management, turnover and transitions of staff, and the need to broaden and strengthen partnerships to safeguard its legacy as a federal document.

Political Timing and Project Management

As several interview participants observed from previous experiences with advisory groups, political timing and project management are crucial factors that can either expedite or hinder projects of this magnitude. One interview participant noted the importance of political timing and project management with the Theme Study: "I've been in a number of efforts that languish because it took so long. People lose interest. People change. Then, you do all this work and nothing ever happens. I've seen that over and over again. There is a critical time where if you take too long, the thing just dies. People move on to other things" (Experts Panel member 4, interview with author, June 2017).

When these opportunities or windows close, due to changes in administrations and/or leadership, they can affect the momentum in implementing and completing initiatives like the Theme Study.

NPS Roles, Staffing, and Funding

Staffing and funding the dissemination and outreach efforts of the Theme Study plays a critical role for the Theme Study as part of the AAPI Heritage Initiative, particularly in how it can be coordinated within the federal agency and be implemented in the AAPI community. The AAPI Heritage Initiative, along with the American Latino Heritage Initiative and LGBTQ Heritage Initiative, were unprecedented as they challenged the process of theme studies to be inclusive of community advisory groups in developing the content and in engaging in partnerships with other federal agencies, national preservation and AAPI organizations, and community groups. While the NHL program staff focused on the primary objective of developing a guiding document to support NHL nominations, other NPS staff and Experts Panel members challenged the NHL staff to consider other possibilities in terms of use and audiences:

“Theme studies traditionally are a NHL product that is meant to support preservation. NHL program produces a theme study and they let SHPOs know. But since it’s for NHLs, it’s really an internal NHL kind of thing. The program hasn’t been designed to care about theme studies getting out. They had not traditionally been full of content. They have been full of “here’s your property type and here’s how to think about significance. Here’s how to frame it.” These three [Heritage Initiatives] are totally different animals. We are in this transition phase of “what do we do with these different animals?” Part of it is connecting with the communities that are going to be interested.” (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

While challenging federal agency staff to broaden their approaches in community engagement for federal historic preservation programs, one member of the Experts Panel

also acknowledged the challenges in pushing for changes within the federal government and how key agency staff play critical roles as ‘agents of change:’”

“It’s important for people to acknowledge when you’re critiquing these kinds of institutions, it’s made up of people and some of these people are agents of change themselves. They want to do things but they can only do what they are enabled to do. Some of them take risks as well.” There’s outside agitation that’s important but there’s getting in institutions and finding people that can be agents of change and be allies—that is important.” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

This particular observation was made when the Theme Study experienced turnover of key staff that significantly influenced the design and development for the project but were no longer at the agency at the later stages to manage or support its completion or release.

Need to Broaden Partnerships in Preservation and AAPI Communities

Partnerships played a critical role in garnering support and awareness from AAPI community organizations, historic preservation organizations and agencies, and federal agencies with much potential in the outreach and dissemination stages of the Theme Study. The NHL program has traditionally not developed dissemination strategies of their theme studies, particularly within the federal agency and with historic preservation and community partners:

“It would never occur to the NHL program to disseminate to anybody except preservationists. It’s a new thing to think about. We’ll certainly help with what we can. It’s pushing the traditional NHL thinking of “well, it’s on our website. What else do we need to do?” That’s where the authors and panel come in, too. They have networks, social media. There has to be some kind of coordinated effort to get out the word and really use this.” (NPS Staff member 4, interview with author, June 2017)

Coordination with agency programs like Education and Interpretation, regional offices, and National Park units could encourage the developing of materials and resources to educate and interpret historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs.

Partnerships with AAPI community organizations, historic preservation organizations, and academic institutions pose significant potential, particularly with the Experts Panel consisting of academic scholars and community leaders:

“I think there’s an opportunity to make this more public, to use the expertise of the people on the panel to get out the word about this. Franklin has been running around at conferences to talk about it but I would like to see some plan of what to do. When this comes out, here is what we’re going to get out of it. That could be at preexisting sites, public talks, colloquiums, partnerships with museums, other partners – things that like to make a splash.” (Experts Panel member 9, interview with author, June 2017)

Given the challenges of changes in political support and leadership, limited funding and NPS staffing in the anticipated dissemination process, these partnerships may be critical to the release of the Theme Study.

Chapter 9: Summary and Recommendations

Who writes history? Who gets to tell? Who gets to point to the land and say this is where these people were? Who gets to have a statue celebrating slavery? Who gets to say, “Actually, we fought against slavery”? You are writing that. You are uncovering that. That’s the war that you are covering—the war over ‘who tells history’. – Helen Zia (Personal correspondence with author, June 15, 2017)

Historic preservation is a significant issue for Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (APIs) seeking to safeguard important historic places, preserve unique cultural practices, and receive official recognition of civic contributions. However, few sites associated with API history and cultures have been recognized as landmarks. There has been substantial movement forward by federal agencies and national organizations in developing a more inclusive and diverse approach to traditional standards and policies in order to reflect the growing numbers of underrepresented sociocultural groups, including APIs. With the API Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, the Department of the Interior and the National Park Service explore how the legacy of APIs can be recognized, preserved, and interpreted for future generations. However, this movement forward requires sustained support of federal staff, programming, and funding, as well as sustained support for and by preservation practitioners, academics, and the API community.

The fate of APIs has been intertwined with U.S. immigration policy, which has determined its population size, ethnic composition, settlement patterns, and socioeconomic character. The API population in the United States has grown more ethnically diverse since 1960 and also has experienced changes in geographic distribution. Policies and programs in historic preservation must be more inclusive in the

representation of AAPI historic sites and resources. The incredible diversity within the AAPI community—and the diversity of the places that are special and unique to our communities—demands that a framework for cultural preservation take into account the history of U.S. immigration policy to the AAPI experience; the diverse backgrounds, class, regional differences and ethnicities of AAPIs; the diverse labor experiences of AAPIs; the unique settlement patterns and lifestyles of early communities; and the urban and suburban experiences of AAPIs in the mid- to late twentieth century.

It is imperative that, as the AAPI continues to grow, we broaden traditional historic preservation standards and procedures to reflect the diverse needs and issues for the AAPI community while advocating for continued efforts on the federal level to support historic preservation efforts associated with AAPIs and other underrepresented groups. Culturally appropriate policies can drastically impact not only the number of historic sites and resources recognized on the national level but also encourage increased civic engagement and participation in historic preservation across generations and racial dynamics.

Summary of Findings

Political Timing and Leadership

Locating the convergence of problems, politics, and policy that opened up a policy window for NPS AAPI Theme Study required an analysis of political action, policy formation, and political actors. Politics (political action, policy formation, and political actors) played a critical role in the development, content, and implementation of the AAPI Theme Study as part of the National Park Service's Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative. It is important to understand the complexity and

dynamics of how it, along with other National Park Service Heritage Initiatives, particularly in relation to political streams in the federal government that led to these initiatives from previous research, legislation, and programs related to historic preservation, leadership in the presidential administration, federal staff and resources, and partnerships in historic preservation and the AAPI community. The convergence of policy windows, including problems identified, political climates, and political actors, can help open opportunities for federal programs that encourage public participation; however when these political streams change or close, they can disrupt these programs as well.

Participation in Federal Historic Preservation Programs

The NPS Heritage Initiatives offered a new role for private citizens to participate in programs in the Department of the Interior (DOI) through advisory groups, including the Experts Panel for the AAPI Theme Study. While previous theme studies have had a group of historians acting as consultants, these Heritage Initiatives were exemplary in the development of their respective advisory groups in terms of selection and participation. For the AAPI Theme Study, the Experts Panel comprised of NPS staff, Asian American and Pacific Islander Studies scholars, and practitioners in AAPI-related historic preservation or public history work. With this composition, the AAPI Theme Study was advised by a diverse and experienced group from varying disciplines and experiences in historic preservation and scholarship. However, challenges in participating in the Experts Panel included unclear roles and responsibilities in the advisory group, and varying expectations of the Experts Panel and its role in shaping the Theme Study. As a result, members of the Experts Panel experienced varying types and levels of participation,

empowering or engaging some participants while tokenizing or minimizing participation from others. These issues of participation in the Experts Panel had its affects in the process, content, and anticipated dissemination of the Theme Study. Although the AAPI Theme Study faced disruptions through the process, its significance as a federal document remains as a high importance. It not only is a federal document that highlights the historical contributions of AAPIs in the national landscape but also as its potential in engaging the American public, including AAPIs and historic preservationists, in identifying, protecting, and supporting historic sites and cultural resources significance to AAPIs.

Politics of Representation in the AAPI Theme Study... and a Process Disrupted

In developing the structure of the AAPI Theme Study, several issues arose during the process, including an understanding of the roles of varying participants, expectations of the process, and issues of staffing and project management. Major challenges in the process included the purpose of the AAPI Theme Study and its Experts Panel, the importance of the meetings and discussions, the delineation of roles of various groups in the process, and the lack of project management or coordination along the way. Major challenges in the developing the content focused on structuring the framework to integrate complex dynamics of inter-ethnic representation and privilege, people-based versus place-based approaches, and the consequences of certain decisions made on how AAPI people, places, and events were represented in the content.

With the delay in the final product, public support by the Experts Panel and AAPI Heritage Partners has waned, particularly since the change of presidential administrations from President Obama to President Trump and changes in priorities by federal

administration leaders, turnover of key career NPS staff, and delays in federal appointments and funding. The major challenges identified in developing dissemination strategies included political timing and project management, turnover and transitions of staff, and the need to broaden and strengthen partnerships to safeguard its legacy as a federal document. Despite the disruptions in the process, members of the Experts Panel found ways of participating in the process and identified alternative strategies in the dissemination of the Theme Study. It is with this sense of agency within the Experts Panel, they sought ways to maximize their potential (in contributions and in the process) when the structure (as an advisory group of a federal program) is set up to limit their participation. Some members of the Experts Panel saw their roles as tokenized but navigated their way to more active roles in the process, directly contributing to the shaping of the framework and/or in the content. Some members also identified ways to align their own professional and/or community networks to identify potential partnerships in the dissemination process, knowing that the NPS staff had little to no funding or staffing to support it.

Policy and Planning Implications

Federal Preservation Programs

Although the AAPI Heritage Initiative was launched under President Obama's America's Great Outdoors program, the theme study has a larger history of political influence and policy as well as carried by key political actors. It is important to identify and understand the significance of politics (political action, policy formation, and political actors) in the development, content, and implementation of the AAPI Theme Study as part of the National Park Service's Asian American and Pacific Islander

Heritage Initiative. The AAPI Heritage Initiative and its Theme Study was unprecedented in size and scope and has the potential of improving and broadening policies and standards in federal historic preservation programs.

The theme study, “Finding a Path Forward: Asian American/Pacific Islander National Historic Landmarks Theme Study,” is intended to help in the identification of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts associated with AAPI history, and facilitate their designation as NHLs and their listing in the National Register of Historic Places. While the primary intended use and purpose is to encourage and support potential NHL nominations of places associated with AAPI people, places, and histories, its potential impact is seen to be much greater as: (1) a tool for other types of preservation-related designations, (2) a resource for educational and interpretation purposes within the National Park Service, and (3) as a tool for community engagement and participation in historic preservation efforts.

While the AAPI Theme Study was managed and housed in the NPS NHL program, it has policy and planning implications in other federal historic preservation and conservation programs, as well as with state and local historic preservation agencies. As a result, the Theme Study can help inform state and local agencies on how to support nominations, similar studies (e.g., context statements, resource studies), and funding for historic sites and cultural resources associated with AAPIs.

Community Participation in Federal Programs

As part of the theme study, the AAPI Theme Study Experts Panel was established under the auspices of the National Park Service Advisory Board. The Experts Panel provided advice on the structure of AAPI Theme Study, and identified potential essay

authors and major sources of information. With the lessons learned from the process of having this advisory group, it can help develop a model for a culturally-appropriate framework for citizen participation in historic preservation programs (including state and local) and in federal programs with similar initiatives on engaging AAPIs.

Staff and Resources

Following the launch of the Heritage Initiatives, NPS transitioned their Heritage Initiatives, including AAPI, from being discrete or temporary projects to being part of the service's mandate to Tell All Americans' Stories. As identified during the process of developing the AAPI Theme Study, staffing capacity and funding are essential to designing, developing, and implementing these efforts. With challenges in staffing and funding, including turnover of appointed leadership and agency staff and lack of funding to staff the program, the AAPI Theme Study experienced prolonged delays and changes in size and scope of the publication. While agency staff and funds were devoted to the preliminary stages of the Theme Study, these resources were depleted in subsequent stages of the project. As a result, the Theme Study surpassed its projected timeframe of completion and its release is uncertain. Furthermore, with little to no funding or staffing, the dissemination and outreach for the Theme Study from the agency is anticipated to be minimal with no dissemination or outreach plans in place.

Partnerships

Partnerships in the initial stages of the AAPI Theme Study (including support from federal leadership, funding and staffing support from appointed federal leaders, and a supportive presidential administration) played a critical role in garnering support and in increasing awareness of the need for culturally-appropriate approaches in federal historic

preservation programs. Partnerships also played a critical role in garnering support and awareness from AAPI community organizations, historic preservation organizations and agencies, and federal agencies with much potential in the outreach and dissemination stages of the Theme Study.

Education and Community Engagement

With the purpose of informing potential NHL nominations, its intended uses go beyond NPS staff researching and writing these applications. Rather, the audience is diverse as it can be utilized by NPS staff, historic preservation agencies (e.g., State Historic Preservation Officers), preservation consultants, historians, and educators. Another potential audience to utilize the AAPI Theme Study is within NPS, particularly in Education and Interpretation programs across the National Parks System. While there potential benefits of coordinating and developing materials between NHL and Education/Interpretation offices, there are also potential limitations including staffing, strategic planning, and coordination to get the Theme Study to the National Park units given the needed allocation of funding for materials and staff support.

Along with Asian American and Pacific Islander studies scholars and students, other targeted audiences identified for the Theme Study are the AAPI community at large. While the purpose is to encourage more community participation in federal historic preservation nominations, the Theme Study can encourage engagement and participation by underrepresented AAPI ethnic groups, including indigenous Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities and more recent Southeast Asian refugee communities. With these policy and planning approaches, the Theme Study encourages AAPI

communities to push for changes in historic preservation standards to reflect and be relevant in diverse yet underrepresented communities

Conclusion

For historic preservation and cultural preservation programs to be relevant and reflective of this diverse nation, federal policies and program must reflect the demographic changes and patterns of AAPIs in its programs and processes in community engagement. This includes supporting federal programs and funding that encourage an increase number of historic sites and cultural resources recognized on the national level and increased support in federal programs for place-based and people-based policies that are relevant to AAPI communities across the nation.

Building partnerships and awareness within the AAPI population and across with other underrepresented groups in historic preservation, like the AAPI Heritage Initiative and Theme Study, can play a critical role in civic engagement, advocacy, and leadership. Fostering this can motivate AAPIs in becoming future stewards of historic communities, cultural sites, and landscapes; shaping policy at the local, state, and national level; and providing lasting impact on communities for generations to come.

For urban planners, this dissertation provides an example of the issues and needs in developing a culturally-appropriate process and framework for AAPIs and underrepresented groups. Given the complex and diverse histories and places within the AAPI community, it is important for planning entities to develop, engage, and sustain relationships through a participatory framework. With the best practices and challenges faced with the Experts Panel and Theme Study, it is imperative to understand how to develop a culturally-appropriate framework for citizen participation to minimize potential

nonparticipation or tokenization while supporting collaboration, involvement, and partnerships. This framework should be inclusive of community partners (organizations, individuals), as well as governmental agencies, in order to ensure sustained participation, political and funding supports, and community engagement. This framework should be aligned with policy windows or political support to encourage a program's design, implementation, and use/dissemination. For state and municipal planning and historic preservation agencies, the AAPI Theme Study's process and content can act as a guiding document for future research and publications (e.g., statewide or city context statements or resource studies) and in developing nominations for local, state, and federal designations (including NHLs, National Register, National Historic Monuments, National Historic Districts).

Although there are recent historic preservation efforts in addressing issues of diversity and inclusion, there are substantial gaps in scholarly understanding of how the influence of policy windows and citizen participation can be utilized to improve access and representation of underrepresented groups in federal programs. Though scholars have studied historic preservation as an approach dealing with protecting and historic landmarks, there remain important questions about the longer-term impact of citizen participation in traditionally underrepresented communities in federal programs. This dissertation explored how citizen participation in federal programs can serve three key purposes in engaging diverse and traditionally underrepresented groups in historic preservation: (1) address issues of representation in content and in process, (2) develop or support engagement with political actors and decision-makers to address the issues, and (3) develop or support citizen participation and partnerships with governmental agencies.

The NPS AAPI Theme Study created a new baseline on AAPI representation on federal advisory groups, complex yet complicated, but also necessary to understanding how to engage diverse populations.

APPENDIX A. Code Book

Theme 1. Politics of Preservation

1. Heritage Initiatives
 - a. Civil War to Civil Rights
 - b. Latino
 - c. AAPI
 - d. LGBTQ
 - e. Women
 - f. Other theme studies
2. Commemoration
 - a. NPS 100 (2016)
 - b. NHPA 50 (2016)
 - c. APAHM (every May)
 - d. Wing Luke (2013)
 - e. Honouliuli (2015)
 - f. Other events
3. Leadership
 - a. Obama
 - b. Salazar
 - c. Jewell
 - d. Suh
 - e. Jarvis
 - f. Toothman
 - g. EMERGENT CODE: Toni Lee
 - h. EMERGENT CODE: Robert Stanton
4. Government Resources
 - a. Federal Policies
 - b. NPS leadership
 - c. NPS staff
 - d. Cultural Resources
 - e. Education/Interpretation
 - f. NPS Advisory Board
 - g. NPS NHL Committee
 - h. WHIAAPI
 - i. DOI staff
 - j. NPS funding

Theme 2: Politics of Participation

1. Experts Panel
 - a. Purpose
 - b. Roles
 - c. Responsibilities
 - d. Expectations
 - e. Experience/knowledge

- i. AAPI
 - ii. Historic preservation
 - f. Affiliation (academic, community-based practitioners; social scientists versus humanities/arts/architecture; place-based work)
 - g. Sociodemographics
 - h. Level of participation
 - i. Motivation
 - ii. Barriers
 - i. Types of participation
- 2. NPS Staff
 - a. Purpose
 - b. Roles
 - c. Responsibilities
 - d. Expectations
 - e. Experience/knowledge
 - i. AAPI
 - ii. Historic preservation
 - f. Affiliation
 - g. Sociodemographics
 - h. Level of participation
 - i. Motivation
 - ii. Barriers

Theme 3: Politics of Representation

- 1. Process
 - a. Role
 - b. Timeline
 - c. Project Management
 - d. Timing
 - e. Communication
 - f. Heritage Initiative
 - g. Workshop/meetings
 - h. Completion
- 2. Content
 - a. NPS Thematic Framework
 - b. People-based
 - c. Chronological
 - d. Place-based
 - e. Artwork/design
 - f. Roles

Theme 4: Dissemination

- 1. Use/Dissemination
 - a. Audience
 - i. NPS
 - ii. Academic
 - iii. Preservationists

- iv. AAPIs
- v. Students
- vi. General Public
- vii. EMERGENT CODE: Partnerships
- b. Designations
 - i. NHL
 - ii. National Register
 - iii. SHPOs
 - iv. Education/Interpretation
 - v. State/local
- c. Government Document
 - i. Legacy
 - ii. EMERGENT CODE: Political document
 - iii. EMERGENT CODE: Public document
- d. Costs
 - i. Printing
 - ii. Staffing
 - iii. Dissemination
 - iv. Engagement
- e. NPS Funding
- f. NPS Roles
- g. EMERGENT CODE: Strategies in dissemination

APPENDIX B. List of Interview Participants Information

Name	Title and Affiliation	Area of Expertise	Role in Theme Study
Milton Chen, PhD	Senior Fellow, The George Lucas Educational Foundation	Education, Communications	Liaison, National Park System Advisory Board
Yen Le Espiritu, PhD	Assistant Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of California San Diego	Ethnic Studies	Experts Panel
Robert Hayashi, PhD	Associate Professor of American Studies; Chair of American Studies, Amherst College	American Studies	Experts Panel
Davianna McGregor, PhD	Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Hawaii	Ethnic Studies	Experts Panel
Konrad Ng, PhD	Director, Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center	Political Science, Museum Studies	Experts Panel
Franklin Odo, PhD	Professor of American Institutions and International Diplomacy, Amherst College	American Studies	Chair, Experts Panel
Greg Robinson, PhD	Professor of History, Universite du Quebec a Montreal	History	Experts Panel
Bill Watanabe	Executive Director, Little Tokyo Service Center (retired)	Social Welfare, Community Development	Experts Panel
Christopher Yip, PhD	Professor, Architecture Department, California Polytechnic State University	Architecture	Experts Panel
Ji-Yeon Yuh, PhD	Associate Professor, Department of History, Northwestern University	History	Experts Panel
Helen Zia	Author, Activist, and Journalist	Asian American civil rights	Experts Panel
Barbara Little, PhD	Archaeologist, Education and Interpretation, National Park Service	Archaeology	NPS Staff
Alexandra Lord, PhD	Branch Chief, National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service (former)	History	NPS Staff
Elaine Jackson-Retondo, PhD	National Historic Landmarks Manager, Pacific West Regional Office, National Park Service	Architectural History	NPS Staff
Anna Tamura	Landscape Architect, Pacific West Region, Park Planning and Environmental Compliance, National Park Service	Landscape Architecture	NPS Staff
Stephanie Toothman, PhD	Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science, National Park Service	American Studies	NPS Staff
Barbara Wyatt	Historian, National Register/National Historic Landmarks Programs, National Park Service	Landscape Architecture	NPS Staff

APPENDIX C. List of National Park Service National Historic Landmarks Theme Studies

- American Aviation Heritage (rev. 2011) and list of associated NHLs
- American Labor History (draft 2003) and list of associated NHLs
- American Latino Heritage (2013)
- Archaic Shell Rings of the Southeast U.S. (2006)
- Architecture in the Parks (1986)
- Astronomy and Astrophysics (1989)
- Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations (2004, rev. 2009)
- Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States (2000) and supplement (2004)
- Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights (2007, rev. 2009)
- The Clash of Cultures Indian Trails Project (2002)
- Colonials and Patriots: Historic Places Commemorating Our Forebears, 1700-1783 (1964)
- Contact with the Indians
- The Earliest Americans Theme Study for the Eastern United States (2005)
- Early Indian Farmers and Village Communities (1963) and supplement
- The Era of Reconstruction: 1861-1900 (2017)
- Geology (1990)
- Here Was the Revolution: Historic Sites of the War for American Independence (1977)
- Historic Contact: Early Relations Between Indian People and Colonists in Northeastern North America, 1524-1783 (1992)
- The History of Large Federal Dams: Planning, Design, and Construction (2005)
- Japanese Americans in World War II (2012)
- The Advance of the Frontier: 1763-1830
 - The Lewis and Clark Expedition (1958) and list of associated NHLs
 - Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Commemorating Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-1806) (1975)
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer
- Labor Archeology of the Industrial Era (2015)
- Literature, Drama and Music (1962)
- Man in Space: Parts 1 and 2 (1984)
- Maritime Heritage of the United States: Lightships in the United States (1989)
- Mission 66 Visitor Centers: The History of a Building Type (2000)
- The Presidents of the United States: Historic Places Commemorating the Chief Executives of the United States (1976)
- Protecting America: Cold War Defensive Sites (draft 2011)
- The Era of Reconstruction: 1861-1900 (2017)
- Recreation in the United States (1986)
- Russian America (1987) or read the html version

- Scientific Discoveries and Inventions vol. 1 (1964) and vol. 2 (1965)
- Signers of the Constitution: Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Constitution (1974)
- Signers of the Declaration: Historic Places Commemorating the Signing of the Declaration of Independence (1974)
- Southern Florida Sites Associated with the Tequesta and Their Ancestors (2004)
- Spanish Exploration and Settlement (1959)
- Travel and Communication (1963)
- Underground Railroad Resources in the United States (rev. 2000)
- The U.S. Constitution (1986)
- Warships Associated with World War II in the Pacific (1985)
- Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898
 - The Mining Frontier (1959)
- World War II and the American Home Front (2007)
- World War II in the Pacific (1984)

The theme studies listed below are out of print or otherwise unavailable:

- 19th-Century American Architecture, 1784-1880 (1971)
- 19th-Century Architecture: Georgia (1973)
- Agriculture and the Farmer's Frontier (1963)
- Architecture in North Carolina (1973)
- Black Americans in United States History (1974)
- Colonial Architecture of the Southern Colonies (1969)
- Commerce and Industry (1966)
 - Arts and Sciences
 - Education
 - Literature Drama and Music (1962)
- Conservation of Natural Resources (1963)
- Development of the English Colonies 1700-1775 (1960)
 - Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement (1961)
 - English Exploration and Settlement (1960)
 - French Exploration and Settlement (1960)
- Landscape Architecture in National and State Parks
- New England Architecture 1784-1880 (1970)
- Painting and Sculpture (1965)
- Political and Military Affairs
 - 1783-1830 (1959)
 - 1830-1860 (1960)
 - 1865-1912 (1963)
 - After 1914 (1972)
- Signers of the Constitution-Middle Atlantic and New England States (1973)
- Sites Associated with American Authors (1971)
- Sites in the Southern Colonies Associated with the War for Independence (1973)

- Sites in the Middle Colonies Associated with the War for Independence (1972)
- Sites in New England Associated with the War for Independence (1972)
- Social and Humanitarian Movements (1965)
- The Civil War (1959)
- The War for Independence (1960)
- Village Sites of the Middle Missouri Subarea A.D. 1000-A.D.-1887 (1994)
- Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898
 - The Cattleman's Empire (1959)
 - The Farmer's Frontier (1959)
 - The Fur Trade (1960)
 - Great Explorers of the West (1960)
 - Military and Indian Affairs (1959)
 - Overland Migration West of the Mississippi (1959)
 - The Santa Fe Trail (1963)
 - The Texas Revolution and Mexican War (1959)
 - Transportation and Communication (1963)

APPENDIX D. Table of Contents for National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study

Chapter 1. Understanding AAPI History through Place and Time, by Franklin Odo. An introductory essay defining terms and highlighting seven specific places to introduce the breadth of AAPI history.

Chapter 2. Contact, Imperialism, Migration and 'Exploration,' by Gary Okihiro. This essay focuses on the results of contact between Europeans and Americans and Asians and Pacific Islanders. This includes a discussion of early immigration, the issue of continuity and change in Asian and Pacific Islander cultures as a result of contact, and the development of the idea of Asians and Pacific Islanders in American Culture.

Chapter 3. Early Foundations and Mobilities of Pacific Islanders, by Amy Stillman. An essay exploring the early history of Pacific Islander cultures focusing on inter-island trade and migration, the development of political systems, and the expression of cultural values.

Chapter 4. Archeology at Methodology for the Study of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, by Doug Ross. This essay summarizes contributions made by archeologists in recovering early histories of AAPIs. Some of this background is fairly well-known and critical to the understanding of pre-contact Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. But scholarship over the last half-century has uncovered significant amounts of information which will be useful to academics and preservationists alike.

Chapter 5. Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance, by Erika Lee. This essay focuses on the impact of immigration, the emergence and structure of early communities, and early backlash against Asian immigration. It will also include a discussion of the ways in which immigrants and first generation Americans fought back against exclusion.

Chapter 6. Establishing Communities, by Nayan Shah. This essay focuses on the development of communities and the expansion or contraction they experienced during their early histories in the United States.

Chapter 7. Labor, Labor Activism, and Workers, by Dorothy Fujita-Rony. This essay focuses on Asian American and Pacific Islander workers; it explores the various industries into which AAPIs were recruited and the emergence of labor activism. It further discusses the ways in which workers organized and resisted exploitative conditions.

Chapter 8. Asian Americans and Agriculture, Innovation and Business, by Lane Hirabayashi. This essay explores individual entrepreneurship and the creation of businesses by Asian Americans, their contributions to agriculture, and the roles they played in developing the American economy through innovation.

Chapter 9. Architecture and Landscape Architecture, by Gail Dubrow. This essay will

focus on architecture/landscape architecture, exploring the ways in which Japanese forms, in particular, were adopted and adapted in the US as well as ways in which they merged with other styles to create new American visions. It will also explore and discuss the roles of AAPIs within these professional worlds.

Chapter 10. Battling Imperialism, by Davianna McGregor. This essay focuses on the impact of European, American, and Japanese imperialisms; the battle to contest these incursions and the emergence of nationalist movements among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

Chapter 11. World War Two and AAPIs, by Brian Niiya. World War Two was a turning point for most of the world. AAPIs were no exception. The US Congress ended the Chinese Exclusion Act while 120,000 Japanese Americans were forcibly incarcerated. Tens of thousands served in the US military.

Chapter 12. The Cold War, by Richard Baldoz. The Cold War exacerbated anti-community attitudes and policies in America. Much of the animus was directed at the Soviet Union and Cuba but a new enemy emerged in "Red China" after the takeover in 1949. The negative impact on AAPIs was serious and destructive.

Chapter 13. The Interconnections: Cultural Production, Exchange, and Appropriation, by Bob Lee. This essay explores the ways in which AAPI cultures influenced America and the ways in which different visions of these cultures were incorporated into mainstream society. It will also critique the misappropriation of cultural production as well as the maintenance of traditions within the ethnic communities.

Chapter 14. AAPIs and Cultural Retention/Assimilation, by Mary Yu Danico. This essay focuses primarily on the tensions between assimilation and the retention of cultures associated with countries of origin. It explores this topic through cultural and social history. Among the issues examined are the origins of new groups within and among AAPI communities.

Chapter 15. Asian American Activism and Civic Participation/Battling for Political Rights and Citizenship, by Daryl Maeda. The post-WWII battles for civil rights included the significant emergence of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders on the political landscape and an ensuing backlash. It will examine the trajectory of the Asian American 'Movement' in the late 1960s and thereafter as well as the myriad organized struggles for civil and human rights in AAPI communities.

Chapter 16. New Immigration, Migration and Refugees, by Linda Vo. New immigrant streams from Asia began immediately after the end of WWII but significantly increased after major reforms in 1965. This essay focuses on the development of new communities within the US.

Chapter 17. Community Development including Community Building and Dismantling, by Catherine Ceniza Choy. This essay focuses on the development of diverse

communities within American society, including the rapid growth of various AAPI groups. It also includes the commodification of AAPI culture (e.g., through tourism), the revival of traditional cultures and cultural activities, and the development of new communities.

Chapter 18. Insider/Outsider Politics, by Kim Geron. This essay focuses on the emergence of and participation by Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in modern and contemporary politics, especially electoral, at local/state/regional/national/international levels. Included are the extraordinary population increases in various parts of the nation and their impact on issues of power.

APPENDIX E. Timeline of Events Associated with the National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study

November 1999	U.S. Congress passed the National Park Service Studies Act of 1999 (H. 3194)
Winter 2000	U.S. Congress passes the National Park System New Area of Study Act of 2000 (H. 3423)
January 2009	Inauguration of President Barack Obama Appointment of Kenneth Salazar as Secretary of the Interior
September 2009	Appointment of Jon Jarvis as Director of the National Park Service Appointment of Rhea Suh as Assistant Secretary for Policy, Management, and Budget
June 2010	Appointment of Stephanie Toothman as Associate Director of Cultural Resources, Partnerships, and Science
April 2010	Announcement of America’s Great Outdoors Initiative
Summer 2011	Launch of the American Latino Heritage Initiative by Secretary Salazar
August 2012	Release of “Japanese Americans in World War II” NHL Theme Study
October 2012	Designation of Cesar E. Chavez National Monument by Secretary Salazar
Fall 2012	Selection of NPS AAPI Experts Panel
2013?	Release of “American Latinos and the Making of the United States” theme study
January 2013	First meeting of NPS AAPI Experts Panel (Los Angeles, CA)
February 2013	National Park System Advisory Board endorses AAPI Heritage Initiative Launch of National Park Service AAPI Heritage Initiative Designation of the Wing Luke Museum as an affiliated unit of the National Park Service by Secretary Salazar
April 2013	Appointment of Sally Jewell as Secretary of the Interior
May 2013	Second (and final) meeting of Experts Panel (Washington, DC) White House Summit on AAPI Heritage (Washington, DC)
June 2013	Conference calls to finalize AAPI Theme Study Essay Themes
Summer 2013	Finalization of Essay Themes and Identify Essay Authors
Fall 2013	National Park Service Special Assistant to the Director Theodora Chang assigned to work on the NPS AAPI Theme Study
May 2014	Launch of the LGBTQ Theme Study by Secretary Jewell
September 2014	Departure of DOI Assistant Secretary Rhea Suh
Winter 2014	Release of “Asians and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War” Theme Study
January 2015	Departure of NPS NHL staff Alexandra Lord
February 2015	Designation of Honouliuli National Monument by President Obama
March 2015	White House Initiative on AAPIs webinar on the NPS AAPI Heritage Initiative

December 2015	Departure of Konrad Ng from the Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center
	Theodora Chang promoted to Advisor to the NPS Director
October 2016	Release of “LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History”
Fall 2016	Departure of key staff at the White House Initiative on AAPIs
December 2016	National Park Service Centennial Act
January 2017	Retirement of NPS Director Jon Jarvis
	Departure of NPS Advisor to the Director Theodora Chang
	Departure of WHIAAPI Commissioners Kathy Ko Chin and Jacob Fitsumanu, Jr.
	Departure of Secretary Jewell
May 2017	Retirement of NPS Associate Director Stephanie Toothman
Spring 2017	Theme study anticipated to be completed (postponed)

APPENDIX F. List of National Park Service Asian American Pacific Islander Theme Study Experts Panel

Name	Title and Affiliation	Area of Expertise	Role in Theme Study
Milton Chen, PhD	Senior Fellow, The George Lucas Educational Foundation	Education, Communications	Liaison, National Park System Advisory Board
Christine DeLisle, PhD	Department of Indian American Studies, University of Minnesota - Twin Cities	Pacific Studies, Museum Studies	Experts Panel
Yen Le Espiritu, PhD	Assistant Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of California San Diego	Ethnic Studies	Experts Panel
Donna Graves	Historian and Cultural Planner	Historic Preservation	Experts Panel
Robert Hayashi, PhD	Associate Professor of American Studies; Chair of American Studies, Amherst College	American Studies	Experts Panel
Michelle Magalong	Executive Director, Asian Pacific Islander Americans in Historic Preservation	Historic Preservation, Urban Planning	Experts Panel
Martin F. Manalansan IV, PhD	Associate Professor of Anthropology & Asian American Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign	Anthropology, Asian American Studies	Experts Panel
Davianna McGregor, PhD	Professor, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of Hawaii	Ethnic Studies	Experts Panel
Konrad Ng, PhD	Director, Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center	Political Science, Museum Studies	Experts Panel
Franklin Odo, PhD	Professor of American Institutions and International Diplomacy, Amherst College	American Studies	Chair, Experts Panel
Karthick Ramakrishnan, PhD	Professor and Associate Dean, School of Public Policy, University of California, Riverside	Political Science, Public Policy	Experts Panel
Greg Robinson, PhD	Professor of History, Universite du Quebec a Montreal	History	Experts Panel
Khatharya Um, PhD	Associate Professor, Ethnic Studies Department, University of California Berkeley	Ethnic Studies	Experts Panel
Barbara L. Voss, PhD	Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, Stanford University	Anthropology	Experts Panel
Bill Watanabe	Executive Director, Little Tokyo Service Center (retired)	Social Welfare, Community Development	Experts Panel
Christopher Yip,	Professor, Architecture	Architecture	Experts Panel

PhD	Department, California Polytechnic State University		
Ji-Yeon Yuh, PhD	Associate Professor, Department of History, Northwestern University	History	Experts Panel
Helen Zia	Author, Activist, and Journalist	Asian American civil rights	Experts Panel
Barbara Little, PhD	Archaeologist, Education and Interpretation, National Park Service	Archaeology	NPS Staff
Alexandra Lord, PhD	Branch Chief, National Historic Landmarks Program, National Park Service (former)	History	NPS Staff
Elaine Jackson-Retondo, PhD	National Historic Landmarks Manager, Pacific West Regional Office, National Park Service	Architectural History	NPS Staff
Anna Tamura	Landscape Architect, Pacific West Region, Park Planning and Environmental Compliance, National Park Service	Landscape Architecture	NPS Staff
Stephanie Toothman, PhD	Associate Director, Cultural Resources, Partnerships and Science, National Park Service	American Studies	NPS Staff
Barbara Wyatt	Historian, National Register/National Historic Landmarks Programs, National Park Service	Landscape Architecture	NPS Staff

APPENDIX G. Roles and Responsibilities in the Asian American/Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative/Theme Study

The Roles of Participants in the Asian American/Pacific Islander Heritage Initiative/Theme Study May 2, 2013

A primary activity of the Asian American/Pacific Islander (AA/PI) Heritage Initiative will be preparation of a theme study to be used to identify and evaluate associated resources for National Historic Landmark designation and National Register listing. The theme study will be completed with the assistance of three key groups: panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers. Their efforts will be assisted by NHL staff, the chairman of the AA/PI theme study project, and a professional editor. The panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers will make the primary scholarly contribution to the theme study.

Panelists were identified in the fall of 2012. Essayists and peer reviewers, to be identified by the panel, have yet to be selected. It is important for each participant to understand the specific roles of panelists, essayists, and peer reviewers, as well as the role of the chairman of the theme study project, NHL staff, and the editor. The means of hiring an editor has not been determined, so a different model will be developed if this proves impossible; however, involvement by an editor would be ideal.

Payments and Reimbursements

Panelists are formal members of the Asian American Pacific Islander Scholars Expert Panel of the National Park System Advisory Board. They are not paid for their time, but they will be compensated for travel and expenses associated with their participation. Essayists will be paid for their work. Panelists must understand that they cannot be paid as essayists. If a panelist is the best scholar to prepare a certain essay for the theme study, he or she should consider dropping off the panel as soon as this becomes evident so that participation as a paid essayist is possible. A panelist is welcome to write an essay on an unpaid basis, but needs to be aware that such work is voluntary. Panelists can serve as peer reviewers, who are not paid for their contribution.

Tasks of the AA/PI Panel

The AA/PI panel is composed primarily of scholars, whose research represents the range of national and ethnic groups that will be included in the theme study. Public historians and activists for the preservation of AA/PI cultural resources are also on the panel. The work of the panel will consist of the following tasks:

2. Identify any groupings of national and ethnic groups that may be practical and terms for identifying each group.
3. Develop a structure for the theme study that is considerate of the following factors:
 - f. The need to produce effective aids for the evaluation of significant places;
 - g. Compatibility with NHL themes, context development, and the program's place-based focus;

- h. Comprehensive coverage of each group's culture, including but not limited to cultural practices, social structure, religion, education, occupational preferences, and lifestyle preferences;
 - i. Periods of immigration to the U.S. and periods of settlement within the U.S.;
 - j. Demographic characteristics (population size, growth, distribution).
4. Identify essayists appropriate for each essay (rank two or three choices for each essay).
 5. Collaborate with NPS staff to develop a standard format for all essays.
 6. Suggest peer reviewers for each essay.
 7. Serve as a peer reviewer, as available. See below.

Tasks of Essayists

Essayists will be recruited to the AA/PI theme study project for their subject expertise and reputation for excellence as scholars. Those selected must be able to meet the deadlines of the project. Their primary tasks will be the following:

1. Attend at least one webinar held by NHL staff for an introduction to the NHL program, the AA/PI Heritage Initiative, and the preparation of NHL theme studies. The webinar will explain the program's place-based emphasis. Attendance is mandatory to ensure an understanding of the program's goals.
2. Prepare an essay on the specific subject assigned and in the format specified. Essays are expected to be based on original research, with appropriate citations indicating material that is not the author's original research.
3. Respond to comments of peer reviewers, including NHL staff, and the editor.

Tasks of Peer Reviewers

Peer reviewers will review drafts prepared by the essayists and present written comments for the author's consideration. The primary task of peer reviewers is to assure the accuracy of the subject matter, note topics that have been omitted and that should be addressed, and assure the relevancy of the essay to the NHL program. Copy editing can be suggested and is welcome, but a professional editor will be responsible for copy editing all final drafts. Each essay will have at least two peer reviewers, plus one NHL staff member will be assigned to each essay to assure the essay's usefulness as a tool for evaluation. Panelists can serve as peer reviewers, but like all peer reviewers they will not get paid for this service. Peer reviewers will be responsible for the following:

1. Attend a webinar held by NHL staff for an introduction to the NHL program and the AA/PI project (those who were not panelists). This is not mandatory, but strongly suggested.
2. Review the first draft of the essay and submit written comments.
3. If necessary, a peer reviewer may be asked to review the second draft of the same essay he or she already reviewed.
4. The NHL staff member assigned to each essay will review all drafts of the essay (first, second, and subsequent drafts) and submit written comments to the author, according to the same schedule as the peer reviewers.

Role of the Editor

A professional editor will be hired to work with the authors to ensure each essay reflects a high quality of scholarship, meets the needs of the theme study, and responds appropriately to peer review comments. The editor will make sure the theme study does not present any copyright issues. The editor will also ensure the uniform presentation of the contents of the theme study, easy accessibility of information, and an attractive and appealing finished product.

Role of the in the AA/PI Theme Study Chairman

1. Chair all meetings of panelists and essayists. Note: “meetings” herein refers to in-person and web/telephone meetings.
2. Assist NPS staff in developing meeting agendas and follow-up to meetings.
3. Coordinate selection of essayists.
4. Help NPS staff contact potential essayists and confirm their participation.
5. Help NPS select and hire the theme study editor and coordinate the work of the editor.
6. Assist NPS in maintaining project schedules.
7. Help NPS staff contact potential peer reviewers and confirm their participation.
8. Participate as a peer reviewer as time permits.
9. Undertake fund-raising for the AA/PI project, working closely with the National Park Foundation.
10. Maintain communication with interest groups that represent AA/PI concerns, as appropriate.

Role of NPS Staff

1. Schedule and arrange logistics for all meetings.
2. Maintain contact with panelists, essayists and peer reviewers, and provide training, information and instructions that will assist them in carrying out their tasks.
3. Work with the AA/PI chairman on the development of meeting agendas and in follow-up to meetings.
4. Work with the AA/PI chairman on contacting potential essayists and in confirming their participation.
5. Negotiate and finalize agreements with essayists.
6. Work with the AA/PI chairman to hire an editor for the theme study.
7. Develop and maintain project schedules.
8. Work with the AA/PI chairman on contacting potential peer reviewers, confirming their participation, sending them drafts to review, and sending their comments to essayists.
9. Assign one NHL staff member to review each essay and provide written comments to essayists on all drafts.
10. Assist authors with the selection of images to be used with each essay.

APPENDIX H. Potential Calendar/Potential Products for AAPI Theme Study

June 2013:

- NPS staff members and panelists develop and finalize structure of theme study
- NPS and panelists identify potential essayists
- NPS and Franklin Odo contact potential essayists

July 2013:

- Product: NPS and Panelists develop a Table of Contents for the theme study which will be publicized on the NPS website
- Product: Finalize and publicize list of essayists and panelists on NPS website (with short biographies)

August/September 2013:

- NPS staff members finalize contracts with essayists
- NPS staff members provide training for essayists
- Product: NPS updates website to include the Table of Contents for the theme study

Fall, 2013:

- Essayists conduct research (primarily in existing secondary literature but this may entail primary research)
- Product: NPS staff prepare “What is in Your Community?” booklet which provides overview of NHL and NR Programs by highlighting 5 designated AA sites and “What is in Your Community?” which provides overview of NHL and NR Program by highlighting 5 designated PI sites.

January, 2014:

- Product: Submission of formal abstract and outline for essay along with 5-10 suggested readings for preservationists on each chapter topic
- Product: First overview essay is prepared and put in booklet form (NPS staff)

March, 2014:

- NPS staff and panelists review and return abstracts and outlines to essayists with comments
- NPS staff and panelists use abstract and outline to begin to locate potential peer reviewers

Spring, 2014:

- Essayists write and finalize first draft of essay
- NPS contact peer reviewers to line them up for review of essay during July 2014
- Product: NPS updates website to include abstracts and list of suggested reading to enable grassroots preservationists to get a start on reading and/or thinking about potential sites and context

June, 2014:

Product: Essayists submit first draft of essay

July, 2014:

NPS staff, panelists and peer reviewers review essay and begin formulating ideas about property types and registration requirements

Product: Essayists submit 10-20 photos for their essay with permission obtained and/or cleared (we believe this will result in 10 useable photos)

Product: Essayists submit a bibliography for their essay

August, 2014:

NPS returns comments for revisions to essayists

Product: Website updated to include a range of submitted images

August/September, 2014:

NPS staff members begin writing Registration Guidelines

October, 2014:

Product: Final revised essay draft returned (early October)

NPS staff members do a second review of essay to ascertain that needed changes were made

November, 2014:

NPS staff submit essays to professional copy editor

NPS staff members compile and formalize bibliography as one overall bibliography for theme study

NPS staff members complete Registration Guidelines

January, 2015:

Copy editor returns clean copy of theme study

NPS staff begin incorporating photos, Registration Guidelines, bibliography etc. into the theme study, finalizing it

Spring, 2015:

Product: Theme Study completed

Product: NPS staff update and add theme study to website

APPENDIX I. AAPI Theme Study Structures of Essays Options

1. Version A

Essay One: Understanding AAPI History Through Place and Time

An introductory essay defining terms and highlighting five to seven specific places to introduce the breadth of AAPI history (this would be similar to the introductory essay for the American Latino theme study but which focused on four individuals). The suggested sites below allow us to explore different groups and some provocative themes.

Understanding the Broad Chronology/Important Events Using a range of specific places:

- Nan Madol, Federated States of Micronesia [Shaping the Political Landscape];
- Kam Wah Chung Store, OR [Developing the Economy];
- Angel Island, CA [Peopling Places];
- Iolani Palace, HI (Shaping the Political Landscape);
- George Nakashima Woodworker Complex, PA [Expressing Cultural

Values];

- 40 Acres, CA [Developing the American Economy];
- Camp Pendleton, CA [Peopling Places)
- Transnational Adoptions

Essay Two: Early Foundations of Pacific Islanders (Chronological Period: BC to Contact)

An essay exploring the early history of Pacific Islander cultures focusing on inter-island trade and migration, the development of political systems, and the expression of cultural values.

Topics covered include:

Rethinking America (**Expressing Cultural Values**): clarify what does this mean?

Religious institutions (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Inter-island trade (**Developing the American Economy**)

Inter-island migration (**Peopling Places**)

Engineering (**Expanding Science and Technology**)

Art/Architecture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Political Institutions (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Changing Role of Pacific Islands (**Changing Role of the US in the World**)

The Idea of Taboo (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Examples/Sample Properties:

- Hōkukano-Ualapue Complex, Hawaii (National Historic Landmark [NHL], Designated 1962)
- Gādao's Cave, Guam (National Register of Historic Places [NRHP])

Essay Three: Contact, Colonization, Migration and “Exploration” (Chronological Period, 1492-1848)

An essay focusing on the impact of contact between Euro-Americans and Asians, specifically but not solely focused on Pacific Islanders. This will include, as well, a discussion of early immigration, the issue of continuity and change in Pacific Islander cultures as a result of contact and the development of the idea of Asia and Asians in American culture.

Topics covered include:

Mahele (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Imagining Asia (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Ethnic Homelands (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Trade and Contact (**Developing the American Economy**)

Early Asian Migration (**Peopling Places**)

Colonization and Missionizing (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Hispano-Filipinos in the War of 1812 (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Forced Labor (**Peopling Places**)

Commodification of Asian Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Sugar Plantations (**Transforming the Environment**)

Pacific Island Cultures (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Collecting and “Exploration” (**Expanding Science and Technology**)

Chang and Eng

“Specimens”

Imagining of Asia

Annexation and Erasure of Cultures (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Old Sugar Mill of Koloa, Hawaii (NHL, 1962)
- Cook Landing Site, Hawaii (NHL, 1962)
- Plaza de España (Hagåtña), Guam (NRHP, 1974)
- Lahaina Harbor, Hawaii (NHL, 1962)

Essay Four: Immigration, Exclusion, and Resistance (Chronological Period: 1848-1941)

An essay focusing on immigration and the backlash against Asian American immigration during the first wave of Asian immigration.

Topics covered include:

Early Immigration

Recruitment by Central Pacific Railroad (**Developing the American Economy**)

Anti-Chinese Immigration Act of 1858 (California) (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Changing Demographics (**Peopling Places**)

Hapa (**Peopling Places**)

Paper Sons (**Peopling Places**)

Picture Brides (**Peopling Places**)

Segregation in Schools (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Migration between Pacific Islands (**Peopling Places**)
First wave of Filipino immigration to the United States (**Peopling Places**)

First wave of Korean immigration (**Peopling Places**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Angel Island, California (NHL, 1997)

Essay Five: Shaping the American Economy: Forced Labor, Workers, and Small Businesses Owners (Chronological Period: 1848-1917)

An essay focusing primarily on Asian American workers but exploring the development of businesses in the Asian American community as well as Asian American businesses which included and/or catered to the Euro-American communities (i.e. the development of Chinese restaurants aimed at the tourist trade, landscape architecture etc.).

Topics covered would include

Building the Railroads (**Developing the American Economy**)

The Gold Rush (**Developing the American Economy**)

Building Businesses in Communities (i.e. small businesses like Kam Wah Chung but also Pedro Flores and the development of the yo-yo)
(**Developing the American Economy**)

Whaling (**Developing the American Economy**)

Sailors/Fishermen (**Developing the American Economy**)

Japanese and Chinese landscape architecture (**Transforming the Environment**)

Agriculture (**Transforming the Environment**)

Japanese and Chinese Landscape Design (**Transforming the Environment**)

Hard Rock Mining (copper etc.) (**Developing the American Economy**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Jim Ong's Market, Arizona (NHRP, 1982)
- Bodie Historic District, California (NHL, 1961)

Essay Six: Battling American Imperialism (Chronological Period: 1848-1946)

An essay focusing on the impact of American imperialism, the battle to contest this and the emergence of nationalist movements among Pacific Islanders.

Topics covered include:

Overthrow of Hawaiian Kingdom and Annexation of Hawaii (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Annexation of Guam, Samoa, the Philippines (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Long-distance Nationalism (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Gadar Movement (anti-British imperialism movement but in the US)
(**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Spanish American War (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Opium War (role of and impact on America) (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Emergence of Independence Movements (i.e. Philippines) (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Iolani Palace, Hawaii (NHL, 1962)
- Washington Place, Hawaii (NHL, 2007)

Essay Seven: The Interconnections: Influencing American Culture and Being Influenced by American Culture (Chronological Period: 1848-Present)

An essay focusing primarily on the ways in which Asian culture influenced America and vice versa.

Topics covered include:

Civil War

“Orientalism” and the Consumption of Asian Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Influence of Japanese Design (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Religious Institutions

Agricultural Technology (**Expanding Science and Technology**)

New Agricultural Crops (**Transforming the Environment**)

Swami Vivekananda and Introduction of Yoga (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Commodification of Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Americanization

Tourism (**Developing the American Economy**)

Emergence of Tourism to Hawaii etc.

Introduction of Acupuncture (**Expanding Science and Technology**)

Against the Law: Gambling, Prostitution, Opium, Criminal Activities (**Developing the American Economy**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Hegeler-Carus Mansion, (NHL, 2007)

Essay Eight: Expressing Cultural Values

An essay focusing primarily on cultural traditions and activities.

Topics covered include:

Festivals (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Art (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Dance (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Literature (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Architecture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Music (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Foodways (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Pacific Islander Cultural Traditions (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Emergence of Surfing (i.e. Duke Kahanamoku) (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Other Sports (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Popular Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

Anna May Wong/Exclusion of Asian Americans from Hollywood ‘
(Expressing Cultural Values)

Example/Sample Properties

- Stockton Gurdwara, California (Listed as a California State Landmark)
- Waikiki Beach, HI (Currently being considered for designation for its association with Duke Kahanamoku)

Chapter Nine: Establishing Communities (Chronological Period: 1917-1941)

An essay focusing on the physical development of communities, the contraction they experienced during this period and their impact etc.

Topics covered include:

Community Building (**Building Social Institutions**)
Changing Demographics (**Peopling Places**)
Agricultural Technology (**Expanding Science and Technology**)
Contraction, Decline and Stabilization (**Building Social Institutions**)
Development of Businesses (**Developing the American Economy**)
Labor and Labor Organizing (**Developing the American Economy**)
Chinese and Japanese Language Schools (**Building Social Institutions**)
Civic Institutions (i.e. Japanese American Citizens League, Sociedad de Beneficencia de los Hispanos Filipinos) (**Building Social Institutions/Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Maritime Communities (**Peopling Places**)
Agricultural Communities (**Peopling Places**)
Urban Neighborhoods, i.e. Chinatowns, Japantowns (**Peopling Places**)
Finding Ways to Create and Establish Communities in the face of Anti-Alien Land Laws (**Building Social Institutions**)
1906 Bubonic Plague in SF Chinatown/impact on Chinese Americans (**Expanding Science and Technology/Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Foodways (**Developing the American Economy**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Locke Historic District, California (NHL, 1992)
- Isleton Chinese and Japanese Historic District, California (NRHP, 1991)
- Panama Hotel, Washington (NHL, 2006)
- Chee Kung Tong Society Building, Hawaii (NHRP, 1982)
- Chinatown and Little Italy Historic District, New York (NHRP, 2010)
- Umang Dam, Guam (NHRP, 2009)

Essay Ten: World War, the Cold War and the Rise of Pacific Islander Nationalism (Chronological Period: 1941-1975)

An essay exploring the impact of mid to late twentieth century wars and nationalist movements.

Topics covered include:

Atomic Bomb Testing*** (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Japanese American Internment** (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Red Scare (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Transnational nationalism (impact of Chinese Revolution on Chinese Americans, Chinese Immigration etc.) (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

McCarthy Era (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Pacific Islander Nationalism (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Samoan Independence ((**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

1965 Palau Nuclear Free (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Hawaiian Statehood (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Impact of anti-communism on Hawaiian Statehood (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

AAPIs in the Military (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

AAPI diplomacy (**Changing Role of the US**)

Example/Sample Properties

- CIA Camp (training Chinese nationalists during the Korean War), Palau
- Nuclear Test Sites, Marshall Islands

****NB: A separate theme study exists on Japanese American internment so the AAPI theme study will simply reference the Japanese American internment theme study**

*****NB: A separate theme study exists on Cold War weaponry so the AAPI theme study will simply reference the Cold War theme study**

Essay Eleven: The Battle for Full Citizenship (Chronological Period: 1917 to the Present)

An essay focusing primarily on the battle for civil rights but also exploring and including the backlash against this.

Topics covered include:

Civil Rights/End of Exclusion (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Repeal of anti-miscegenation laws (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Rise of the idea of the “Model” Minority (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Immigration Reform (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

NAGPRA (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Affirming an Identity (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Affirmative Action/Backlash (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Combatting Racism/Hate Crimes (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Murder of Vincent Chen (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Census Categorization (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

1988 Civil Liberties Redress (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Backlash against Muslim Americans after 9/11 (**Shaping the Political**

Landscape)

Combatting Racism/Hate Crimes (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
1988 Civil Liberties Redress (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Census Categorization (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Women's Movement i.e. Patsy Mink (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
LGBT Movement (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Asian American movement (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
Workers' Movements/Larry Itliong (**Developing the Economy**)
Expanding Job Opportunities (**Developing the Economy**)
Asian Americans in Political Offices (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)

Example/Sample Properties

- 40 Acres, California (NHL, 2008)
- Filipino American Riots, Yakima, Washington

Essay Twelve: Immigration, Migration and Refugees (Chronological Period: 1965 to the Present)

An essay focusing on new immigrants, immigration reform, the development of new communities and internal migration within the US etc.

Topics covered include:

Refugees/Immigration (**Peopling Places**)
 New Destinations (**Peopling Places**)
Immigration reform (**Shaping the Political Landscape**)
 H1B Visas (**Peopling Places**)
New Immigrants (Impact on Electoral Politics, Post 9/11, Muslim Americans) (**Peopling Places**)
Amerasian Homecoming Act (**Peopling Places**)
Korean War Brides and "Special Immigrants" (**Peopling Places**)
Transnational Adoptees (**Peopling Places**)
Internal Migration (i.e. from Guam to LA) (**Peopling Places**)
Suburbanization and Urbanization (Peopling Places)
New Communities (i.e. movement within the US or emergence of Hmong communities in the Midwest etc.) (**Peopling Places**)

Example/Sample Properties

- Camp Pendleton, California (Not Designated, Possible NHL)

Essay Thirteen: Community Development and Cultural Values (Chronological Period: 1965 to the Present)

An essay focusing on the expression of cultural values through entertainment, art, architecture etc., perceptions of Asian culture within mainstream American society, the emergence of the commodification of AAPI culture (i.e. through tourism), the revival of traditional cultures and cultural activities, and the development of new communities.

Topics Covered Include:

Beat Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
Festivals (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
Art (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
Architecture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)

- Indigenous Cultural Revival (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
- Commodification of Pacific Islander and Asian Culture (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
- Tourism (**Developing the American Economy**)
 - Asian Americans/Affirmative Action (Shaping the Political Landscape)
 - Rise in numbers of Asian American students (Peopling Places)
 - Re-patriotization of Cultures (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
 - Flowering/Renaissance of Culture (i.e. Hula) (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
 - Emergence of Asian Culture in Larger Society (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
 - Emergence of Asian Martial Arts (**Expressing Cultural Values**)
- Example/Sample Properties**
 - India Square, Jersey City (Not Designated, Possible NRHP)

2. Version B

Introductory Essay(s)

PREFACE - TIMELINE

CHAPTER I – UNDERSTANDING AAPI THROUGH PLACE

Essay explains the inclusive umbrella of AAPI, including identification of multiple national origins and ethnic groups. The chapter defines some terminology for the sake of consistency within and across the essays and sets the tone for other essays by using places to help illustrate AAPI heritage.

EXAMPLE PROPERTIES

Rull Men's Meeting House, Federated States of Micronesia (listed on NRHP)

Wailua Heiau Complex NHL, Kauai Island, HI

The 40 Acres NHL, Delano, CA

US Immigration Station, Honolulu

CHAPTER II – RETHINKING AMERICA IN TIME AND GEOGRAPHY

Essay introduces the history of Asians and Pacific Islanders in America and Pacific Island history as part of American Heritage through both chronology and geographic place.

*(BC-Present) Rethinking America (Expressing Cultural Values)

(BC-1492)& (1492-1848) Early Pacific Island Experience and Cultures (Expressing Cultural Values)

Expressing Cultural Values and Creating Social Institutions and Movements

CHAPTER III - COMMUNITY and EVERYDAY LIFE

Essay discusses important social and cultural community activities, organizations and institutions. The chapter will include discussions of types of places and specific places where these activities took place as well as those places associated with important events and leaders.

(1750-1941) Social & Cultural Community Organizations and Institutions

(1848-1917) Community & Community Building (Creating Social Institutions and Movements)

Civic Institutions

Religious Institutions

Chinese and Japanese Language Schools

Foodways

Festivals

Taboo/Kapu

(1917-1941) Community Building (Creating Social Institutions and Movement)

Contraction, Decline and Stabilization

(1965 - Present) Community Development (Creating Cultural Institutions)

Suburbanization/Urban Development

Education

Asian Americans/Affirmative Action

Rise in numbers of Asian American students

(1941-1965) Cultural Institutions (Expressing Cultural Values/Building Cultural Institutions)
Women's Movement
Indigenous Cultural Revival
*(1848-1917) Long-distance Nationalism (Creating Social Institutions and Movements)
(1965 - Present) Culture (Expressing Cultural Values)
NAGPRA
Re-patriotization of Cultures
Flowering/Renaissance of Culture (i.e. Hula)
Emergence of Asian Culture in Larger Society

EXAMPLE TYPES OF PROPERTIES

Kam Wah Chung Store NHL, Oregon
Panama Hotel Seattle, Washington
Locke NHL, Sacramento Delta, California
Maravilla Handball Club and El Centro Grocery, East Los Angeles, CA
Little Manila Stockton
Filipino Town Los Angeles, CA
Chinatown, Honolulu
Japanese Language School, Seattle (NR)
Filipino Community Halls

chapter Iv - Arts, Architecture and Design

An essay dedicated to the discussion of arts, architecture and design, produced or performed by persons of AAPI heritage, or influenced by AAPI heritage. This includes poetry, prose, dance, architectural and landscape design, stage, furniture making, fashion, painting and other artistic media. The chapter will include both the vernacular and high style/professional efforts and also will discuss specific places associated with these activities and with significant persons and events.

Poetry
Prose
Dance
Architecture
Landscape Architecture
Garden Design
Fashion
Furniture Making
Beat Culture
Art
Stage
Etc.

EXAMPLE TYPES OF PROPERTIES

George Nakashima wood Worker Complex (pending NHL)
Bok Kai Temple (possible NHL)
California Scenario- Isamu Noguchi (possible NR sites)
Kubota Gardens (possible NR site)

Pasadena Japanese Garden (NR site)
Nippon Kan Theatre (NR)

CHAPTER V - Recreation, Sports, and Entertainment

An essay dedicated to the discussion of American Past Times, both as spectator and participant. The essay would include sports, entertainment and recreation ranging from football, movies and bowling. The chapter also will discuss specific places associated with these activities and with significant persons and events.

Entertainment

Sports

Asian American Car Culture

American Past Times

EXAMPLE TYPES OF PROPERTIES

Ballparks, Sports Fields

Cinemas

Dojos, Martial Arts Studios

CHAPTER VI – COMMODIFICATION AND CONSUMPTION OF ASIAN AMERICAN PACIFIC ISLANDER CULTURES

Essay discusses the commodification, consumption and popularization of AAPI, both through the “authentic” and the “ascribed” and how they played out on the landscape through individual efforts and broader city or planning efforts.

*(1492-1848) Imagining Asia (Expressing Cultural Values

(1848-1917) Orientalism and the Consumption of Asian Culture (Expressing Cultural Values)

Japanese Design

(1917-1941) Commodification of Culture (Expressing Cultural Values)

Popular Culture

Appropriation

Commodification of Pacific Islander and Asian Culture

EXAMPLE TYPES OF PROPERTIES

Nihonmachi, Chinatowns, Little Manilas, Little Saigons, Koreatowns, etc.

Structures, buildings using Asian style designs, motifs, fonts

Chinatown/International District- Seattle (NR)

Hindu Alley, Astoria, OR

Japanese Gardens- as status symbols- example: Huntington Garden Pasadena, Bloedel Reserve

Gardena Japanese American residential gardens district

Peopling Places:

CHAPTER VII - MIGRATION, IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATION

Essay covers the varied patterns and waves of AAPI migration and immigration within and to the mainland and the Pacific Islands. The chapter also will highlight the places

both geographic and specific where these patterns are legible on the landscape and built environment.

(BC-1492) Inter-Island Travel and Migration (Peopling Places)

(1492-1848) Early Asian Migration (Peopling Places)

(1492-1848) Forced Labor (Peopling Places)

(1848-1917) American Imperialism (Shaping the Political Landscape)

(1848-1917) Conflicts and Wars in Asia and America (Shaping the Political Landscape)

(1848-1917) Immigration, Exclusion and Resistance (Peopling Places)

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

Paper Sons

Picture Brides

Segregation in Schools

*(1848-1917) Pioneer Early Communities (Peopling Places)

(1941-1965) Rise of the “Special” Immigrant (Peopling Places)

War brides

Amerasian Homecoming Act

Transnational Adoptees

(1941-1990) World War II through the Cold War (Shaping the Political Landscape & Peopling Places)

Forced Migration (Japanese American Confinement)

Refugees

*(1965 - Present) Transnational Relations (Peopling Places)

(1965 - Present) Immigration & Migration (Peopling Places)

New Destinations

Immigration reform

H-1B Visas

New Immigrants (Impact on Electoral Politics, Post 9/11, Muslim Americans)

EXAMPLE SITES

Heart Mountain Relocation Center National Historic Landmark, Wyoming

Tule Lake Segregation Center NHL

Fort Vancouver NHS

Camp Pendleton

U.S. Immigration Station Honolulu (possible NHL)

Angel Island (NHL)

Bainbridge Island Japanese American Exclusion Memorial

Developing the American Economy and Transforming the Environment:

CHAPTER VIII - TRADE, COMMERCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (DEVELOPING THE AMERICAN ECONOMY)

Essay focuses on AAPI participation in the economy through trade, commerce and economic development. Some of these activities transformed the landscape both deliberately and residually. The essay will include discussion of those specific places associated with these activities, significant associated events and people who individually and collectively made their marks in this arena.

(BC-1492) Inter-Island Trade (Developing the American Economy)

(1492-1848) Trade and Contact (Developing the American Economy,)
*(1492-1848) Transforming the Landscape (Transforming the Environment)
Trade and Exploration
Sugar Plantations
(1492-1848) Trade and *Forced Labor (Developing the American Economy,)
(1917-1941) Economic Development (Developing the American Economy)
(1941-1965) Tourism (Developing the American Economy)
Air Travel
Commodification and/or Revival of Pacific Islander Culture

EXAMPLE TYPES PROPERTIES

Sugar Plantations
Kam Wah Chung Store
Wah Chong Tai Company, Butte, MT

CHAPTER IX - WORK AND LABOR (MAKING A LIVING)

Essay explores the way people have made a living. The essay will range from efforts such as building the railways, participating in the gold rush both as miners and through associated businesses, agriculture, restaurants and hotel entrepreneurs, high tech, doctors and lawyers. The essay will include discussion of where these activities took place and the transformed landscapes and built environment that stand as a reminder of these contributions and activities.

(1848-1917) Labor and Transforming the Landscape (Developing the American Economy)
Building the Railroads
The Gold Rush
Building Businesses in Communities
Whaling
Agriculture, Aquaculture
(Dates?) Hotel Industry
(Dates ?) Restaurants
(Early to the present) Agriculture

EXAMPLE TYPES PROPERTIES

Nurseries
Orchards
Mining outposts- examples: "China Gulch" in Cedar Creek, MT, Pon Yam House, Idaho City
RR Camp sites
China Camp, San Raphael CA
Shellfish, oyster farms
Laundries
Alaska Canneries
Filipino Cannery Building, Seattle
Panama Hotel NHL
SE Asian Christmas Tree Farms
Pike Place Market

Maneki Restaurant Seattle
Little Tokyo Restaurant- home of California Roll

Expanding Science and Technology

CHAPTER X – HEALTH , SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

An essay on health related, scientific, and technological practices and achievements. The essay focus could include culturally specific medical practices such as acupuncture or places established to serves specific populations. The essay would include technological achievements, potentially including agricultural technology, space exploration, and high tech.

(1492-1848) Collecting and “Exploration” (Expanding Science and Technology)

Chang and Eng

“Specimens”

Imagining of Asia???

Medicine

Hospitals

High Tech

SAMPLE TYPES PROPERTIES

Kuwabara Hospital, San Jose (formal evaluation to be made)

Mukai Farm and Garden (NR)- for technology invention- strawberry preservation

Kubota Garden – drive- through nursery

Shaping the Political Landscape

CHAPTER XI – SHAPING THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

An essay on the impact that US imperialism, conflicts in Asia and the Pacific, WWII and the Cold War had on AAPI individuals and communities. The essay also will explore AAPI participation in electoral politics; and will include a discussion of the places associated with these actions, impacts and persons.

(1492-1848) Colonization and Missionizing (Shaping the Political Landscape)

(1492-1848) Annexation and Erasure of Cultures (Shaping the Political Landscape)

(1848-1917) American Imperialism (Shaping the Political Landscape)

Overthrow of Hawaiian Kingdom and Annexation of Hawaii

Annexation of Guam, Samoa, the Philippines

Long-distance Nationalism

Gadar Movement

(1848-1917) Conflicts and Wars in Asia and America (Shaping the Political Landscape)

Spanish American War

Opium War

Civil War

Gadar Movement

(1941-1965) Wars of Pacific (Shaping the Political Landscape)

Pacific Islander Nationalism

Samoa Independence

Hawaii Statehood

(1941-1965) World War II and the Cold War (Shaping the Political Landscape)

Atomic Bomb Testing
Red Scare/ McCarthy Era
*Korea
*Vietnam
Incarceration of Japanese Americans
*(1965 - Present) Electoral Politics (Shaping the Political Landscape)
SAMPLE TYPES PROPERTIES
Patsy Mink (need an associated site)
Tule Lake Segregation Center, Newall , CA
Manzanar War Relocation Center NHL, CA
Washington Place, Honolulu, Hawaii
Gurdwara, Stockton California
Iolani Palace (NHL)

CHAPTER XII: BATTLE for HUMAN, CIVIL RIGHTS and SELF DETERMINATION

An essay on the battle for human and civil rights, including movements, individual actions and black lashes against these effort. The essay also will address later new articulations of identity
*(1848-1917) Anti-Imperialism (Creating Social Institutions and Movements)
*(1917-1941) Labor and Labor Organizing (Shaping the Political Landscape & Creating Social Movements)
(1917-1941) The Battle for Civil Rights (Shaping the Political Landscape)
*(1917-1941) Life Under Exclusion/Resistance to Exclusion (Creating Social Institutions and Movement)
(1941-1965) Civil Rights/End of Exclusion *(Legal)(Shaping the Political Landscape)
Repeal of anti-miscegenation laws
Rise of the idea of the “Model” Minority
Immigration Reform
(1965 - Present)Civil Rights/Social Movements (Shaping the Political Landscape)
Combatting Racism/Hate Crimes
Backlash/Undoing of Affirmative Action/Admission Ceilings
1988 Civil Liberties Redress
Census Categorization
Women’s Movement
LBGT Movement
Asian American movement
(1965 - Present) Affirming an Identity/*New Articulations of Identity (Shaping the Political Landscape)
1965 Palau Nuclear Free
Hawaiian Sovereignty

EXAMPLE TYPES PROPERTIES

Filipino Community Hall Delano, CA (evaluated in Draft Cesar Chavez SRS)
Y.C. Hong Law Office, Los Angeles California (needs to be evaluated)

Chinese Massacre Cove (1887 Massacre Site), Wallowa County, OR
Gordon Hirabayashi homesite
Harada House (NHL)

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